

HISTORY  
OF  
THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE  
OF THE  
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE  
1517-1550

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.  
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

PART THE FIRST : THE FOUNDATION

published with the generous help of the Belgian  
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ALMAE MATRI LOVANIENSI

IN ANIMI GRATI PIGNUS  
MEMOR INSIGNIUM BENEFICIORUM  
PER QUINQUE FERE DECENNIA  
RECEPTORUM

INSTITUTIONUM DOCTARUM IN AULA DISCIPULUS  
PRAECLARORUM EXEMPLORUM IN CATHEDRA DOCENS  
DULCIS TANDEM OTII IN STUDIO EMERITUS

OPERIS AD QUOD AMOR OLIM IMPULIT  
MULTOS POST ANNOS MATURESCENTIS  
PRIMITIAS

DEVOTUS AUCTOR

D. D. D.

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**DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LOUVAIN**





## PREFACE

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In connection with *Jerome de Busleyden, His Life and Writings*, published last year <sup>1)</sup>, this book brings the first part of the *History of the Collegium Trilingue*, to which it was conceived as introduction. The plan of this work was suggested, during the first World-War, by the wealth of unused information found whilst investigating the records of the Old Louvain University in the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels <sup>2)</sup>. The considerable amount of unpublished, and even unknown, documents allowed the building up of a skeleton sketch of the beginning of the Institute that was Louvain's glory; in the quarter of a century I spent on the study of kindred subjects, a wealth of details were gathered in this and the neighbouring countries, especially in the time-honoured seats of humanistic erudition, like Oxford, London and Basle, as far as the distant Uppsala, and the old centres of Polish culture <sup>3)</sup>.

The abundant materials collected were started to be put into order on the return to Louvain, after the hurricane of the second World-War had swept us westwards for a time in the dreary May of 1940. They were built up into a history of the twenty-five or thirty first years of Busleyden College, giving an account as complete as possible of its life and activity, of its teaching and its professors, of its aim and its success; particular attention was devoted to the intellectual formation of the disciples, and the way they were equipped for their subsequent work in the leading social careers, ranging from the painstaking country physician to the omnipotent imperial chancellor. For the new Institute provided more than a thorough acquaintance with the up to then neglected languages. It imparted a cultural shaping of its own, a characteristic spirit, a method of thought and study that had never been heard of before, — and has even escaped all the historians of the College. It was the first to disconnect study from all practical, utilitarian aims, be they academical degrees or the admittance to special functions; its lectures were not part of a set curriculum: they only served to enrich and adorn the mind, and any one who wished, could avail himself of them: besides being taken freely, they were also imparted freely, although given by the best qualified men.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 9: Turnhout, 1950.

<sup>2)</sup> FUL, v, sq; *MonHL*, xxiv.

<sup>3)</sup> The sketch was well under way towards publishing in 1934, and was announced as *Collegii Buslidii Primordia* (*MonHL*, xxiv, 706), when a large amount of information was added to my hoard.

That freedom, appealing to the intellectual interest of the hearers rather than to any material advantage, made the New College eminently modern; it was made more so by the method introduced. Instead of the text of a secular manual or a *Summa*, or of the word of the master, it accepted as foundation of knowledge and of scientific certitude only the deductions derived by personal study and research from the actual subject under observation, or from authentic, unobjectionable testimonies, if it could not be brought under immediate survey. Nor was it any longer sufficient to repeat what was known: one had to deepen, widen and enlarge the duly testified knowledge already gained. That method was codified in the *Ratio* published in November 1518, by Erasmus for theology, being then the chief branch, as an example<sup>1)</sup>; it has not changed since four centuries: it has been, and still is, the essence of all genuine study. Being designed as programme for the incipient *Collegium Trilingue*, it became its intimate strength, its soul, its life, even to the reason of its being. From the beginning that Institute started buttressing the study of Latin by that of auxiliary matters, such as the epigraphs; it applied sound text criticism and linguistic interpretation to Hebrew and Greek passages of the Bible, pointing them out as most important helps for the study of theology; whilst by a constant application of the fundamental principle, it led the jurispudent to the thorough investigation of Theodosius' *Institutiones*, and focussed the attention of the anatomist or the botanist on a corpse or on a living flower. It thus fundamentally revolutionized the activity of one branch after another, and Louvain University was the first, and, for a considerable time, the only one, to extend to all matters the system which has since become the only basis of all scientific investigation and intellectual knowledge.

As all things new, the *Collegium Trilingue* roused, at first, contradiction and discontent: the prevailing prejudice against the study of languages caused it to be ruthlessly thwarted and attacked so vehemently that its existence seemed an impossibility: those difficulties are related in this first part. In the next will be described the regular life of the New Institute, which, within a few years, produced a thorough change in the disposition of the various Faculties towards Busleyden's Foundation, and, moreover, in their own views and methods: the outcast thus became the general favourite, the very leader of the University, whereas the magnificent example of Louvain was followed by one earnest investigator after another throughout Europe.

That great significance of the *Collegium Trilingue* for this as well as for all Universities, does not seem to have been noticed by its historians Valerius Andreas and Nève<sup>2)</sup>. It consequently is ignored by all those

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 303, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Valerius Andreas (1614, 1650) wrote chiefly the outward history of the College (VAndEx.; VAnd., 275, sq); his records have been continued for later centuries by J. N. Paquot (1762-1772), and by J. L. Bax († 1834: BaxF, III, 70, sq; BaxH, VIII, 12, sq): they were the only sources for F. Nève's *Mémoire* (1856), for which not any of the authentic documents

who used their information, in so far that the Institution is represented by some as having miserably swerved from the aim for which it was founded <sup>1)</sup>).

The introduction of that new life into the University on the eve of her first centenary, is a proof of her sound sense and of her genuine vitality : the first wild outcry had hardly died out when the average professor and erudite fairly tested the New School by its spirit, and judged it by its results. It could stand that testing and that judging. It had been arranged with loving care and provident attention by the Founder, as follows from the three corrected and revised schemes of the Will, which, after four centuries' oblivion, broke their silence to testify to Busleyden's exquisite and far-sighted solicitude <sup>2)</sup>. The story of the admission, which evokes the life of the University at a turning-point of her history, must not be judged only by the uproar it caused, although it resounded far beyond the limits of the country, especially through the pamphlets <sup>3)</sup> : initial discharges do reverberate louder and louder as distance increases. Even during that clamorous squall, the subtle and sure action of the *Collegium Trilingue* on the various members and on all men of good will, was going on as unnoticed as the

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of the College was used (*NèveMém.*). — Nor had those records been employed by Bax ; and probably not even by Paquot who does not seem to have intended writing a proper history, but only some additional notes to Andreas' notices (*PF*, I, 338, *sq.*). H. de Jongh (1911) provided copies of several passages of the fifth volume of the *Acta Universitatis* (*LibActV*), which are highly interesting for the history of the admission : he also mentions the titles of a few records of the College (de Jongh, 204 ; cp. *Rek.*, and *MotJuris*). Still he was wholly taken up by his theologians, and fully approved of them in their opposition against the new Foundation, of which he failed to see the real meaning ; he hardly could disconnect Humanism from the Reformation, in so far that it led him to grave chronological mistakes : de Jongh, 240-41 ; *MonHL*, 235-43.

<sup>1)</sup> Pirenne, III, 309, considers the *Collegium Trilingue* as having been animated by a spirit which disappeared entirely after Erasmus left for Basle (Nov. 1521) : ' La fondation... ' he says, ' se confinera dans l'étude de la philologie et ne cherchera plus à reprendre le rôle qu'elle a failli jouer un instant dans l'histoire de la réforme religieuse '. It is evident that neither the Founder, nor Erasmus ever intended anything except the teaching and the study of languages according to the genuine method : that activity in the service of Truth could not but be conducive in the end to sound religious reform ; moreover there is not found in the documents connected with the question of the admission of the College, the least reference to any displeasure about the actual teaching, or even the teachers, except when an abusive name had been publicly given by Rescius to the Theologians (cp. pp 314-16):

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 16, *sq.*, 24-46.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 394-411, 464-69, 544-602.



growing of a tree, or the opening of a flower : like all the things that are to last, the changing of the spirit and of the face of the University was accomplished in a deep, reverential silence.

On account of that discreet and unpretentious activity, the good influence of the College may have been ignored, or at least unacknowledged, by boisterous publicity, the more so since the struggling tendencies left their marks on the representation of facts and events <sup>1)</sup>, which were more and more distorted as centuries advanced : errors and mistakes encroached on truth, and are hard to be eradicated ; apparently judicious authors still wrongly explain, for example, Adrianus' and Nesen's leave from Louvain <sup>2)</sup> : and the very foundation is so disfigured by apparently authoritative writers that to Busleyden is only granted a very accessory part in the founding of the College <sup>3)</sup>. The circumstantially documented report of the next pages, intended neither as apology nor as censure, but as a fully reliable and complete representation of the facts, will, no doubt, clear up those mistakes to any unprejudiced reader, and adjust, by means of the hitherto unknown or unused information, the large amount of incorrections on the subject <sup>4)</sup> found even in the works of the most painfully accurate erudites <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Thus notwithstanding his accustomed shrewdness, Merker, 169, judges that Louvain, Cologne and Paris are 'die rückständigsten Universitäten', without any other apparent argument or proof except that they condemned Luther, as if the adhering to the wavering Luther of 1519 were the only criterium of scientific value.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 334-39, 370-74 and 458 ; *HebStud.*, 46 ; Enders, II, 222-23 ; *ErAllen*, 160 ; *KalErFlug.*, 43.

<sup>3)</sup> They range from the absurd notice in Henne, v, 33-4, 63-66, which implies that Busleyden got his College to be admitted only through the help of Erasmus and of the *Obscuri Viri*, or that in *UniEngl.*, 103-4, which hardly mentions the founder, — to the apparently scientific reference in *MargoOK*, 206, where the *Collegium Trilingue* is described as the work of Erasmus, realized with the help of Busleyden and Dorp, of Barlandus and Ceratinus.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. e. g., pp 70, 88, 114, 135, 143, 147-48, 169, 224, 225, 226, 450, 451, 480, 517, 528, — not to mention differing solutions for the authorship of *DiaBiTril.* or *EpMagNos.*, pp 401, sq, 546, 575, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Thus, to quote an example, the hard to be overrated characteristic accuracy of the editor of Erasmus' *Epistolæ*, is shown to be at fault in the dating of some letters : Allen, iv, 1012 (cp. p 402), 1035, 1036 (p 435), 1040, 1041, 1042 (pp 435, 441-43, 449), 1240 (pp 476-77) ; in the addressing of others : iv, 1042 (pp 441-43), 1059 (p 529) v, 1321 (pp 264-66), 1436 (p 495) ; in the identifying of a German translated text : III, 939, 979 (p 353), and in several references to personages : III, 946, 3 (p 349), iv, 1046, 8-10 (p 473), 1049 (pp 488-91), 1358, 40-43 (p 517), 1437 (p 494), VII, 2025 (p 271), *ErAge*, 41 (p 81) ; cp. also pp 249, 271, 277-78, 347, 357, 403, 432-33. When judging Busleyden's idea of establishing his foundation in an existing

The bulk of that new information, offered in this first part, has been derived from the records of the Old Louvain University in the General Archives in Brussels : to the grateful acknowledgment of my indebtedness to those records <sup>1)</sup>, I join hearty thanks to the Archivist General Dr Camille THON for his considerate patience in the granting of a rather extended loan of some documents ; it would have been impossible to use some of them except by an immediate and constant access in troublesome researches ; whereas others could only be deciphered by a leisurely and incessant investigation in all kinds and shades of lighting, — as, for example, the twelve pages of the preliminary drafts of the Will, with, each, from three to five different subsequent alterations, one added by Busleyden himself in his, at times, particularly crabbed writing <sup>2)</sup>. By attempting what almost seemed impossible, I have realized a reconstitution of the different phases of the Founder's plan, — thanks to the patient benevolence shown to me : for that, and for several other documents reproduced here, most respectful acknowledgment is expressed.

Three larger texts have been reproduced in the *Appendices*, as exactly as present-day printing allowed : for Nesen's *Dialogus* and his *Epistola* <sup>3)</sup>, great thanks are offered to the authorities of the British Museum, London, who provided photostats of them several years ago. The former pamphlet has been carefully collated with a copy of the first edition, belonging to that same great collection ; also with Beatus

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College, as 'surprising', 'singular' and 'impracticable', Allen goes in against the well matured conclusion of Erasmus and that of the very president of the College in question : *ErAllen*, 158-60 ; he evidently ignored how several members of the Faculty of Arts, by using their power over that College, wished to keep Busleyden's foundation at their mercy : cp. pp 290, sq, 450, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. the *List of Abbreviations*, indicating the most important of the records used, pp 603-4, 608-9, 611-12, 616, 618-19, 621, 623.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 15 to 24, the description of the three preparatory drafts, and pp 24 to 43, the different changes introduced leading up to the final wording of the Testament ; two photographic reproductions provided by my friend Professor Canon R. DRAGUER are added : one, of Draft II, p 18, shows Busleyden's mind and writing ; the other, of Draft I, p 30, gives an idea of the intricacy of those documents.

<sup>3)</sup> Nesen's two pamphlets have been reproduced with comparatively similar types, with the same punctuation and disposition, with even the mistakes and the reversed letters, as well as the marks of abbreviation, — except the q with a small line through the down-stroke, which was not available ; it has been replaced by the simple q, since it occurs with a ~ or a 3 : q3 que, q̃3 quam (*DiaBiTril.*), q̃ quam, q3 que (*EpMagNos.*) ; the capital Q with a stroke through its tail, is found in two instances : it has been replaced by Q<sup>d</sup> and, with a tilde, by Q<sup>m</sup> : *DiaBiTril.*, 208, 539 ; finally the small capital r, also with a small line through its tail, is indicated by r<sup>m</sup> : *DiaBiTril.*, 167 : uer<sup>m</sup>.

Rhenanus' copy of the second edition in the Sélestat Town Library <sup>1)</sup> : for its photographic reproduction deep gratitude is expressed to the Librarian, the Reverend Abbé P. ADAM <sup>2)</sup>. The text of Nesen's second pamphlet has been collated with a copy lent to me by the authorities of our Louvain University Library a few months before the second World-War : that circumstance saved it from being destroyed in the Fire of May 1940 <sup>3)</sup>. — The reproducing of Matthew Adrianus' *Oratio* has caused much solicitude : since its text, in a very small letter, offers an extraordinary amount of contractions, the compositor had been requested a long time in advance to set a dozen lines without abbreviations, in a smaller letter, to ascertain whether the original *Oratio* could be reproduced line by line. The result proving satisfactory, references were made to the lines throughout the book. When, however, the *Oratio* was finally composed, nearly three dozen on the 233 lines were overlong : as the references could not be altered, and as all types with strokes were wanting in that fount, I saw myself compelled to shorten them by reintroducing the abbreviations of Grunenberg's text : unfortunately, in a few cases it was utterly impossible to represent identically the contractions of the original <sup>4)</sup> : humble apologies are offered for that compulsory breach of the law of exact reproduction.

With utmost satisfaction I express my deepest gratitude to His Highness Monsignor VAN WAEYENBERGH, Rector Magnificus, who, at all occasions and in every manner, showed his lively interest in this *History*, and generously gratified the editing of this first part with his abundant help and encouragement. — Hearty thanks are also offered to my learned colleague Professor Canon A. DE MEYER, who, in kind acknowledgment of my lifelong efforts to gather an exhaustive documentation for the knowledge of the growth of Humanism at this University, greatly alleviated my burden, and honoured my work by allowing it to profit by the wide-spread fame of his *Recueil*. — Nor can I dissociate from that remarkable collection my dear friend and former hearer Dr J. DESMET, my 'fellow-plodder', who, both by his persistent encouragements, and his efficient interference, has greatly helped to solve the problems connected with the publishing of this volume.

<sup>1)</sup> *CatSél.*, 294 : n° 1017 (n° 1018 is another copy of the same edition).

<sup>2)</sup> *Cp.* pp 544-574.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cp.* pp 575-602.

<sup>4)</sup> The final -m or -s with the preceding vowel is replaced by a period : ver., Græcar., id., cui., hui., for : *verum*, *Græcarum*, *idem*, *cuius*, *huius* ; so is the last letter of some words : no., tu. (*non*, *tum*), as well as -ui, -ue, -ua, -uo after q-, unless -m, -s or -d follows : atq., q. (*atque*, *qui*), — qd, qs, qm (*quid*, *quis*, *quam*). — Contractions like : op.præc (*operæpræcium*), sc. (*scilicet*), pot (*potest*), lras (*litteras*), no. mo. (*non modo*), hois (*hominis*), nræ (*nostræ*), are reproduced from the original text.



To that has most efficaciously contributed the generosity of the lofty-minded President and Members of the 'FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE', Brussels, who, after assisting me to bring out so many predecessors, welcomed this new book with their most powerful help and generous protection, providing one more occasion to iterate my profound indebtedness to their characteristic magnanimity.

No less gratitude is felt for the assistance and sympathy experienced for the subject itself and for all that is connected with it, through which the crowded volume is fraught with vivid remembrances of help offered and welcome services supplied. If opened at the title-page, the delicate design of the Busleyden medal, proclaims the great kindness of a deep-feeling friend, who wishes to remain unnamed. The numerous references to items from the General Archives, recall the happy time I was at work there, and, amongst others, the instructive snatches of conversation I had with my learned friend the late Dr Hubert NÉLIS, amongst the mysteries of the large store-room with the wonderful *Cartulaires & Manuscrits* confided to his care. He found the letter of Erasmus to Giles de Busleyden, the first *Appendix* to the *Motivum Juris* of 1547, which had been mislaid half a century before; the photograph which he offered me, inserted in the third Chapter <sup>1)</sup>, will serve, subsidiarily, as a grateful record of the too-soon departed scholar.

Matthew Adrianus' *Oratio* is another memorial of a dear friend: on my regular visits to my well-beloved Master W. BANG KAUP, Berlin professor of Turkish Philology after the first World-War, we regularly devised about our mutual studies; learning that I had been looking in vain for the speech delivered by the teacher of Hebrew in 1519, he managed to find the apparently unique copy by 1925. Besides the interesting information about the spirit prevailing in those momentous years <sup>2)</sup>, it provides one more occasion to express my deep indebtedness to him who was and remained my Mentor to the end: although the subject was no longer familiar to him, he constantly stimulated the interest in Humanism which he had kindled in me <sup>3)</sup>; nor have I ever met any one who bore as deep-hearted an affection to Louvain, to her history and to her welfare as I felt his to be. Every paragraph of this History is a spontaneous iteration of thankful acknowledgment of his revealing to me the genuine method of study, — that of the *Collegium Trilingue*, — and for inuring me to it by his eminent example <sup>4)</sup>.

With a similar deep gratitude every page of this book recalls the sweet memory of the kind hostess who, for thirty years provided an ideal atmosphere for my study and research, Mrs. FLORENCE ADA TASKER

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 247-50.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 334, sq, 533-43.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *ErasIncl.*, xi, sq; W. Bang & H. de Vocht, *Klassiker und Humanisten als Quellen älterer Dramatiker* (in *Englische Studien*, xxxvi, 385-93): Leipzig, 1906.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Mat.* XI, xxxiii, sq; *ULAnn.*, 1936, cxv, sq.

PESSERS. She not only took an active interest in my work, but even devoted her free time to a most enlightened assistance <sup>1)</sup>: she copied several important documents, which have been daily in my use since; she made several most accurate indexes to render researches both prompt and reliable, and offered days and days to the collating of texts, each time she went for a stay to her native country. She especially was pleased when I, finally, started composing this *History*, of which she translated such parts as had been penned down before in French; she carefully read and corrected the steadily increasing series of sheets filled with text and notes: unfortunately, if she shared my relentless efforts, she was prevented by the Lord's calling her home, to see the end, and to rejoice with me in the coming true of my life's dream.

Her place and her devoted assistance has been generously taken by my kind secretary Miss Charlotte SCHAEPMAN, who has rendered me great service in the comparing of the final drafts with the former, and correcting the proofsheets, over which she has been poring endless hours. Meanwhile she steadily kept pace with the printer in arranging and checking the list of personages. No task was too tedious for her, and no text too difficult: the only annoyance she felt was a momentary stagnation in her activity. My heartiest gratitude goes to her for her large part in the publishing of this book, of which the ultimate preparation abundantly benefited by her characteristically buoyant vitality.

Most welcome was, finally, the assistance tendered to me during the printing of this volume by my dear friend and eminent colleague Professor Canon R. DRAGUET: although burdened himself by the direction of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, which he bears with as much ease and with no less glory than a crown, he went through the endless series of pages of this book, making many a correction, and suggesting many an improvement. I thank him ever so heartily for the ceaseless kindness of his help, for his efficient encouragement, and, even more, for the precious feeling of safety he inspired: having to rely in my work solely on my own discretion, his keen judgment and his wonderfully rich experience have given me the welcome consciousness of his constant and beneficent support through the continuous toiling from the initial hope to the soothing finish.

Louvain, October 18, 1951.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, viii.

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER AND HIS  
TESTAMENT

1. — THE FOUNDER

A. JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

In the history of intellectual and cultural development, very few institutes have played as glorious a part and have exercised as beneficent an influence as the *Collegium Trilingue* of Louvain University. Applying to study and research the golden rules revealed by the scholars of the Renaissance, it taught new methods and opened wonderful views to the generations of the leading men, who, in their turn, brought enlightening as well as welfare and prosperity to the races in the crowded Low Lands by the North Sea and to Humanity at large. 'There has not been', Nicolas Vernulæus stated in 1627, 'during these hundred years in any part of the commonwealth any one of any renown or any doctrine, who has not been a disciple in this College, which is in fact the *Palæstra* of Princes, of Nobility and of Great Men' <sup>1)</sup>.

It was founded by Jerome de Busleyden, a native of

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<sup>1)</sup> Vern., 146.



Arlon <sup>1)</sup>, who had been carefully trained in the Lily and the Faculties of Law of Louvain, in Orleans and in Padua, where he promoted D.V.J. on February 8, 1503. He lost his parents when a boy, but his brother Francis, preceptor of Archduke Philip the Fair, took charge of his education. At his benefactor's untimely death at Toledo on August 22, 1502 <sup>2)</sup>, Jerome appealed for protection to the Archduke, who appointed him as ecclesiastical councillor in the Great Council of Mechlin when it was re-established on January 22, 1504 <sup>3)</sup>. In that Council, and occasionally as ambassador <sup>4)</sup>, he rendered signal services to his Prince and his nation, and greatly contributed to secure peace and tranquillity to the prosperous countries that formed the Burgundian Netherlands : they were saved from the horrors of war and from the annexation schemes of ambitious neighbours, thanks to the advice of wise councillors and sound-headed diplomatists like he was <sup>5)</sup>.

His prominent functions provided to him an abundance of choice preferments : he was canon of St. Rombaul's, Mechlin, of St. Lambert's, Liège, of St. Waldegrudis', Mons, of Our Lady's, Cambrai, canon and treasurer of St. Gudula's, Brussels, Archdeacon for the district of Brabant, parish-priest of Steenberg and Provost of St. Peter's, Aire <sup>6)</sup>. They brought to the wealth he had inherited from his father and from his elder brother the Archbishop of Besançon, the means to raise a splendid mansion at Mechlin <sup>7)</sup>, and to be, in the full sense, a protector of arts and artists, of literature and erudites <sup>8)</sup>. It was one of the ways in which he put into practice his humanistic principles by helping in the creation of beautiful things, and by rejoicing the eyes and minds of all those who were about him <sup>9)</sup>. Although an aristocrat to the finger-nails in

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<sup>1)</sup> The life of Jerome de Busleyden (c 1470-1517) has been recently described and his writings edited for the first time in their entirety from the original Manuscript, by the author of this *History of Jerome de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue, his Life and Writings* (HumLov., 9) : Turnhout, 1950.

<sup>2)</sup> He was Archbishop of Besançon and chief of the Prince's Council : cp. *Busl.*, 4-10.

<sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 39, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 48, 87-89, 260-68.

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 86-89, 202.

<sup>6)</sup> *Busl.*, 40-46.

<sup>7)</sup> *Busl.*, 50-63.

<sup>8)</sup> *Busl.*, 66-74, 106-108, 113-115.

<sup>9)</sup> *Busl.*, 194-95, 197-98, 201.

taste and behaviour, he was generous and benevolent even to the humblest of his fellow-men : he was as ready to stand godfather to his footman's daughter <sup>1)</sup> as to welcome a Papal Legate on his entrance into Mechlin <sup>2)</sup>; and his mansion, with its precious books and its art treasures, was at the disposal as well of a 'lene' and 'unworldly clerke' like Conrad Vegerius <sup>3)</sup>, as of the world-renowned Erasmus and his friend the ambassador Thomas More <sup>4)</sup>.

That applied most of all to literature. From Italy, where he had studied nearly two years <sup>5)</sup>, and spent a few months on an embassy <sup>6)</sup>, Busleyden had brought home a mighty impulse in eagerness and sincerity, of the love for the *Literæ Humaniores* which had been kindled in him by his masters at the Pedagogy of the Lily <sup>7)</sup>. That love became one of the great ideals in his life : it made him a zealous collector of books, *omnium librorum emacissimus*, as Erasmus called him <sup>8)</sup>, which he studied eagerly, so as to gain a deeper and exacter understanding of the authors ; he borrowed others which he could not acquire, such as the old manuscripts of the Bible lent him by Christian de Hondt, Abbot of the Downs <sup>9)</sup>, and an out-of-the-way work of literature, which he returned to his former master and colleague, Peter l'Apostole, with reproaches for carelessly treating such a gem <sup>10)</sup>. Even when

<sup>1)</sup> *Busl.*, 108, 137.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 86, 271-73, 405-6.

<sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 73-74, 425-27, 433.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 63-65.

<sup>5)</sup> Busleyden is said to have been leaving for Italy in July 1501 : *Busl.*, 32 ; Allen, I, 157, 52-63, and he promoted in Padua on February 8, 1503 : *Busl.*, 34, sq. That University, in which probably Francis de Busleyden also promoted : *Busl.*, 5, was developing and becoming most renowned about 1500. Three great English humanists, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre and William Latimer had studied there ; Cuthbert Tunstall was then there, and knit up with Busleyden a lifelong friendship : *Busl.*, 33, 69-70, &c ; Richard Pace had been sent there, too, in 1500 by Thomas Langton, and by 1515 Thomas Lupset studied in that town ; when returning in 1523, he met Reginald Pole, who had arrived there in 1519 : Schirmer, 176 ; Pole, 17, 23 ; Brewer, III, 198 ; *PoleFr.*, 33, 50, &c. — Busleyden also knew at Padua Robert Fisher, the Queen's chaplain, who attended his promotion : *Busl.*, 38-39, — and the Pole Christopher von Suchten, possibly even Copernicus : *Busl.* 276 ; Prowe, I, 295, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> From the autumn of 1505 to the spring of 1506 : *Busl.*, 48, 260, sq, 397.

<sup>7)</sup> *Busl.*, 30-31 ; cp. further, Ch. II, 1, 5, 6.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, IV, 1175, 50-53 ; *Busl.*, 197. <sup>9)</sup> *Busl.*, 326-28. <sup>10)</sup> *Busl.*, 311-12.

they were out of reach, he tried to gain at least the knowledge of their existence, and urged his friends to make full lists of the valuable manuscripts hidden in the old libraries of Treves or Holland to which they had access <sup>1)</sup>. Nor was his love only passive : he tried to acquire a fine, supple and yet rich style, in which he could put to use all that his readings and studies had yielded. Most conscientiously he devoted the few days of leisure which his office granted him, to make poems on the religious feasts that occasioned them <sup>2)</sup>. In writing to his friends, he did not forgo the opportunity to try and improve his style if time and matter allowed <sup>3)</sup>. Even after they were written, he still corrected a few which he kept, and submitted to the criticism of his clever young friend Conrad Vegerius, requesting him to be for his *Lusus a doctus, tersus emaculator* rather than an *industrius aut exercitus notarius* <sup>4)</sup>.

## B. HIS SCHEME

The enjoyment which was procured by that earnest study and by his continuous practice of fine literature, was so great that Busleyden wanted to impart it to his countrymen by means of an institution which would offer all the advantages of a thorough training in letters and languages. Although the necessity and indispensableness of such an institution was dawning on the minds of his contemporaries, no serious attempt had been made on this side the Alps to bring it about <sup>5)</sup>, possibly since the prejudice against pagan literature,

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. his letter to William de Heda, of about 1509 : *Busl.*, 409-12.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 303-4, 312, 317-19.

<sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 175, 393, 98, sq ; *BeitKlette*, III, 8-11.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 427, 15-17 ; it seems even that Busleyden corrected his poems and letters after Vegerius had copied them out : *Busl.*, 162-63.

<sup>5)</sup> The first lesson of Eloquence, started in Louvain University soon after 1443, was little more than strangled in the very beginning ; the second foundation, begun in 1478, depended entirely on the individual value of the professors entrusted with the teaching, which failed to break a new way : cp. Ch. II, 3, 5 ; even less durable and deep was the influence of men like Grocyn, Linacre and Latimer in England : Creighton, 31-41.

and, even more, against the teaching of Greek and Hebrew <sup>1)</sup>, paralysed the most generous efforts. Apparently Busleyden had been contemplating for some time the scheme of organizing a college with that aim, in those years when several foundations were made at Universities to provide accommodation for, and actual assistance to, the students, who from *vagantes* were quickly becoming sedentary members of one Alma Mater, at least for as far as was necessary to reach any final promotion <sup>2)</sup>. Never were, for example, the foundations more numerous in Louvain University than from 1474 to 1510 <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt Busleyden thought of an institution that was more than a poorly furnished *bursa*, providing hardly more than a place to eat and sleep in. He wanted to communicate with the lodging some teaching or some moralizing, to which he felt a natural inclination, judging from the several passages in his letters in which he communicated his views as well on ordinary behaviour, admonesting an idling young nobleman <sup>4)</sup> or advising recently appointed officials <sup>5)</sup>, as on pedagogy, not only to a weak-minded nephew, who was hurrying to a failure <sup>6)</sup>, but even to an experienced and clever man like John Becker of Borselen, who had spent several years in training boys <sup>7)</sup>. With all that he seemed predestined to erect an institution for the mental and cultural development of his people : he was deeply interested in all manifestations of

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<sup>1)</sup> It is illustrated by the difficulties created in Germany by the Reuchlin controversy ; similar antipathy to the new views and their protagonists gave rise to trouble in Oxford and Cambridge : Creighton, 34, 36, 41 ; M. J. Wolff, *Die Renaissance in der Englischen Literatur* : Bielefeld, 1928 : 28, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Specht, 199, sq ; *DeutStud.*, 42, sq ; Kaufmann, 1, 291, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Thus were founded : in 1474, St. Jerome's College ; about 1478, that of the Holy Ghost ; 1483, that of St. Yves ; 1499, the House of Standonck ; 1500, Mechlin College, or of Trot ; 1505, de Winckele College ; 1508, Arras College (of Nicolas le Ruistre) ; 1510, *Collegium Campiniense*, or of Houterlee ; — besides 33 foundations of scholarships added to the Pedagogies or to existing colleges.

<sup>4)</sup> Letter to Ferry de Carondelet : *Busl.*, 328-332.

<sup>5)</sup> E. g., Adrian Herbouts, Antwerp Pensionary, and Abbot Bollart's notary : *Busl.*, 321-22, 456.

<sup>6)</sup> Viz., Cornelius Erdorf : cp. the letters to or about him : *Busl.*, 340-41, 354-55, 393-95.

<sup>7)</sup> *Busl.*, 344-45, 354-55.

intellectual life; he was fully aware of the social and economic problems then at issue; he was an effective promotor of art in all its forms, and he was continually applying his mind most zealously to literature. According to his device: *Doceri semper præsto et obvius* <sup>1)</sup>, he continually tried to enrich his mind; he was endowed with eager penetration, and, for certain, with patient perseverance, encouraging his efforts with the adage: *Apto sine tempore rectum Nil fit* <sup>2)</sup>, and with the assurance that '*sat est in summis arduisque uoluisse* <sup>3)</sup>. He thus was providentially well fitted as the founder and legislator of a School that was to influence the life and thoughts of generations to come: the spirit of *Trilingue Collegium* in a large part was his.

## 2. — THE ADVISERS

### A. BUSLEYDEN'S FRIENDS

Since Busleyden constantly carried his great plan in his mind, he naturally must have been drawn to those friends who could further it by their experience and their counsel. If he cultivated the acquaintance of the Antwerp pensionary Adrian Herbouts <sup>4)</sup> and his colleague the secretary Cornelius Grapheus <sup>5)</sup>, as well as of Remacle d'Ardenne <sup>6)</sup> and Luigi Marliano <sup>7)</sup> for the sake of common sympathies and the advantage of an appreciative poem or epigram, his connection with John Becker of Borselen <sup>8)</sup> and John de Neve <sup>9)</sup>, with Adrian Barlandus <sup>10)</sup> and Martin van Dorp <sup>11)</sup> was evidently

<sup>1)</sup> *Busl.*, 452, 71. <sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 249, 15-16. <sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 283, 39, 420, 78, 473, 5-6.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 320, *sq.*, 230, *sq.*, 395, *sq.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 73; *Cran.*, 179, *b-d.*

<sup>6)</sup> He was court poet of Margaret of Austria: *Busl.*, 218-22, 165, 347, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> Bishop of Tuy, court physician of Philip the Fair and of his son Charles: *Busl.*, 358, *sq.*, 66, 150, &c.

<sup>8)</sup> One of the first and greatest Humanists in Louvain; he was preceptor of two of Busleyden's nephews: *Busl.*, 341-44, 12-14, &c; *Cran.*, 12, *e.*

<sup>9)</sup> Regent of the Lily from 1505 to 1522, and one of Erasmus' great protectors: *Busl.*, 31, 164, &c; *Cran.*, 26, *a-f*; *MonHL*, 354, 366-7, &c; *MélMoell.*, II, 82-86.

<sup>10)</sup> Professor of Latin in the Porc, and first professor of Latin in the Trilingue: *Busl.*, 73, 174, &c; *Cran.*, 62, *a*; *Daxhelet*, 13, 56, 267; *cp. further*, Ch. III.

<sup>11)</sup> Professor of Latin in the Lily and afterwards of Theology: *Busl.*, 413, 443, &c; *cp. further*, Chs. X, XVII.

based on more than the enjoyment of literature. The generous Councillor showered his sympathy on those men because they had been zealously at work at the Revival of Learning in the Louvain halls, where he himself must have heard the echoes of the retrograde teaching of Charles Viruli <sup>1)</sup> and of some others <sup>2)</sup>. Yet he took more than he gave, as he wanted the benefit of experience for the furtherance of his plan. His colleague Antony Sucket <sup>3)</sup>, no doubt, encouraged his former fellow-student with the help of his advice, and so, maybe, did others of his acquaintances, of whom at least one afterwards vaunted, when the *Trilingue* was flourishing, that he, too, had some part in its success. That was said, in fact, by Florent Oom van Wyngaerden, when Dordrecht pensionary <sup>4)</sup>, who

<sup>1)</sup> He was the Regent of the Lily from 1437 to 1493, and the author of the famous *Epistolarum Formulæ* : cp. Ch. II, 1.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Paquot, VII, 301, and further, Ch. II, 1.

<sup>3)</sup> He was a Privy Councillor, added to the executors of Busleyden's will at Bordeaux : *Busl.*, 95-6, 121-25, &c ; cp. further, Ch. I, 4.

<sup>4)</sup> Florent Oom (Oem) de Wyngaerden (Winghaerde), a native of The Hague, of the family that owned the patronage of the parish of Grysoord, Zeeland : FUL, 5009, studied in Louvain where, in 1485, he was classed the second at the Promotion to Master of Arts : *ULPromRs.*, 60 ; he was admitted to the University Council on Nov. 29, 1491 ; became D.V.J. on June 11, 1493, and was elected Rector in February 1494 : *ULDoc.*, I, 260. In 1495 he was appointed member of the Holland Council at The Hague ; from 1500 to 1510 the Leyden finances were entrusted to his care, and from 1513, he was Dordrecht pensionary. He defended the rights of staple of that town, but, refusing to grant the requests of government, he was exiled from Dordrecht on December 6, 1518. Adrian of Utrecht, who was his friend, sent word on Aug. 11, 1519 from Barcelona to the Secretary Laurent du Blioul to ask Henri Duke of Nassau's intercession, as he wrote to Florent himself on the following day ; the sentence was annulled in September 1520. Adrian announced to Oom from Victoria on February 15, 1522, that, six days before, he had received the news of his election to Pope, expressing his humble acceptance and the knowledge of his unworthiness : *AdriBurm.*, 398-9, 448-49 ; *AdriReus.*, xviii, xxxvii-ix. Oom took some share in the measures against Lutheranism : *CorpInq.*, IV, 114, V, 264, and died in 1531. One of his sons, John, who studied at Rotterdam under John de Beer, *Vrsus*, and in Louvain, received from Adrian VI his prebend in St. Lambert's, Liège ; his younger son is probably the Cornelius, married to Gellia of Hoytena, or Aytēna, a niece of Viglius, whose daughter Gertrude was the wife of Josse, son of Francis de Cranevelt : *Cran.*, lxxxii-iii ; *MalInscr.*, 66-67. — Cp. Mol., 541 ; VAnd., 178 ; *ActArtV*, 78, r, 96, r, 268, r ; PF, 253 ; Allen, VI, 1668, pr, 16 ; Fruin, 453 ; Utrecht University Library, MS. Var. 368<sup>a</sup> : 30.



after promoting M.A., was for some time absent from Louvain, but returned in July 1487 <sup>1)</sup>, became D.V.J. in 1493, and stayed till 1495 : he thus may have known Busleyden as student : his son John had the audacity to write on Febr. 28, 1526 to Erasmus, that his father had suggested the founding of the Trilingue : *nec hic Louanii trium linguarum Collegium sine eius consilio constitutum est* <sup>2)</sup>. Still the most effective assistance, if not the very first idea, was offered by Busleyden's friend, the great promotor of the *Literæ Humaniores*, Erasmus, who, moreover, recommended most heartily John Robbyns and John Stercke as the aptest and best qualified men to provide welcome and truly efficient help.

## B. JOHN ROBBYNS

John Robbyns, a native of Mechlin, studied in Louvain, where he passed his *actus determinantis* on Nov. 26, 1482, promoted B. A. in March 1483, licencié in Arts on April 14, 1484, and was placed the ninth on becoming M. A. on May 18, 1484 : *ActArtV*, 2, r, 5, v, 15, v, 16, v. He entered the service of Nicolas Ruterius, Provost of St. Peter's, Louvain, and afterwards Bishop of Arras <sup>3)</sup>, through whom, probably, he

<sup>1)</sup> Florent Oom seems to have left Louvain for a time after his promotion to master of arts, 1485, for he re-matriculated on July 24, 1487 : *Mgr. florentius oom de hâgis leod. dioc.* — and a later hand added : *fuit hic postea doctor* : *Excerpts*, 90.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, vi, 1668, 12-13 ; John Oom was studying in Louvain (cp. Chap. xi), boarding at the house of John Vullinck, Scholaster of St. Peter's, University secretary (from Aug. 2, 1494), and from Sept. 8, 1503 to his resignation, March 8, 1530, Notary of the Court of the Conservator : *VAnd.*, 74 ; *Cran.*, 111, b, c, 20-55 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 328, 555 ; de Jongh, \*17, \*27. He announced also that his father was studying Greek and had sent to Basle a letter in Dutch (censuring the glorious and undeserved titles given to Erasmus), which the latter attributed to Nicolas Baechem and referred to in his letter to Nicolas Everardi on June 26, 1524 : Allen, v, 1469. To John Oom's apology Erasmus replied on April 29, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1699, that his father had taken the wrong method of ingratiating himself with him ; he did not mention the debt which the *Trilingue* was owing, and which, if it really existed, must have been for a most casual service, possibly in the purchase of a site for the College.

<sup>3)</sup> Nicolas le Ruistre, de Ruter, *Ruterius*, 1442-1509, a native of Luxembourg, entered the Burgundian Court as secretary, and rose to the dignity of Privy Councillor. He was rewarded for his great services

was provided with the parish of Brecht <sup>1)</sup>, and, in 1501, with the office of dean of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin <sup>2)</sup>. He was a man of great prudence and of a staunch and sound piety <sup>3)</sup>, who greatly contributed to the welfare of Church and State by furthering studies and learning amongst the secular clergy as much as he could. He dissuaded his master from erecting a second Charterhouse in Louvain <sup>4)</sup>, and advised, instead, an institution for poor students in the University : to his suggestion is due the College of Arras, which he organized <sup>5)</sup>, administered and supervised with the assistance of the Dean of Louvain, Adrian of Utrecht. When that great churchman

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with several ecclesiastical preferments, and, in 1501, with the see of Arras. He was one of the best friends of Jerome de Busleyden, and he had been that of his brother Francis : cp. *Busl.*, 5, 305-307. His features are preserved in a medal by John de Candida : *Simonis*, 24, 26. The suspicion about his being a natural son of Charles the Bold : *Mol.*, 495, is evidently unfounded, as that Prince was only born in 1433.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *FUL*, 2395.

<sup>2)</sup> *Gestel*, 1, 41 ; *Cran.*, 17, a ; — he administered that Collegiate Church, at least in the beginning, through a vice-dean, John Jans, of Heist, as he was still for some time in the Bishop's service : *Laenen*, 1, 65, 184.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cran.*, 17, a-c.

<sup>4)</sup> *Mol.*, 297-98 ; the Louvain Charterhouse had been founded only recently, the first stone having been laid by Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, in 1489 : *Mol.*, 295.

<sup>5)</sup> *FUL*, 2237-2245. Robbyns bought houses for the site of the future College in Nicolas Ruterius' name from December 1, 1498 : *FUL*, 2241 ; he supervised the building, and made the regulations for the domestic economy, 1510 : *FUL*, 2245 ; he drew up the *Statuta* with the help of Adrian of Utrecht (*FUL*, 2244), from whom he afterwards obtained the incorporation of the Haarlem parsonage into the College ; the deed was ratified on December 8, 1523 by Clement VII, as it had not been made out when Adrian VI died ; Robbyns had it confirmed by Charles V, and duly promulgated on October 14, 1529 : *FUL*, 2394. Already on September 15, 1508 he resigned the parsonage of St. Michael's, Brecht, in favour of the College, which he made his heir for several objects, as well as residuary legatee by his will of June 30, 1532, and his codicil of November 4, 1532 : *FUL*, 2395, 2401 ; *Cran.*, 17, a. Robbyns, who often resided in Arras College, and for which he bought several estates, made use in the first years of the services of Conrad Vegerius, senior bursar, to look after the regular order in the new community, whereas John van den Poele, chaplain of St. Peter's, acted as manager of the household and of all the possessions ; his accounts of expenses and receipts are extant for Sept. 27, 1509 to Sept. 30, 1510, and for Oct. 1, 1517 to Sept. 30, 1519 : *Busl.*, 413-14, 425 ; *FUL*, 2333, 2334.

left for Spain in 1515, Robbyns, as his intimate friend <sup>1)</sup>, knew of his intention to found also a College in the University <sup>2)</sup>, for which his help was requested in advance. At his untimely death, Sept. 14, 1523, the Dean of Mechlin once more became an acting force to enrich the Brabant University with a new institution <sup>3)</sup> : he greatly contributed to the successful beginnings of the College Adrian VI. Busleyden could hardly find an abler and more experienced adviser in the planning out of his School of Languages <sup>4)</sup>. The events proved that he was a real providence in the difficulties which, from the very beginning, threatened the new foundation with ruin : Erasmus, praising Robbyns on August 7, 1519 to Spalatinus as *virum prudentia singulari, summa integritate, sed ingenio perquam festivo*, adds this admirable eulogy of the humble,

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<sup>1)</sup> Robbyns had been Adrian of Utrecht's friend since the time they studied in Louvain; he afterwards promulgated Leo X's bull of Decemb. 17, 1518, allowing the Cardinal of Tortosa to keep the deanery of St. Peter's, Louvain, on account of the great services he was rendering to the Church : FUL, 2472. He was one of the executors of Adrian VI's will, and William Cardinal of Enckenvoirt, remaining in Rome, delegated, on June 20, 1524, the more readily his powers to his co-executors in the Netherlands, Nicolas de Porta, John Robbyns and Peter van den Male (FUL, 2473), since he knew of the complete confidence which the Pope his master had always placed in the Dean of Mechlin; from his letter of August 12, 1519 (*AdriBurm.*, 448), it appears that he had asked John Robbyns to see that his letters to Henry de Nassau and to Laurent du Blioul about the exile of Florent Oom de Wyngaerden, should be handed to them by a trusty man.

<sup>2)</sup> As early as 1502, Adrian of Utrecht had bought a house in Mayor Street, extending to the lane 't *Caer*, on which estate, enlarged by successive purchases, he erected a big building, with the outspoken intention of making it into a college as soon as his means allowed him to clear it from rents and charges : FUL, 2478, 2479, 2480; *AdriReus.*, xvi; *AdriBurm.*, 22; *VAnd.*, 303-4 (referring to Bernardino de Carvajal's admiration for the bold enterprise); *Opmeer*, 1, 465, a, 466, b; *Busl.*, 314, 406; *LouwEven*, 228, 234.

<sup>3)</sup> With the co-executors Peter van den Male and Nicolas van der Poorten, *de Porta* (FUL, 2473, 2733), Robbyns went through the various transactions necessary for the founding and putting into working order of the new institution (e.g., FUL, 2582). In his will of June 30, 1532 he left a sum of money to it, which bequest was enlarged in his codicil of Nov. 4, 1532, by a 'pyxis', and by another legacy : FUL, 2401, 2732; *Gran.*, 17, b.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. III, XVII, &c; *Rek.*, 48, r-49, v, 88, r; &c.

but most efficient, worker for the general welfare : *Is est in quem Collegii Trilinguis præcipua cura inclinata recumbit*<sup>1)</sup>. Having thus greatly contributed to endowing Louvain with three of her most important Colleges, he crowned his work by bequeathing nearly all his worldly goods<sup>2)</sup> to the institutes he had helped into existence. Full appreciation for his unselfish efforts was amply shown to him : he was highly esteemed by the greatest and best men of his lifetime ; he enjoyed the hearty affection of Erasmus<sup>3)</sup> and of other humanists, such as that of Francis de Cranevelt<sup>4)</sup>, whom he had known as a

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1001, 15-18.

<sup>2)</sup> By his will of June 30, 1532, Robbyns made legacies to the College of Arras, and to that of Adrian VI, besides offering some money to the *Trilingue* for the purchase of books. By his codicil of November 4, he made those gifts more considerable, and presented keepsakes to his collaborators in the administrative work, viz., to the president of Arras College, John West, or Wust, *de Lyra* ; to that of Adrian's College, Tilman Ghyben sClerckx, *Clerici* ; and to his co-provisor there, Ruard Tapper, Adrian's successor as dean : FUL, 2401 ; *Cran.*, 17, a-c.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus' and Robbyns' friendship was proverbial amongst all their acquaintances. Their intimate connection began in November 1503, when the Bishop of Arras started taking an interest in the Humanist : Allen i, 178, 7. On his frequent journeyings between Louvain, Bruges and Antwerp, Erasmus regularly called at his great friend's, and occasionally stayed there as a most welcome guest : Allen, iv, 1001, 14-15. He continually applied to the Dean's experience in all the difficulties in which the incipient *Trilingue* was involved (cp. further, Ch. III, &c ; Allen, iv, 1001, 15-18). Although the correspondence extant is not very considerable, especially after 1521 (Allen, III, 805, iv, 1046, v, 1435, 1457), it should not be forgotten that Robbyns was one of the privileged few who were favoured with the prime of the information by word of mouth from every one of Erasmus' trustiest amanuenses on their journeys northward (cp. *ActaMori*, 77-80, and *Cran.*, 95, a-b). Occasionally mention is made in the correspondence of the 'podagra', which, in after years, visited the Dean : Allen, vii, 1850, 29 ; *Cran.*, 293.

<sup>4)</sup> *Cran.*, xlv, liii, lxi-lxiii, 17, a-c, 20, a, &c. — When, in the autumn of 1522, the newly-appointed member of the Great Council arrived with his family in Mechlin, he found hospitality in Robbyns' house on Wool-Market : for several years he resided with his growing household in an out-building opening on St. Rombaut's Churchyard, until his own residence on the 'Melane' in New Beghard Street was constructed : *Cran.*, liii-lv, &c. Robbyns bequeathed some of his jewelry to Cranevelt and to Elizabeth de Baussele, his wife, by his codicil of November 4, 1532 — amongst them a gold ring adorned with the crest of the Duchy

budding barrister in Louvain, and whom he afterwards had had appointed as a Member of the Great Council of Mechlin. He died in that town on December 28, 1532 <sup>1)</sup>).

### C. ERASMUS

Besides John Robbyns, whose experience as organizer and chief *provisor*, or supervising trustee, of Arras College, must have been most welcome to Busleyden, it was Erasmus who helped him to shape the grand enterprise, and to give it the characteristic form that was to secure its efficiency as well as its duration. The great erudite was not blind to economics where learning and studies were concerned. For certain, he must have praised his wealthy friend most highly for making the fortune that he was gathering, a source for a perpetual benefit to scholarship rather than let it go to waste by splitting it up amongst relatives. He must have gone further in his earnest desire to make the foundation schemed as suitable

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of Austria or of Louvain in precious stones; also making an offering in money to their daughter Catherine, in the Thabor Convent, near Mechlin: *Cran.*, 20, a; *FUL*, 2401.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, xlv, lxi, 17, a-c; *Busl.*, 47, and the sources quoted there. — John Robbyns was also executor of the will of John Pycquot, of July 15, 1524, a native of Brussels, priest and canon of St. Rombaut's, — possibly related to the Michael Picquot, of Arras diocese, one of Jerome de Busleyden's fellow-students at Padua: *Busl.*, 39; the account of the execution was submitted to the Rector's Court, Louvain: *FUL*, 5614. With Peter van den Male, Robbyns bought on Sept. 28, 1525, some ground at Maxdelle, Leeuw-St. Pierre, from J. Pycquot's heirs for the College Adrian VI: *FUL*, 2582. — As the name *Robbyns* is rather common, and as the Dean only mentioned one brother, Walter, in his will, the many 'Robyns' referred to in documents of that period were either not, or only distantly, related to him; such are: Robert Robyns, of Mechlin, provost of Soignies, and his nephew Judocus (*Cran.*, 229, 24, 231, 5); 'frater Joannes Robbyns de mechlinia', matriculating on March 7, 1523, and 'Joannes Robyns', also of Mechlin, *minorennis*, for whom John de Lyra, president of Arras College, took the customary oath on Febr. 9, 1524: *LibIntIII*, 299, v, 310, v; — also John Robyns, abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp (+ 1578: *SweMon.*, 137); John Robyns 'de Scoonhovia', 15<sup>th</sup> in the Louvain promotion of May 6, 1503 (*ActArtV*, 205, r); John Robyns, of Cambrai, also a student in the *Artes* in Louvain (*ActArtV*, 190, v), and William Robyns, nominated in 1540 for the first vacancy to the 'curatus de Botershem et Vertryck' (*LibNomI*, 331, r).

and useful as possible : in that supposition he could not but dissuade the organizing of the usual scholarships, exclusively reserved to the descendants of one family, or to a determined class of young men, which, in many cases, renders those means of study inaccessible just to those who might turn them into profit : on account of the right of patronage held by the eldest in the lineage, the college is easily exposed to be turned into an exclusive patrimony, pampering rich and idle youths, instead of helping poor boys to become great and efficient men. Moreover Erasmus must have found that such foundations do not last long : the change in values caused by the overthrow of the economic relations subsequent to the discovery of America, had been disastrous to several of the Louvain colleges, so that foundations, like those of Trot and Godevaerts, were ruined before they were organized <sup>1)</sup>. Since for want of sufficient revenue, no new bursars were accepted in such occurrence, it followed that, if circumstances did not improve, the college soon depopulated, and the foundation dwindled away, — as he had seen Haneron's foundation, St. Donatian's College, dwindle away. Evidently, as nobody properly suffered from it, and as nobody felt the want of the scholarships that thus were lost, nobody stretched out a saving hand. Consequently Erasmus advised to found, before all, lectures, and only subsidiarily, scholarships : for they would prevent the founder's money to be turned to undue use, and, moreover, they were sure to create a want : if, in that event, the means should ever fail, the teaching would have proved so indispensable, that it would be soon replaced somehow or other. Moreover the provident Humanist suggested his friend to accommodate the professors in such a way that they could devote all their time and thoughts to their studies, without being interrupted by the solicitude for economic necessities or for the material order ; and, besides, pay them so well that they could be recruited from the foremost in their branch, so as to make the enterprise into an undoubted success : unobjectionable teaching cannot be expected from men acquainted only with the routine of tradition : it wants the cleverest and best-qualified at the desk.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. FUL, 2000, 2173, 2174.

Those and similar suggestions must have been made to Busleyden, who was unacquainted with the practical organization of studies and lectures; whereas they will be constantly repeated afterwards by Erasmus, whenever a difficulty occurs either in the management of the Institute, or in the execution of the wishes expressed by the founder in his testament. For certain, only his clear foresight and logical spirit could have lighted on the marvelous plan of grafting the new foundation on an existing college: for its president would free the new professors of all unscientific care and concern, whereas the new scholarships would bring young life and new resources into an older organism dying for want of strength to weather the sudden perturbations in the economic atmosphere. Nobody but a clever observer and a shrewd witness of the decline of a foundation could have thought of that solution: and it was, without doubt, Erasmus, who introduced to his friend Busleyden the very president of St. Donatian's College, where he had lived from 1502 to 1504, and of which he had ascertained the unequivocal wane on his visits in 1514 and 1516.

#### D. JOHN STERCKE

The president of St. Donatian's College was at the time John Stercke, also called de Meerbeke, after his native village near Ninove. He matriculated as paying student of the Falcon, on August 31, 1495 <sup>1)</sup>, passed his *actus determinantiæ* on January 11, 1497, became Bachelor, in April 1495, and Master of Arts on April 10, 1498, being classed the sixth <sup>2)</sup>. He then was appointed professor of physic and logic in his Pedagogy <sup>3)</sup>, whilst he studied theology, and promoted licenciate. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts on Febr. 28, 1510 <sup>4)</sup>, and

<sup>1)</sup> *Excerpts*, 91.

<sup>2)</sup> *ActArtV*, 143, r, 146, v, 157, v.

<sup>3)</sup> *ActArtV*, 187, r (admission to the Council of the Faculty), 262, v, 263, r, 280, r, 284, r, 286, r, 288, v, 299, v, 318, v.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtV*, 284, with a finely drawn signature. During his management the controversy took place between Reinerus Joannis, University Promotor, and the Faculty backing one of her *legentes*, Joseph Mussche, of Antwerp, who in the Rector's Court had declared to be a *scholaris*, although he did not attend any lectures in the higher Faculties: *ULDoc.*, I, 348-49. He afterwards is mentioned as master in Maastricht, and as John van Campen's acquaintance: cp. Ch. xvi.

again on January 31, 1512 : under his management the Statutes were renewed <sup>1)</sup>. He was a man of tried devotedness and prudence : on that account he was chosen by his Faculty on Oct. 10, 1516 as arbiter between the two candidates for the regency of the Lily, Thomas of Ardenburg and John de Neve of Hondschoote <sup>2)</sup>. He also availed himself, as a priest, of the Privilege recently acquired by the Faculty to be nominated to a first vacancy <sup>3)</sup>.

The Faculty, as *Provisor* of St. Donatian's College, being displeased with the ruinous state of that institute, may have had misgivings about the president John de Palude <sup>4)</sup>, *Rhetor Universitatis*, — who, twelve years before, had received Erasmus as his guest during his first stay in the University. It was decided on Nov. 24, 1514, to replace him by John Stercke, although he was not studying Canon Law, as the rules prescribed ; at any rate, Paludanus was enjoined to leave the College before Candlemas of the following year <sup>5)</sup>. That change of steersman did not cause any improvement in the windless sea, and the new President eagerly accepted Erasmus' proposal to help Busleyden in his scheme, as it was sure to bring a welcome amelioration ; he probably did not doubt but the Faculty would hail the foundation that was going to bring life where death seemed unavoidable. It was agreed upon that, after due consideration of Busleyden's intentions, Stercke would construct them into a project of regulations, such as he would judge advisable to actualize the new institution to be joined to the one which he could not save otherwise from

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<sup>1)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 11. He officiated as procurator of the Brabant Nation, June 2, 1516, June 1, 1520, and June 1, 1530 ; and was chosen again as Dean on September 30, 1530 : *LibNomI*, 108, r, 125, v, 158, r, 199, v, 202, v, 225, r, v, 237, v.

<sup>2)</sup> *FUL*, 727. On Oct. 29, 1524, he was also appointed a member of the Committee which advised the Faculty to grant the dispensation from the actual presence of one year, necessary for a nomination, to John de Langhe, secretary to Archbishop John de Carondelet, who had effectively helped the Faculty in her struggle for her Privilege : *LibNomI*, 182, v ; *Cran.*, 141, i.

<sup>3)</sup> *Viz.*, on April 25, 1515 to the first vacancy at the collation of the Bishop of Tournai, and on May 12, 1517 to that of the Administrator of Cambrai diocese : *LibNomI*, 72, r, 121, r.

<sup>4)</sup> *Cp. Ch.* III.

<sup>5)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 11.



ruin. He consequently composed a series of rules and directions about the connection of the new foundation with Hane-ron's College, about the professors and the bursars, about the lessons and the discipline. It was done some months before Busleyden was enjoined to undertake the journey to Spain, possibly in the first weeks of 1517, if not already in 1516. The Prelate examined the statutes proposed by Stercke, changed some points, and answered his many suggestions by remarks and notes added between the lines or in the margin. After the first sketch, which was only provisional, there may have been an interview, on which a second draft was made out, embodying all corrections, changes and remarks : in its turn it was submitted to Busleyden's approval, and, once more, provided with remarks, corrections and changes, which helped Stercke to draw up a third sketch ; it was probably followed by a fourth, the decisive one. At any rate the third draft seems nearly final, for of the 75 paragraphs of the testament over which it extends, there are only nine which are not found literally in at least one of the three drafts — which, by a happy fortune, were discovered by the author of this *History* amongst the uncatalogued papers of Louvain University, in the Brussels Archives, during the first World-War <sup>1</sup>). They have neither title, nor any indication : they simply are three double folio leaves, of which ten pages are closely filled up with small writing, which explains how they never have been mentioned <sup>2</sup>). They aptly illustrate the progress and the development of the scheme : the first is only preparatory <sup>3</sup>), containing a number of questions and points to be considered <sup>4</sup>) ; the second is more definite <sup>5</sup>), whereas the third gives the last touch to several particulars, such as the admission of bursars, the religious services and the internal economy <sup>6</sup>). They are written, as far as appears from a

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<sup>1</sup>) FUL, *pr*, *xxv*, *sq*.

<sup>2</sup>) They now form FUL, 1434 : cp. the reproduction of the half pages of I and II, *pp* 18 and 30.

<sup>3</sup>) It contains §§ 1-18 (*p* 1), 19-25, 73-74, 37 (*p* 2), 38-70 (*p* 3), 71-72, 64-65 (*p* 4).

<sup>4</sup>) They refer to §§ 25, 26, 28, 34, 37, 45, 47, 48, 52, 54, 72.

<sup>5</sup>) It contains §§ 1-18 (*p* 1), 19-44 (*p* 2), 44-65 (*p* 3), 65, 69-75 (*p* 4).

<sup>6</sup>) It contains §§ 1-19 (*p* 1), 19-40 (*p* 2), 41-63 (*p* 3), 63-65, 69-70 (*p* 4).

comparison with signed autographs <sup>1)</sup>, by John Stercke, in whose hand are also the first, the third and the further corrections ; he is mentioned in the account of the execution of the testament for having arranged the foundation <sup>2)</sup>. The series of second corrections on the three documents, are, no doubt, in the hand of Busleyden himself, as results from the many remarks which no man except the testator in person could write : such as : *Videtur quod non sit opus jsto redditu pro reparatione sacelli, attento quod in testamento meo de calice et ornamentis prospectum* <sup>3)</sup>. These notes illustrate the process of elaboration of the great scheme, of which even the smallest details were pondered over by the founder, and examined with minute care. They also are as a history of the last weeks which he spent here in the country, as by May 1517 he had been commissioned to go to Spain with the Chancellor Sauvage and his colleague John Sucket, — in consequence of which, on June 1, he was detached from the Great Council of Mechlin, and appointed member of the Privy Council <sup>4)</sup> ; they were to prepare the advent of Archduke Charles into his realm <sup>5)</sup>, and Jerome was afraid that this mission beyond the Pyrenees would be as fatal to him as a similar one had been to his brother Francis fifteen years before <sup>6)</sup>. In the first deed, — when, probably, there was no question yet of that journey, — the notes are in a leisurely and calm writing, whereas in the second and the third, apparently written a good while after the first, they show more hurry and concern : one of the most

<sup>1)</sup> The final note added to John Stercke's first account 18 Oct. 1520-18 Oct. 1521 is in his hand : cp. Ch. viii.

<sup>2)</sup> In van Vessem's account there is an entry for money paid on Sept. 3, 1521 to Stercke for services rendered and for arranging the foundation of the College : 'Item gegeuen by ghemeyn ouerdraghe der executeuren meester Janne van meerbeke tertia septembris xxj voer vele diuerse diensten ghedaen den testateur binnen zynen leuene sunderlinghe inde ordinantie vander fundatien vander collegie ende oick na zyn doot jnt veruolghen desselfs collegie metten executeuren tot louen ende betaelt l *£ art* ' : *Rek.*, 93, r.

<sup>3)</sup> For § 25, the first draft suggests a foundation of a rent of 25 to 30 Rh. fl. for keeping the chapel in repairs ; to that is added this reply, which cannot be anybody's except the founder's ; cp. *Test.*, 25, and also, e. g., 26, 28, 34, 37, 45, 47 and 75.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 89, 97.

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 89, 93-97.

<sup>6)</sup> *Busl.*, 8, sq.



pathetic parts are the nine lines which he added to the end of the second draught : they show a decreasing regularity, as if it were a growing exhaustion, or rather a rising emotion ; indeed, it reveals the inmost of his heart in the expression of the supreme aim of his noble generosity, the hope that his institution may serve to confirm and to propagate the glory of God throughout the world <sup>1)</sup>.

Most probably the two last drafts were made up in the first weeks of June, as Busleyden wanted to secure his foundation at all events before the departure for Spain, which had been fixed on June 25. He wished to have endowed it more richly, and had contemplated gathering some more funds in the years to come : he therefore destined to it all the means he could dispose of. When Stercke had made ready the scheme, — apparently in a fourth draft, — he sent it to Mechlin by one of his younger colleagues, most probably a ‘ protégé ’ of the Councillor, and, at any rate, his country-man, Nicolas Wary, of Marville, Master of Arts since 1511, *legens* in the Falcon whilst studying divinity <sup>2)</sup>. On June 22, in his mansion, Busleyden dictated to Wary his Will, with the dispositions he requested for his burial, and the bequests to his relatives and his servants, making his foundation the residuary legatee, if not the general heir. To that first part of the testament <sup>3)</sup> were then added, from Busleyden’s dictation, the regulations made up with the help of Stercke <sup>4)</sup> ; it was provided with a short subscription and signed by the testator in his own hand ; his seal of Archdeacon of Brussels and the oblong one of Provost of Aire were added in wax on a black silk cord <sup>5)</sup>. On the next day, June 23, 1517, Busleyden handed his will to the notary Walter de Ridder, *Militis*, in the presence of Henry van Haecht, priest, Nicolas Wary of Marville and Giles Cupere, Mechlin citizen, who acted as witnesses <sup>6)</sup>. By their intimate collaboration with the founder in the making of the regulations about the new Institute, both Stercke and Wary

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<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 75. — Cp. the photographic reproduction of the end of draft II, on p 18.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further Ch. XI, 1.

<sup>3)</sup> It is reproduced in *Busl.*, 131-139.

<sup>4)</sup> The text is reprinted in the following section.

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 91-92, 130, 138 ; *Test.*, §§ 86-91.

<sup>6)</sup> *MechlMS.*, ff 3, r-4, r.

were admirably prepared to manage and direct the *Collegium Trilingue* : Stercke being the first president, officiating from October 18, 1520 <sup>1)</sup>, and Wary succeeding him at his resignation, on January 21, 1526, and dying in office on November 30, 1529 <sup>2)</sup>).

### 3. — THE TESTAMENT

#### A. THE EDITION

Busleyden's original will was carefully kept by the executors, and preserved, amongst other documents, by Bartholomew van Vessem after the College had started its regular life. At his death, on April 29, 1538, it was sent to the *Trilingue* by water in a locked chest, along with other papers referring to the College. It reached Louvain in the last days of January 1539, between the death, January 25, 1539, and the burial, of Conrad Gochenius, professor of Latin and President <sup>3)</sup>. It was kept as the first document concerning the foundation in the Archives of the Institute with *A* as mark <sup>4)</sup> : it consisted of a quire of fourteen leaves : ten of writing, with Busleyden's signature, and four blank ones, the last page having the notary Walter Militis' superscription <sup>5)</sup>. The inventory of the Archives further mentions a copy of the testament marked *C* <sup>6)</sup>, whereas the account of the execution relates that four transcriptions were made of ' the foundation of the College', so as not to have to show the original testament

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Chs. viii-x.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Chs. xi-xiii.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Ch. xx : Rutger Rescius, professor of Greek, who provisionally replaced the President, pretendedly took occasion from the reading of the Will to create difficulties to the *Provisores* on account of stipulations which had not been observed.

<sup>4)</sup> *Inv.*, 1, r : *A* Jnden jersten een papieren boecksken dwelc es Testamentum clausum mijns heeren des fundateurs heeren ende meesters Hieronimj van busleyden Raetsheeren ende proefst van Arien etc hebbende thien bescreuen bladeren ende viere ombescreuen, vanden date vanden xxij<sup>en</sup> dach der maendt van Junio Annj xv C xvij Onder-teekent metter handt des voerscreuen testateurs, ende opden rugge vanden lesten blade bijde handt van Walterus militis notarijs.

<sup>5)</sup> *Viz.*, §§ 92 and 93 of the *Test*.

<sup>6)</sup> *Inv.*, 1, v : *C* Item een copije van den testamente des fundateurs geteekent by (*no name is mentioned*).

when any one wished to see or to possess that part of the will <sup>1)</sup>). None of those six documents seems to have survived.

The following text, referred to as *Test.* (: in the notes here as T), is that second part of Busleyden's testament, of which the first arranges the funeral and specifies the bequests to his relatives, friends and servants <sup>2)</sup>). As it brings the regulations about the new Institute, it has been reproduced very often, not only for the president and the 'provisores' who managed the *Trilingue* far over two centuries, but for the 'seven' organisms that enjoyed the right of presentation of candidates for scholarships, as well as for the University authorities who had to supervise the management of the foundations <sup>3)</sup>). Those copies were made by notary clerks, who were not always equal to their task, or did not devote the necessary attention to their work : as their transcript had to serve as model for following ones, the mistakes and omissions were unfortunately repeated. Some words were dropped : thus in § 50, *bursario* was, no doubt, overlooked after *ipso* ; in § 75, *Maximi*, after *Dei Optimi*, and, which is more important, between the words of § 82 *præfati legati executionis* and *predictos omnes*, there is wanting a verb, expressing : empowering, deputing, committing — for which is proposed : *potestate instruo*, as corresponding best with the construction and with the cases of the nouns used as complements. In many more instances the mistake is caused by a bad reading of the abbreviations : e. g., the just mentioned *predictos* of § 82 occurs in some copies as *per dictos* ; the *oriundi* of § 10, as *eo modo* ; the *pium* of § 74, as *primum* <sup>4)</sup>). Unfortunately there was no possibility to avoid these imperfections as the original seems to have been lost very soon ; still for this reprint, the three preparatory drafts were extremely helpful in the sifting of

<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 38, r : Item van te makene iiij copien vander fundatien vander collegien op datmen niet en soude doruen tgheheel testament thoonen als men die fundatie behoefde te siene ende te hebbene betaeld xxiiij s.

<sup>2)</sup> It is referred to as *Will*, and its text is reprinted in *Busl.*, 130-139.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *FUL*, 142-174.

<sup>4)</sup> Other mistakes are found in §§ 12 *auditorii* (*auditorum*), 24 *dictorum* (*dictis*), 28 *temporibus* (*temporum*), 30 *commemorationes* (*commendationes*), 30 *thronum* (*threnum*), 38 *perditorum* (*perditionis*), 52 *a proprio* (*a principio*), 55 *præterea* (*propterea*), 58 *concurrerit* (*conuenerit*), 74 *bursariis* (*bursariorum*), 74 *computuum* (*computum*), 74 *concedendi* (*condendi*), 83 *pecuniares* (*pecuniarum*), 83 *quælibet* (*quomodolibet*).

the variants, which are so numerous, even in the best and oldest copies, that no one singles itself out to be reproduced. The text reprinted here is based, like the *Will*, on the copy by Luc. Vaes of a copy by Rob. Persoens, two notaries, in the Archives of St. Rombaut's Chapter, Mechlin, interested for a bursar (*MechlMS*, 12 v-29 r : represented in the notes by **M**)<sup>1)</sup>; its orthography and its punctuation were taken over, but have been regularized<sup>2)</sup>, — they vary in all manuscripts according to the time of the copying and the ability of the transcribers. The text has been collated with a contemporary copy (= **L**), probably for the Steenberghe bursars<sup>3)</sup>, now MS. 4095, Louvain Town Archives; also with a transcript (= **C**) by the zealous collector J. L. Bax<sup>4)</sup>, in *FUL*, 146, pp 55-62. Further with one of 1701 (= **A**) in a Register of deeds of foundations made to help the Rector in his audits, in *FUL*, 161, pp 682-690<sup>5)</sup>. It was also collated with the text which J. F. Foppens added to Aubertus Miræus' *Opera Diplomatica*, vol. iv : Brussels, 1748 : 642-48, — reprinted in *NèveMém.*, 376-384 (= **N**).

In the notes only those variants are given which have some relation to the sense of the document : no notice has been taken of the spelling or of evident mistakes. For facility's sake the text has been divided into paragraphs, each representing roughly one full sentence of the original : it allows the reference to the different matters and the various copies, but, most of all, it has rendered possible the comparison with the three drafts in which the matters treated are not placed exactly in the order in which they occur in the Testament, except in the third. They are represented in the notes that give the result of the collation, by **I**, **II** and **III**. Used by themselves,

<sup>1)</sup> **M** has the oldest date and is entire ; **A** ends at § 75, **L** & **C** at § 87.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Busl.* 130 ; this text takes over initial *v* and *j*, *ij* and *æ* (for *a* + *e*), as well as some spellings like *jdoneus*, *auctor*, *legittimus*, *nichil*, *michi* : they are also found in the notes which Busleyden added to the drafts.

<sup>3)</sup> The passages referring to that scholarship are marked by dashes.

<sup>4)</sup> John Louis Bax, 1753-1834, last manciple of H. Ghost College, wrote histories of the University : *BaxH*, *BaxF* ; he copied many documents before 1796. At the end of this transcript he refers to the extract of B.'s will 'ten comptoire der Heeren Pensionarissen der... Stadt <Leuven> onder de letter T n° 68', — by which the deed still goes. Cp. *ULDoc.*, III, 9 ; *FUL*, xxxv, xl, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Copied by Not. A.W. Quirini, 1701, from a copy by Not. R. Smits, 1700.

those figures indicate the state of each document before any changes, corrections or additions were brought about : those variants are recorded by letters added to the figures : **o** is meant to show corrections made whilst the deed was being written : e. g., words which were crossed off, because they were put down before their turn, or which were replaced by better or fitter ones, or were simply corrected. — The letter **a** is used for changes and additions made by the writer after the text was written : they often are placed in the margin, or at the foot of the page. The draft was then submitted to Busleyden who added his remarks and changes, represented by **B** added to the figure. His writing is by far not as regular as that of Stercke, who has a small, but very clear, even hand, and uses comparatively few abbreviations. Busleyden's hand is thinner and smaller, but very irregular, and his abbreviations seem only to be suggestions, even to those accustomed to his writing : they often are very puzzling indeed. Fortunately they are repeated, or expanded in another series of changes and additions by Stercke, indicated by **c**. — Those alterations and additions in one draft, served as basis for the following one, — probably with the help of information and explanation which the founder communicated in an interview with the prospective chief ruler of the new institute. The first draft, **I**, has no systematic plan <sup>1)</sup>, and it contains many respectful suggestions and questions <sup>2)</sup>. The second, **II**, shows more order, although some parts are written provisionally in the margin, then crossed off and repeated more carefully wherever there was room available ; it takes over and emends the 74 articles, and to them Busleyden added one, in a bigger and even more irregular hand, betraying unrest and emotion ; it affirms that his foundation is only meant to bring glory to God and to the Church : a photographic reproduction of that part of **II** gives an idea of the founder's hand and mind, whereas another, representing part of the third page of **I**, shows the questions put by Stercke with the replies given to each of them <sup>3)</sup>. — The third draft, **III**, is very near the final

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<sup>1)</sup> It mixes up the various matters ; thus it extends from § 1 to § 74, but places e. g., §§ 73 & 74 between §§ 25 and 37.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. the preceding section, p 16.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 18 and 30.



wording of the Testament : it misses the five last paragraphs of draft II. — Most probably there was a fourth draft which Nicolas Wary, Stercke's friend, took to Mechlin for the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, and from which Busleyden dictated the text to him, adding that of the first part, and the few closing paragraphs indicating the executors and their rewards, §§ 78 to 88, to complete the final will. — Even the ink used for the drafts shows the various hands : that in which is written the original text, as well as the alterations and additions **o**, **a** and **c**, is in a dark brown tint, whereas that used for **B** is either of a deeper black, blue-black, or of a decidedly yellowish shade <sup>2</sup>). There is only a very small line added in the margin of the 4<sup>th</sup> page of III, next to § 65, which is in a different hand : it may be Wary's, recalling a little detail which seems to have been forgotten in the paragraph <sup>3</sup>).

## B. THE TEXT

# PART OF BUSLEYDEN'S WILL FORMING THE CHARTER OF HIS COLLEGE

### Institution

1. De reliquis omnibus bonis meis, tam mobilibus quam immobilibus, jnstitui volo et stabiliri vnum Collegium, jn Vniuersitate Louaniensi, jn Collegio Sancti Donatiani, si jpse locus commode obtineri possit : vel alias jn Collegio Atrebatensi :

De reliquis... Atrebatensi :] T, II, III ; I Ego testator preter cetera que in Instrumento mearum vltimarum voluntatum redigentur, volo vnum Collegium jnstituj et stabiliri jn loco N.

<sup>2</sup>) The two shades of ink in which the additions by Busleyden are added may be explained by the circumstances of time or of surrounding : they evidently were not written within the same hour.

<sup>3</sup>) As abbreviations in the notes are used : *add* (adds, adding, added), *aft* (after), *betw* (between), *del* (deletes, deleted), *l*, *ll* (line, lines), *mg* (margin), *om* (omits, omitted), *subst* (substitutes), *ω r* (which read). — In order to reduce the length of some notes, variants which have hardly any importance are *occasionally* dropped : such are : synonyms like : *autem - vero*, *et - ac*, *in - ad* ; *quorum - horum*, &c ; also plural or singular forms : *volo - volumus*, *mea - nostra*, &c ; or inversions : *sit pauper probatus - pauper sit probatus*, *huius temporis - temporis huius*, &c.

**Bursars**

2. In quo erunt tredecim Bursæ, eo modo, ordine et forma vt infra patebit.

3. Primo octo Bursæ pro octo iuuenibus, valoris viginti quinque florenorum Renensium communium, Qui propriorum parentum sacramento, ac iusuper prouisorum ipsius Collegij infra nominatorum diligenti examine, vere pauperes probati sint : quorum parentum facultates nullo modo suppetant, quibus honeste in studiis litterarum alerentur ipsi iuvenes ; scilicet, ipsos a parentibus annuos viginti quinque florenos Renenses communes recipere non posse, sine status et conditionis ipsorum parentum notabili detrimento.

iuuenibus,... propriorum] T, IIIa ; I iuuenibus, quorum quilibet decimum tertium [lo quartum] annum attinget. + Sed qui [IB adds sit] boni Ingenij et competentis literature in primis rudimentis cuius communiter mediocrem primarium Louanij esse decet ; ac alias talis vt inde notabilis in ecclesia Dei fructus sperari possit. Vere pauper propriorum — IB adds in mg : + attendatur hic difficultas quam fatio quod ad buslidianos et præsertim literaturam illorum. — II, IIIo iuuenibus Quorum quilibet propriorum ipsius Collegij] T, II, III ; I om pauperes probati sint] T, IIIa ; I, II : vere pauper sit probatus — IIB adds scilicet quorum... detrimento.] T ; I, II, III : Qui alias in studio vniuersali parentum facultatibus absque sui status notabili detrimento aut suis (quas ad triginta florenos renenses communes annuos qualitercunque prouenientes taxamus) sustentari nequiret. — IIIC del and subst in mg : scilicet parentibus facultates tante nullo pacto suppetunt vt de viginti quinque flor. renen. quibus in studio alerentur, eidem sine sui status et conditionis notabilj detrimento subuenire nequirent aut perperie aut prolium multitudine quas etiam educare debent oppressi ; — IIId del and subst in mg : Ita vt eorum parentibus facultates, quibus honeste in studiis litterarum alerentur, sine status proprij et conditionis notabilj detrimento nullo modo suppetant.

4. Item quod sint legitimo matrimonio procreati ;  
quod sint] IIB, T ; I, II, IIIa om.

5. Ita ut eorum duo sint Buslydij, ætatis decem annorum, ad omne minus, quorum ingenium ac iudoles, et jam percepta aliqua litteratura spem præbeant futuræ probitatis.

ætatis... probitatis] Ic (add in mg), II, III, T ; Ia om ; IB (adds in text, del) quorum quilibet erit ætatis decem annorum boni ingenij et ad literas capax jam] IIB, III, T ; Ic, IIa om percepta aliqua litteratura] IIIC, T : I, II, IIIa accepta saltem aliqua literature elementa ad omne minus] IIB (add in mg), III, T ; I, IIa om præbeant] T ; I, II, III præ se ferant.

6. Præterea duo Maruillani, duo Arelunenses, vnus Ariensis et vnus Steenbergensis, modo sint boni jngenij et competentis litteraturæ, cuius communiter mediocrem primarium Louanij esse decet, ac alias tales, vt jnde notabilis jn Ecclesia Dei fructus sperari possit, et qui decimum tertium annum attigerunt.

Maruillani] Marmillani L

Arelunenses] Arelinenses L, A, C — also for § 78

Præterea] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa om vnus Ariensis] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa  
Præterea vnus Ariensis modo... attigerunt] I om modo sint]  
IIIB, T; II, IIIa Sed qui sint.

7. Quos omnes, simul et alios duos iuuenes, de quibus postea dicetur, volo juxta Statuta Vniuersitatis visitare Lectiones Grammatices et Philosophiæ, vsque ad gradum Magisterij, quem adipiscentur si velint; ad quem parentes necessariam jmpensam ministrabunt.

Quos... ministrabunt] IIIB (*add in mg*), T; I, II, IIIa om omnes...  
dicetur] IIIB om ...ministrabunt.] IIIC (*add in mg*): Horum si qui in  
litteris sufficientia principia habebunt, vt lectiones jllas que in domo  
fient capere possint, in eisdem proficere tenebuntur; easdem iuxta  
presidentis [et preceptorum *del*] discretionem et iudicium visitare,  
omissis illis lectionibus que in artibus eisdem horis fient, nisi forsitan  
istas vtilliores eis dictus presidens et preceptores iudicauerint, quorum  
discretionem vel approbationem huius[modi] iudicium committo — IIIB  
*del this passage*; T om

8. Diebus vero dominicis et festis, loco lectionum quas jn Collegijs Artium audirent, a præceptoribus jn hoc meo Collegio principia et rudimenta prima capiant jn Linguis Græca et Hebraica; simul accipientes aliquod linguæ Latinæ, cujus principium habent, additamentum a præceptore Latino.

Diebus... Latino] T; I, II, IIIa om; IIIC (*in mg*): Diebus vero Dominicis et festis loco epistolarum paulj quas in collegijs artium audirent, a præceptore ipso latino in hoc collegio principia capient, qui eos jn jis fideliter jnstituere tenebitur

9. Qui quidem præceptores, cum dictis diebus publice non legant, jpsos iuuenes fideliter jnstruere tenebuntur.

Qui... tenebuntur.] T; I, II, III om (cp § 8, IIIC).

10. Jn euentum autem, quo tales ex jam dictis locis non haberentur eorum de modo qualificati vt supra, tunc ex locis propinquiorebus aliquos substitui volo et surrogari, eiusdem

scilicet conditionis, jdoneitatis et qualitatis : loca vero propinquiora jntelligo, quæ ultra tria aut quatuor milliaria vulgaria a locis prænominatis respectiue non distant.

eorum de modo] M ; eo modo N ; oriundi L, A, C, ω r qualificati] M, A, L, N ;  
qualitatis C prænominatis] M, L, N, A, C ; prænarratis I, II, III

qualificati vt supra] IB (*betw ll*), II, III, T ; Ia om eiusdem... qualitatis] IB (*betw ll*), II, III, T ; Ia om distant.] I add : Extra que loca quilibet iuuenis ad bursam sese offerens modo premissis qualitatibus diuersis munitus eque censebitur ad bursam jdoneus. — IB *del*

11. Quod si plures eiusdem loci prærogatiua æque qualificati concurrerint, præferendus esset pauperior, modo non sit omnino hebetis jngenij, aut alias minus aptus ad litteras, seu alias reprobandus.

eiusdem] IB (*betw ll*), II, III, T ; Ia om qualificati] IIB, III, T ; I, IIa munitj pauperior... litteras] IB, II, III, T ; Ia (*aft del*) : magis jdoneus seu peritior seu alias reprobandus] IIB, III, T ; I, IIa om

#### Lecturers

12. Tres autem aliæ Bursæ pro tribus Præceptoribus, viris vndecumque eruditis, probatis moribus et vitæ jnculpatæ statuentur ; qui jndies legant et profiteantur publice jn eodem Collegio tam Christianos quam morales ac alios probatos auctores omnibus eo aduentantibus, jn tribus linguis, Latina scilicet, Græca et Hebraica, diuersis horis pro sua et auditorij commoditate distribuendis, sine aliquo stipendio ab aduentantibus exigendo, et non exacto acceptando :

auditorj] M, N ; auditorum L, A, C exacto] M, N, A ; exacte L, C

viris... eruditis] IIa (*add in mg*), III, T ; I, IIo om probatis... jnculpatæ] IIB (*add in mg*), III, T ; I, IIa om tam... auctores] IB (*add in mg*), II, III, T ; Ia om ac alios probatos] IIB (*betw ll*) T ; I, II, IIIa om omnibus... aduentantibus] IB (*betw ll*), II, III, T ; Ia om exigendo, et non exacto acceptando] T ; I, II, IIIa collecto ; IIB exigendo aut acceptando

13. Saluo quod jn cubiculis suis particulares lectiones exercere poterunt, pro quibus ab auditoribus stipendium recipient, modo tales particulares lectiones commodum et fructum lectionum publicarum non impediuerint.

particulares lectiones] M, L ; particularium lectionum N

Saluo... impediuerint] T ; II, III om ; I Saluo quod possint gratuitum aliquod munus si sponte offeratur suscipere, IB (*add betw ll*) idque interueniente scientia et consensu presidentis et non alias — *aft* IB *del* gratuitum... suscipere

14. Quod diligenter inuestigabunt et prospicient mei Prouisores et Præsicens, qui eas pro publica et communi vtilitate prohibere poterunt.

Quod... poterunt] T; I, II, III *om*

15. Si insuper aliqui Prælati aut nobiles lectiones publicas visitantes eis aliquid obtulerint, hoc ipsam honeste et cum gratiarum actione recipient.

Si... recipient] T; I, II, III *om*

16. Volo tamen huiusmodi dona et munera extraordinaria ipsis tribus præceptoribus esse communia, et eis per æquales diuidi portiones.

Volo... portiones] T; I, II, III *om*

17. Horum stipendium tale erit: videlicet duobus præceptoribus Græco et Hebraico, qui ex locis remotioribus accersentur, modo Louanii aut alibi vicinis non reperiuntur æque idonei et docti, cuilibet stipendium destinabitur duodecim librarum monetæ Flandriæ, saltem per decennium.

vicinis] M, N: vicinus L, C: vicinius A, *ω r*

Flandriæ] M, L; Flandricæ N

æque idonei et docti] III, T; IB (*betw II*), II ad hoc idonei et eque docti; Ia *om*

18. Ad quod maius stipendium statuendum, me induxit rei nouitas et ipsius principii difficultas; quam fortasse multi vel apprime litterati reijcerent aut negligerent; qui aliquantulum maiori stipendio ducti, ad istud negotium peragendum vehementius incitarentur; præceptores etiam ipsos ex alijs Vniuersitatibus haud facile nec paruo stipendio allicere valerent, qui eo facilius aduolabunt.

ipsos... allicere] M, N; ipsi... alliceri (I, II, III) I, A, C

statuendum] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa ordinandum vel apprime] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa etiam bene negligerent] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa abhorrent incitarentur] IIIB, T; I, II, IIIa incitabuntur

19. Verum tertius præceptor Latinus qui in lingua solum Latina præfatos auctores profitebitur, tantum sex libras ultra bursam seu mensæ portionem <pro suo stipendio> recipiet; idque semper sine aliqua diminutione.

pro suo stipendio] *om* M, L, N

præfatos auctores] IB, II, III, T; Ia modo dicto sine aliqua diminutione] IIIB (*add over Ib*), T; I, II, IIIa *om*

20. Et post decem annos præfatos, Græcus Præceptor et Hebraicus recipient tantummodo octo libras, attento quod lapsu temporis huius decennij jstarum linguarum traditio leuior et magis vulgata reddetur; per quod et præceptores alij pro hoc stipendio facile acquirentur, ex hijs qui dictis artibus præfato decennio durante jncubuerint.

hijs] M, N; his L

attento... incubuerint] T; IIIc (*added in mg*) attento quod lapsu huius temporis res ipsa leuior et magis vulgata fiet, per quod et preceptores noui pro hoc stipendio facile acquirentur vbj jsti antiqui labores subire recusabunt pro huiusmodi stipendio diminuto. — I, II, IIIa om

21. Jpsi tamen antiqui præceptores semper pro hoc stipendio, si velint, jn suis lectionibus permanebunt, modo fuerint diligentes, nec jn negotio torpeant.

Jpsi... torpeant.] T; I, II, III om

22. Poterit nichilominus dictum maius stipendium, vel pro necessitate vel magna vtilitate per meos prouisores ad duos aut tres annos continuari vltra dictum decennium, modo jd commode per facultates liceat.

vltra] L; extra M, N

modo... liceat] IIB, III, T; I, IIa om

23. Quorum trium præceptorum mensæ portio <vltra prædictum stipendium> merito iustituetur sex librarum similium <pro quolibet>, habita ratione dignitatis et excellentiæ jpsorum præceptorum.

præceptorum] M, L, A, C; om N      vltra... stipendium & pro quolibet] I-III; om M, &c.

24. Ex alijs autem octo libris monetæ Flandriæ restantibus ex stipendio decennali, aut adhuc vltra duos aut tres annos de quibus supra, præceptoribus Græco et Hebraico statuto, jnstitui volo duas bursas similes bursis dictorum jpsorum juuenum, pro duobus juuenibus, quorum alter Mechliniensis, alter vero Lucemburgensis erit, qualificati vt supra.

vltra] M, L, A, C; extra N      dictorum] M, N, prius dictis A, C, L

aut adhuc... supra] IB (*add in mg*), II, III, T; Ia om      pro duobus juuenibus] T; I, II, III om      qualificati... supra] II, III, T; IB (*add betw II*) qualificatj vt alij; Ia om — *By the side of this § in II, Busleyden wrote in mg and aft del: fiat hic mentio de valore et taxa bursarum juuenum.*

88

mg text

48

25

56

54

34

28

57

26

69

70

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a draft of a letter or document. The text is written in a single column and appears to be a draft of a letter or document. The script is highly stylized and cursive, typical of 18th-century handwriting. The text is written in a single column and appears to be a draft of a letter or document. The script is highly stylized and cursive, typical of 18th-century handwriting. The text is written in a single column and appears to be a draft of a letter or document. The script is highly stylized and cursive, typical of 18th-century handwriting.

## Religious Services

25. Item omnes hij iuuenes obligabuntur singulis diebus interesse Missæ, et bini pro anima fundatoris et parentum eius legere vigiliis mortuorum jn sacello ipsius Collegii, jn quo perpetua missa fundata est, quæ est viginti florenorum Renensium, eamque ad triginta florenos Renenses communes augeri volo, scilicet ex mea fundatione decem florenos Renenses communes superaddendo, sub hijs tamen conditionibus et oneribus infra dicendis :

hij] hi A, N

hijs] his C, N

bini] M, L, A, C; ibi N

Item omnes] T; I, II, III Omnesque singulis diebus] T; I, II, III om Missæ] T; I, II, III Rei diuine seu misse et parentum] T; I, II, III om jn quo] I, II, IIIa, T; IIIB add betw ll iam fundata est] II, III, T; I fundari volo quæ est... conditionibus] IIc (add in mg), III, T; I, IIa om scilicet... superaddendo] IIc (add in mg), T; IIc, IIIa om et oneribus... dicendis.] IIIB (betw ll), T; I, II, IIIa om triginta florenos Renenses] T; IIc triginta duos renen.; III triginta Renen. At the end of this paragraph Ic (p 2) adds in mg: Pro missa et necessarijs sacelli expensis, vt vino, pane, luminaribus, ornamentis &c bene opus est quadraginta flor. perpetui redditus. — In the irregular I, there is between § 48 and 54 (p 3), this suggestion: Item vltra dictos redditus ordinarios jam expressis certus redditus statuendus est pro reparatione sacelli domus ac suppellectilis continua instaurazione. Ad quod bene opus erit vigintiquinque aut triginta florenis Renen. hereditarijs. — IB replies (betw ll): Videtur quod non sit opus jsto redditu pro reparatione sacelli, attento quod in testamento meo de calice et ornamentis prospectum.

26. Scilicet vt jmprimis ter aut quater jn hebdomada legatur missa de defunctis; jn alijs vero duplicibus et triplicibus <festis> et alijs diebus hebdomadæ legatur missa de tempore, et addatur collecta pro fundatore defuncto.

festis] om M, L, N, A, C

Scilicet] IIIB (betw ll) T; II, III om imprimis] III, T; II om Instead of this paragr. I has (p 3) Item Quales missas et per quem celebrandum erit. An de die an de Requiem &c. Non videtur tamen consultum preter aliquas modicas limitationes sacerdotem nimis arctare, quandoquidem quelibet missa celebretur pro viujs et defunctis. — To which IB adds: Videtur quod ter aut quater jn hebdomada legatur missa pro defunctis. Jn alijs vero duplicibus aut triplicibus festis, et alijs diebus hebdomade legatur de tempore, et addatur collecta pro fundatore.

27. Et jn fine missae leget presbyter celebrans, respondenti-



bus jpsis præceptoribus et iuuenibus bursariis *De Profundis* cum collecta pro anima fundatoris et parentum eius.

presbyter] T; III ipse fundatoris... eius] T; III fundatorum Et jn... eius] III, T; I om; IIc (*in mg*) Et in fine cuiuslibet misse respondentibus pueris et preceptoribus, legat ipse celebrans *De profundis* cum collecta pro anima fundatoris; Quj etiam in Laudibus ipsis collectam decantabit. — *This last sentence is crossed off in III.*

28. Jtem, etiam jn eodem sacello celebrari volo quater jn anno anniuersarium, videlicet in quatuor temporum primo die, jn quo tres missæ celebrabuntur, quarum vnā decantabit ipse sacerdos qui missas quotidianas celebrat jn eodem loco;

temporum] M, A, N; temporibus L, C

celebrarj] T; II, III obseruarj in quo... loco] T; IIIa vna missa decantanda pro fundatore defuncto cum vigilijs nouem lectionum die precedente et commemoratione cum Dies ire ipsa die. Jn quarum qualibet erunt due candelee ceree duarum librarum, et preterea vnus Renen. juxta presidentis discretionem cantoribus et celebrantibus distribuetur. *That text is crossed off and at the foot of the page is written, IIc, the text of §§ 28 & 29 as in T — in eodem loco] T; IIc om* For §§ 28 to 33, I has (*on p 3*): Jtem commodum videtur in sacello obseruarj perpetuum anniuersarium pro fundatore, vt, puta, altera dedicationis sacellj, vel alio die placente. — IB (*evidently Busleyden*) asks: Rescribatur quantum prestabit dictum anniuersarium. Ic then replies: Vnum florenum aureum oportebit fundare, ex quo 2 stuferi sumuntur pro duabus libris cerei; reliquj octodecim erunt pro cantoribus et celebranti et ministrantibus. — Ilo had here for § 28, from observari volo on, and for §§ 29 to 33: perpetuum anniuersarium altera die dedicationis sacelli [, to which IIIa add betw II cum vigilijs nouem lectionum die precedente], pro quo relinquo triginta stupheros annuos, ex quibus due candelee ceree duarum librarum ementur, et Residuū celebrantibus et cantantibus juxta presidentis discretionem distribuetur. — IIc del from pro quo to distribuetur, and subst in right mg: quod eciam ipse celebrans presidens missas suis jmpensis celebrarj faciet: jn quo erunt due candelee ceree duarum librarum, et preterea vnus Renen. juxta presidentis discretionem cantantibus et celebrantibus distribuendus. — A further decision is expressed by IIIa and IIc of this § 28.

29. Duæ vero aliæ per duos alios sacerdotes ad hoc per præsidem iuuitatos celebrabuntur et legentur: vna quidem ante missam cantatam, altera post, et cantabit vnus eorum epistolam, alter vero euangelium, iuuabuntque iuuenes jn cantando ipsam missam.

cantatam] M, L, N; cantandam A, C

per præsidentem] T; IIIc om cantabit vnus] T; IIIc cantabit in media missa vnus Duæ... missam.] IIIc, T; I, II, IIIa om

30. Obseruabuntur jnsuper vigiliæ die præcedente, quibus omnes hij sacerdotes interesse debebunt cum præsidente, præceptoribus et iuuenibus; præfatique iuuenes in eis nouem lectiones decantabunt, et jn ipsa missa prosam *Dies jlla, dies jrae*, etc.; et post missam decantabuntur commemorationes et preces jllæ ante threnum, *Subuenite Sancti Dei*, etc., quæ pro defunctis subnecti solent.

commemorationes] M, N; commendationes L, A, C quæ pro] que pro L, A, C; qui pro M, N

Obseruabuntur... solent] IIIc, (*foot of p 3*), T; I, II, IIIa om præsidente] T; IIIc om prosam... et post missam... preces illæ] T; IIIc prosa... cum commemoratione et precibus illis... obseruabuntur

31. Pro quibus omnibus ordino octo florenos annuos et perpetuos, per præsidentem eiusdem Collegii jn hunc modum distribuendos:

Pro... distribuendos] IIIa (*rough draft in mg p 2, del*), IIIc (*foot of p 3*), T; I, II om octo] IIIc, T; IIIa sex

32. Primo, jn quolibet anniuersario erunt duæ candelæ cereæ pro decem stuferis, et quilibet dictorum trium sacerdotum recipiet sex stuferos, jpsique simul cum præceptoribus prandebunt.

Primo... prandebunt] IIIa (*rough draft, del, in mg p 2*), IIIc (*foot of p 3*), T; I, II om sex] T; IIIa tres; IIIc quatuor stuferos] IIIc, T; IIIa *add & del*: pro quo etiam obligabuntur simul cum iuuenibus bursarijs dictam missam et vigilias decantare, et ipse sacerdos qui missas quotidianas celebrat predictam missam etiam decantabit, pro quibus similiter quatuor st. dabuntur.

33. Duodecim autem stuferi remanentes pro aliquali portio-  
nis jllijs prandij augmento et jpsorum trium præceptorum vino sumentur; et jn fine huius prandij legetur per sacerdotem qui missam cantauit, respondente præsidente, alijs sacerdotibus, præceptoribus et iuuenibus, *Miserere cum De profundis* et collecta.

respondente] M, N; respondentibus A, C, L

Duodecim... collecta] IIIc (*foot of p 3*), T; I, II om; IIIa (*add in mg & del, p 2*) Et decem alij st. pro augmento portionis in mensa præceptorum et dictorum celebrantium vino sumentur. Jn dictis autem

vigilijs per ipsos juuenes bursarios lectiones decantarj volo.  
Duodecim] IIIc Octo cantauit] T; IIIc celebrauit respondentibus...  
sacerdotibus] T; IIIc respondentibus

34. Decantabuntur præterea jndies jn eodem sacello per jpsos juuenes Bursarios laudes *Salue Regina*, adstantibus præsidente et præceptoribus; jn quibus jpse sacerdos celebrans dictas missas quotidianas cantabit collectam, si fuerit præsidens jpsius Collegii, aut alius sacerdos de dicto Collegio.

Decantabuntur... præceptoribus] II, III, T; I om præterea... sacello] T; II, III jnsuper jbidem; I om *Salue Regina*] T; II om; IIIa add: videlicet salue regina adstantibus] T; II presentibus; III presentibus et adstantibus jn quibus... Collegio] IIIa (add in mg), T; I, II, IIIo om — I has amongst the questions on p 3: Jtem determinandum est an post cenam in sacello laudes legj aut decantarj debeant, subnectendo psalmum De profundis &c cum collectis pro fundatore sacerdote, scilicet, et fidelium &c. — To which IB replies: Videtur quod laudabilius foret, si dicte laudes cantande essent. And Ic adds: Jta.

35. Si vero fuerit extraneus sacerdos assumendus pro huiusmodi missis celebrandis, tunc Bursarius senior eandem collectam decantabit, ne talis sacerdos jndies ad laudes veniendo nimium grauetur.

Si... grauetur] IIIc (add in mg), T; I, II, IIIa om

36. Jtem tempore prandij et coenæ aliquis juuenum quolibet die leget jn aliquo Latino auctore probato, juxta ordinationem jpsorum præceptorum, terminabiturque hujusmodi lectio cum præsidenti visum fuerit opportunum.

coenæ aliquis] M, L, A, C; coenæ (juuenum dico) aliquis N

Jtem... opportunum] T; I, II, III om; on II, p 4, next to §§ 72 & 73 Busleyden wrote in mg: Non hic de lectione legenda inter prandendum et cenandum?

#### Yearly Accounts

37. Jtem volo vnum esse receptorem honorum et reddituum dicti Collegii, cuius stipendium annuum erit viginti florenorum Renensium communium; ejusque erit singulis annis statuto aliquo die coram jpsis Prouisoribus et jn præsentia dictorum Præceptorum reddere rationes suas et computum; quibus parabitur prandium: pro quo lego, supra portionem jpsorum præceptorum, quæ tunc eis erit communis, triginta stuferos, ad quod jpsum prandium limito.

viginti] M, N; viginquinque L, A, C, w r

Jtem... communium] II, III, T; I om; IB (*add in mg*): Habeatur hic ratio quis et qualis nominetur et instituatur receptor: an vnus preceptorum, scilicet Latinus? an magis, alius ad hoc singulariter instituendus, et quantum stipendium habiturus inquisitor bonorum?

Jtem] T; II, III Preterea et reddituum] IIB (*add betw ll*), III, T; IIa om viginti] T; II, III: xxv ejusque erit] II, III, T; I: Habeat Receptor bonorum dicti Collegij ejusque... prandium:] I, II, III, T singulis annis] III, T; I, II quotannis prandium] T; I, II, III honestum prandium pro quo... limito] T; Io om; IB (*add below in mg*): Vellem quidem prandium, de quo supra, limitare, ne tempore procedente sumptus illius plus equo excrescant. — Ic (*add betw ll, in consequence*) cuius sumptus ij flor. Ren. non excedant. — II: pro quo lego duos florenos Renen. similes — (III *copies* II, and) IIIc (*add*): ad quos ipsum prandium juncta preceptorum portione limito.

38. Quo peracto dabit præsidents cuilibet prouisorii decem stuferos; qui si huiusmodi statuto die vacare non possint, differatur in alium diem, infra tamen mensem, sub poena perditorum dictorum decem stuferorum.

prouisorii] M, N; prouisorum L, A, C perditorum] M, N; perditionis A, C, L, w r

dabit præsidents] T; I, II, III dabuntur stuferos] T; I, II, III stuferi: I (*add*) Quis autem is erit et de eius stipendio determinabitur.

39. Nec volo quod aliis committant vices suas, ni forte vnus eorum, jta videlicet quod ad minus semper duo eorum personaliter intersint.

ni] M, N; nisi L, A, C

volo] T; I, II, III volumus

#### President

40. Hoc munus seu officium receptoris simul habebit ipse Præsidents Collegii qui cum dicto stipendio pro præsidentia retinebit Bursam præsidentis antiquae foundationis quæ est viginti Renensium.

receptoris] M, N; receptionis L, A, C

Hoc... Renensium.] III, T; I om; IIa (*add in mg*) Hoc... Collegii] III, T; IIa Is simul erit præsidents ipsius Collegij munus] III, T; IIIc officium seu munus pro præsidentia] T; IIa, III om

41. Et in emolumentis ex commensalibus prouenientibus cum tribus ipsis Præceptoribus æqualiter participabit.

Et in... participabit.] III, T; I om; IIa (*add in mg*)

42. Insuper prædictam missam quotidianam in eodem

Collegio celebrabit si velit, et ad hoc commode vacare poterit sine dispendio, aut citra jncommodum jpsius Collegii.

commode] M, N ; commodo L, C

Jnsuper... celebrabit] III, T ; I *om* ; IIa (*add in mg*) Jnsuper prædictam] T ; IIa Et dictam ; III Et predictam si velit... Collegii] IIB (*add in mg*), III, T ; I, IIa *om*

43. Si vero eandem celebrare recusauerit, aut jd ex re Collegij facere non debeat, ordinabunt mei prouisoires aliquem ex jpsio eodem Collegio sacerdotem qui jd muneris subeat ; et si nullus jbidem fuerit, tunc aliquis sacerdos vicinus, vir bonae vitae, per jpsos ad jstud officium assumetur, dictamque summam triginta renensium recipiet.

Si vero... assumetur] IIIa (*add in mg*), T ; I, II, IIIo *om*  
recusauerit... debeat] T ; IIIa noluerit per ipsos] IIB (*add betw ll*), T ; IIIa *om* dictamque... recipiet] T ; IIIa *om*

#### Other Inmates

44. Jtem poterunt a dictis præsidente et præceptoribus honesti aliqui commensales assumi, vsque ad numerum octonarium, non vltra, jn eadem mensa ; et vtilitas hinc proueniens cedit partim in rem ipsius Collegii et reparationem, partim vero jn vtilitatem jpsius præsentis et præceptorum, et hoc æquis portionibus.

cedet] M, L, N, A, C ; cedit I, II, III

Jtem poterunt &c] *before this paragr. I has* : Jtem dictorum præceptorum alia erit mensa a mensa juuenum, *which II reproduced, but which IIB del* Jtem poterunt... præceptoribus] III, T ; I, II Poteruntque Jtem] T ; III Jnsuper et vtilitas... præceptorum] I *om* ; IB *add betw ll, which is reproduced in II, III, T* et reparationem] II, III, T ; IB *om* ipsius... præceptorum] T ; IB, II, III : ipsorum præceptorum et hoc æquis portionibus] IIB (*betw ll*), III, T ; I, II *om*

45. Poterunt et juuenes aliqui assumi jn mensa jpsorum juuenum Bursariorum, vsque ad numerum quaternarium, dummodo sint de familia et gente jpsius fundatoris, aut præsentati et nominati per eos, ad quos præsentatio jpsorum Bursariorum spectabit, meos scilicet successores, de quibus jnfra dicitur.

Poterunt &c] I *has here* : An autem eciam concessum sit posse assumj aliquos probos juuenes qui jn eadem mensa cum juuenibus bursarijs sedeant determinabitur. *To which IIB adds* : Videtur quod sic, vsque ad numerum quattuor, dummodo sint de familia et gente

fundatoris et quod soluant impensas, et vtilitas huc veniens applicabitur vt supra. et] T; II, III, etiam quaternarium] III, T; II quatuor aut... dicetur] T; IIB (*add in mg*) et nominati presentatique ab eisdem. — IIB (*add betw ll*) aut presentati et nominati per eos

46. Qui iuuenes soluent impensas suas juxta discretionem jpsorum prouisorum, habita ratione temporum et penuria victualium : vtilitasque jnde proueniens applicabitur vt supra.

Qui... supra] II, III, T; I *om* Qui iuuenes soluent] T; II, III et qui soluant suas... prouisorum] III, T; IIB (*add betw ll*) suas juxta discretionem dictorum prouisorum habita... victualium] IIc (*add betw ll*), III, T penuria] III, T; IIc caritate victualium:] III *adds here* : sintque nominatj et presentatj ab eisdem a quibus ipsi bursarij, de quibus postea dicetur. *which* IIB *del*

47. Horum autem omnium iuuenum commensaliumque sic assumptorum, non bursariorum, quilibet supra jmpensas mensæ singulis annis exsoluere tenebitur vnam libram grossorum, attenta doctrina speciali quam ex jpsis præceptoribus continuo accipient, cum quibus familiariter super dubijs loquentur ; totaque summa hinc collecta jpsis tribus præceptoribus distribuetur æqualibus portionibus.

Horum... portionibus] T; I, II, III *om*. — I *has here* : Jtem jn mensa dictorum iuuenum vnum esse oportet qui ceteris sit oculus ac superintendens honestatj, videlicet, mense tam jn verbis quam in moribus consulat. *To which* IB *remarks* : Videtur non necessarium attento quod in eodem cenaculo, siue alio loco, discumbent in quo et ederent ipsi preceptores.

#### Duties of Bursars

48. Jtem ipsi bursarij iuuenes per vices seu alternatim mensæ ministrabunt juxta ordinationem præidentis ; sternerentque lectos præidentis et jpsorum præceptorum.

Jtem... præceptorum.] III, T; I *has here* : Jtem determinandum est An seruitor aliquis jstituendus sit, eique certum premium sit assignandum, vel an iuuenes ipsi per vices ministrabunt juxta ordinationem presidentis. *To which* IB *replies* : Videtur quod per vices, vt parcatur impensis. — *Consequently* II *has* : Et ipsi bursarij iuuenes per vices mense ministrabunt juxta ordinationem presidentis.

49. Vnus autem præceptorum semper mensæ iuuenum præerit : quod onus eorum cuilibet per hebdomadas jncumbet.

Vnus... jncumbet] III, T; — I & IIa *om* ; IIB *adds betw ll to preceding paragr.* : et vnus preceptorum per vices præerit mense bursariorum.

Vnus... præceptorum] T; III Jpsorum autem preceptorum semper vnus

50. Volo præterea omnes jpsos juuenes bursarios, cum assumantur ad bursam, Buslydijs et Steenbergensibus dumtaxat exceptis, dare jn manibus Præsidentis vnam libram grossorum Flandriæ ex qua Præsident faciet emi vnum bonum lectum ; remanebitque dictus lectus recedente jpso <bursario> a dicto Collegio pro communi vtilitate in eadem domo.

bursario] L, A, C; om M, N

Volo... exceptis] III, T; I, II om præterea omnes] T; III etiam cum... bursam] T; III om dare... domo] T; III suos lectos, aliaque circa eos necessaria ad dictum Collegium secum deportare. — I, II om

51. Ex qua pecunia sic recepta, si temporis cursu aliquid accrescat, ex quo lectos emi non sit necesse, reseruabitur pro reparatione domus et vtensilium.

Ex... vtensilium.] T; I, II, III om

52. Jpsis autem Buslydijs et Steenbergensibus meis sumptibus a principio lecti ementur ; quibus detritis lectis, qui ex alijs discedentibus remanebunt, jpsi vtentur.

a principio] M, L, A, C; a proprio N

Jpsis... vtentur.] IIIc (*added in margin under the remark of IIIB : Fiat hic mentio de lectis buslydiorum atque stenbergensium*), T; I, II, IIIo om meis sumptibus] ; IIIc per me quibus] T; IIIc Jllis autem discedentibus] T; IIIc decedentibus

53. Si vero aliquem Bursariorum mortem obire contingeret jn eodem Collegio, etiam libri et vestes in rem Collegij conuertuntur.

Si... conuertuntur.] T; I, II om ; III : qui si in dicto Collegio mortem obierint eadem — *here IIIB adds betw ll : omnia que intulerint — pro Collegij vtilitate dimittent. — a few words written in mg by IIIa were del by IIIB*

54. Omnesque bursarij juuenes durante octennio fructibus dictarum bursarum gaudebunt et non vltra : nisi aliquis dictorum bursariorum adeo excelleret in studijs litterarum vt idoneus esset cæteris bursarijs minus eruditis, vltra dictas lectiones communes, profiteri lectionem aliquam extraordinariam : tunc juxta prouisorum discretionem ad biennium continuari possit.

Omnesque &c] I *has here the suggestion : Item statuendum est certum tempus vt decennium, aut maius, aut minus, vltra quod non poterunt bursarij gaudere emolumentis bursarum suarum. — IB*

*replies* : Videtur quod octennium sufficeret : quo quidem tempore si aliquis dictorum bursariorum adeo excelleret jn studijs literarum quod idoneus esset profiteri ceteris, quod tunc posset continuari ad biennium juxta discretionem prouisorum. Omnesque... possit.] II, III, T; I *om* Omnesque... iuuenes] III, T; II Qui et non vltra, nisi] IIB (*corr*), T; II, III quo quidem tempore si adeo] IIB (*add*), III, T; II *om* bursariis minus eruditis] III, T; II minus eruditis; IIa *del*, *subst* bursarijs; IIB *adds* minus eruditis vltra] T; II, III extra; IIB preter lectionem... extraordinariam] IIB (*add betw ll*), T; II, III *om* tunc] T; II, III *om* ad biennium] II, III : pro suo labore circa alios; IIB *del*, *subst betw ll* : qui tunc ad biennium, *reproduced by* T.

55. Semelque ad dictas bursas assumpti ante dictum tempus octennii terminatum non destituentur aut expellentur a dicto Collegio propterea quia per beneficia quæ jnterim ipsi assecuti essent ditiores, aut forte satis opulenti euasissent; sed tempus jpsis præfixum, si velint, in eodem Collegio perficient.

propterea] M, A, N; præterea L, C

Semelque... perficient.] T; I, II, III *om*

56. Verum ut prædicti omnes Bursarij iuuenes curiosius intendant litterarum studijs, volo et ordino quod nullum fructum ex suarum Bursarum cursu percipiant quamdiu ex dicto Collegio absentes fuerint vltra continuum 30 dierum spatium sine licentia Præsidentis obtenta; conuertendis longioris absentiae fructibus jn reparationem domus et vtensilium.

dicto] M, N, A; predicto L, C

Verum &c] II, III, T; Ic (*add in mg*) Jtem.. Bursarij iuuenes] I bursarij; Ilo omnes bursarij tam preceptores quam iuuenes; IIB (*del* 3 words :) omnes bursarij iuuenes; *reproduced by* III, T volo et ordino quod] IIB (*del*, *subst betw ll*), T; Ic, II, III Intelligent se percipiant quamdiu] IIB (*del*, *subst betw ll*), T; Ic, II, III percepturos cum sine... obtenta] IIB (*add betw ll*), III, T; Ic, Ilo *om* jn reparationem] T; Ic, II in vtilitatem Reparationis.

57. Quod si quis vltra trium mensium tempus absens fuerit, poterit de eius bursa, veluti vacante, pro alio disponi, nisi ipsius longioris absentiae, citra tamen semestre, quam nullo pacto concedo, gratiam a prouisoribus cum allegatione rationabilis causæ obtinuerit.

Quod... obtinuerit.] Ic (*in mg p 3*), II, III, T ipsius] Ic *om*  
quam... concedo] T; Ic, II, III *om*



**Appointments**

58. Vacante autem aliqua bursa, tenebitur Præsident dicti Collegij, infra quindecim dies immediate sequentes, huiusmodi vacationem intimare curatis Ecclesiarum et præfectis sæcularibus dictorum septem locorum, impensis ipsius assumendi.

Vacante... assumendi] Ic (*add at foot p 3*), II, III, T . immediate sequentes] T ; Ic, II, III *om* Ecclesiarum] T ; Ic, II, III *om* impensis &c] II, III, T ; Ic *om*

59. Et tunc in ecclesia tribus dominicis diebus, dum ibidem maior populi multitudo concurrerit, huiusmodi vacationem publice immediate et sine fraude publicabunt, inquirendo fideliter si sit aliquis volens ad huiusmodi Bursam præsentari.

concurrerit] M, N ; conuenerit L, A, C

Et tunc... præsentari.] Ic (*add at foot p 3*), II, III, T . immediate] T ; Ic, II, III *sincere*

60. Qui vbi repertus fuerit qualificatus vt supra, coram Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ <collegiatæ> Sancti Petri Arien-sis, si ex Aria aut loco viciniore modo dicto fuerit oriundus.

collegiatæ] L, N ; *om* M, C

Qui vbi &c ; also §§ 61 & 62] T ; Ic *has here at foot of p 3* : Quod si sic compareat talis coram N. . infra decem dierum spacium petens a dictis meis successoribus ad talem bursam præsentari ; — II, III : Quod si sic compareat talis coram fratre meo Mgro. Egidio Buslidio vel eius successoribus si fuerit Arien. Mechliniensis aut stenbergen. Qui... oriundus] IIIc (*del and corr in mg*), T . qualificatus vt supra] T ; IIIc *om* si... oriundus] T ; IIIc *om*

61. Si Mechliniensis, similiter coram Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Sancti Rumoldi ibidem ;

Si... ibidem] IIIc (*in mg*), T

62. Si vero Steenbergensis, coram fratre meo Magistro Egidio Buslidio vel ejus successoribus ;

Si... successoribus] III, T

63. Et coram Francisco Buslidio, michi ex fratre nepote, aut ejus successoribus, et Magistro Nicolao de Naues, vita eius durante, si talis assumendus Buslidius, Maruillanus, Arelu-nensis aut Lucemburgensis fuerit (ad quos illorum bursariorum præsentationem spectare volo), compareat infra decem

dierum spatium, petens a dictis <meis successoribus> aut eorum altero modo dicto, ad talem bursam præsentari.

meis successoribus] om L, M, C, N

Et coram... præsentari] II, III, T; I om et Magistro... durante] IIIc (add below l), T; II, IIIa om talis assumendus] IIIc (add over l), T; II, IIIa om bursariorum... volo] T; II, III presentatio spectabit compareat] IIIc (over ll), T; II, IIIa om

64. Si vero post dictos decem dies nullus comparuerit, poterunt dicti successores et præsentatores, facta in locis viciniorebus inquisitione, vnum alium jdoneum præsentare.

Si vero... præsentare] Ic (at foot of p 4), II, III, T et præsentatores] T; Ic, II, III om

65. Quod si etiam ex locis viciniorebus infra decem alios dies sequentes nullus comparuerit, poterunt tunc mei prouisoires aliquem alium jdoneum assumere ex aliquo dictorum septem locorum, vel loco jpsis viciniore, modo et ordine prius dicto; hoc jpso videlicet seruato, vt oriundus ex aliquo jllorum septem locorum præferatur nato jn loco viciniore.

Quod si &c] Ic (at foot of p 4), II, III, T poterunt] T; Ic, II, III poterit mei... ex] T; Ic, II, III: quilibet alius vt supra jdoneus per meos prouisoires ad dictam bursam assumj, modo ex septem] T; Ic, II, III om vel... viciniore.] T; Ic, II, III, vel viciniore, vt supra, si reperij possit, oriundus sit (to which IIIB adds betw ll: qualificatus vt supra); II: Alias quiuis alius debitis qualitatibus munitus de quibus supra; III: Alias quiuis alius qualificatus vt supra assumj poterit. — After this § 65, follow in III §§ 69, 70 (the two last in that draft, with the beginning words of § 71: Et in); between § 65 and § 79 there is a mark added in the text, referring to a note in the margin (in a strange hand): De duo[bus] primis annis p[ro] buslid[iis] — possibly referring to § 66.

66. Quia autem puto nullos Buslidios nunc esse jdoneos ad jpsas bursas, volo in principio erectionis huius mei Collegij jpsas duas bursas pro Buslidijs vacare per duos annos, si nulli ex dicto pago ad eas apti et jdonei jnueniantur, sperans temporis biennij cursu aliquos se ad eas reddituros jdoneos.

Quia... jdoneos] T; I, II, III om

67. Quapropter volo per Præsidentem, jmmEDIATE post dictam erectionem, eis jnsinuari; et fructus harum bursarum pro tempore huius vacationis applicabitur ædificijs et reparationibus necessarijs.

Quapropter... necessarijs] T; I, II, III *om*

68. Ex fructibus vero et vtilitatibus ad communem reparationem Collegij modo dicto vertendis, sumetur etiam stipendium ancillæ, aut ancillarum si plures habendæ sint.

Ex... sint] T; I, II, III *om*

#### Discipline

69. Erit autem Præsidentis officium Collegium ipsium laudabiliter gubernare, præsertim iuuenes, quos pro viribus ad litteras et virtutes hortari debet, eorumque illicita conuenticula prohibebit.

præsertim] T; I, II, III precipue quos] T; I quos habebit; II, III quos debet debet] T; I, II, III, *om* illicita] I, II *om*; IIB (*adds illicita by mistake after precipue at the end of the preceding line*), III, T

70. Clausuræ nocturnæ diligenter intendet;

71. Et jn principio quadragesimæ et jn quatuor principalibus anni festiuitatibus eosdem ad confessionem et circa eam necessaria latino sermone breui ac vtili informabit, eorumque singulos errores emendabit.

Et jn] *last words of draft* III (2<sup>nd</sup>) et jn] II, T; I ac jn eam] II, T; I ea informabit... emendabit] II, T; I jnformare... emendare

72. Quod si facere non possit, jd ipsum prouisoribus jntimabit, qui desuper juxta sibi traditam potestatem sincere et immediate prouidebunt, ad aliorum exemplum.

jntimabit] II, T; I jntimare traditam] T; I, II tributam et jmmEDIATE] IIB (*add betw II*), T; I, IIa *om* prouidebunt] *last word of draft* I ad aliorum exemplum] IIB (*add betw II*) T *By the side of this paragr. Busleyden marked in the margin of II: Non hic de lectione legenda jnter prandendum et cenandum? : cp. § 36*

#### Provisores

73. Postremo huius fundationis pijque instituti Prouisores statuo Curatum <ecclesiæ> Sancti Petri Louaniensis; Magistrum nostrum ordinarie seu communiter Præsidentem jn disputationibus Collegij <theologorum>, vel alioqui, si tales disputationes non essent, Decanum ipsius Facultatis Theologiæ, et Patrem seu Priorem domus Carthusiensis Louaniensis.

ecclesiæ] *om* M, L, N, &c theologorum] L, A, C; *om* M, N

Postremo] T; I, II *om* huius... Louaniensis] I (*placed with § 74 between §§ 25 & 37, p 2*), II (*p 4*), T

74. Quibus quidem Prouisoribus dictas bursas, cum vacabunt, conferendi; reddituum Collegii redemptionem recipiendi, nouosque rursus emendi; ac alia quæcumque ipsius Collegij bona apprehendendi, vendendi et alienandi, ac alias prout de proprijs bonis, pro Collegij quidem necessitate aut magna vtilitate disponendi; bursas ipsas pro bursariorum demeritis suspendendi, ac etiam alijs conferendi; singulis annis rationes et computum de receptis et expositis audiendi, emendandi, corrigendi, et approbandi; dubia quæcumque et difficultates circa hanc meam foundationem emergentes interpretandi et moderandi; nouas regulas et statuta si expediens videbitur condendi, ac alias omnia et singula faciendi quæ circa hoc pium institutum necessaria videbuntur, vel quomodolibet oportuna: salua semper, quanto proximius fieri poterit, mea intentione, plenariam tribuo auctoritatem.

bursariorum] L, A, C; bursarijs M, N      computum] A, C, L; computuum M, N  
condendi] A, II, III; concedendi M, L, C, N      plium] L; primum M, N; ipsum A, C

aut magna] T; I vel magna; II vel      videbitur] I, T; II visum  
fuerit      salua... intentione] IB (*add betw ll*), II, T

75. Super quibus omnibus conscientiam illorum et honorem, simul et ipsorum præsentantium, pro ea parte quæ ad eos spectat onero; orando illos in visceribus Christi ut tales se hoc in negotio gerant, quales ego illos futuros opto et spero, ad laudem Dei Optimi <Maximi>, et ad augmentum cultus diuini, decorem vniuersalis Ecclesiæ et Religionis Christianæ quam hac pia institutione et salutari fundatione per vniuersum orbem magis magisque confirmatum et propagatum jri cupio.

simul... spectat] om IIB      Maximi] A, C, IIB; om L, M, N      confirmatum  
... propagatum] IIB; confirmatam... propagatam L, A, C, N      cupio.] *end of A*

Super... cupio] *added to II by Busleyden*, IIB, T      honorem] IIB,  
*in mg*      onero] T; IIB oneramus      simul... spectat] *not in IIB*  
hoc in... gerant] IIB; *order inuersed in T*      augmentum] T; IIB *first*  
*wrote gloriam, corr in mg: augmentum*      Christianæ] T; IIB *first*  
*had nostre; del, subst cristiane*      hac pia institutione] T; IIB, *corr*  
*from per hanc piam institutionem*      salutari fundatione] T; IIB  
*corr from salutarem fundationem*      cupio] T; IIB *first wrote spero,*  
*subst cupio, to which he added: quod quidem ita procul dubio futurum*  
*spero, which he del — It is the last item of draft II*

76. Si vero aliquid de meis accrescat, præscriptis debite completis, dono et lego eisdem bursarijs meis, sic ut præmittitur fundandis: illosque meos veros, legitimos, et indubitatos

heredes jñ huiusmodi residuo bonorum meorum facio et instituo.

77. Ita tamen ut in reparatione et ædificijs pars una ponatur, altera jñ augmento bursarum, juxta meorum Prouisorum discretionem.

#### Executors

78. Et vt omnia et singula præmissa debitæ executioni demandentur, suumque quam breuissime poterit sortiantur effectum, omnibus melioribus modo, via, jure, causa et forma quibus efficacius possum ordino, eligo et deputo, si fundatio dictorum alumnorum fiat in Collegio Atrebatensi Louanij supradicti, Decanum Mechliniensem Magistrum Joannem Robbyns, vna cum alijs jnfra nominandis.

Atrebatensi] M, N; Attrebatensi L

Mechlin.] M, N; Machlin. L

79. Si vero in Collegio Sancti Donatiani, in locum dicti Decani surrogari cupio Magistrum Joannem Stercke de Meerbeke, prædicti Collegij Sancti Donatiani Rectorem;

80. Præterea Magistrum Adrianum Josel, canonicum Antuerpiensem, aut si ipse huic negotio vacare non posset, rogo quatenus hominem probum et fidelem, qui juxta meum votum hanc meam institutionem ad finem perducere possit, pro se instituat; Nicolaum de Nispen et Bartholomeum de Wessem, executores meos.

81. Quibus tribus, scilicet Decano, aut Meerbeke, Nispen et Adriano Josel, pro onere executionis, cuilibet eorum lego quinquaginta florenos aureos.

82. Et dicto Bartholomeo de Wessem, summam ducentorum florenorum aureorum, mediante qua summa contentus erit, nihil amplius petere occasione stipendiorum suorum et præfati legati executionis; <potestate instruo> predictos omnes, acceptare hoc onus volentes, absentes tamquam præsentis, et quemlibet eorum in solidum: ita quod non sit melior conditio primitus occupantis, nec deterior subsequentis, sed quod vnus eorum inceperit, alter eorum jd prosecui valeat, mediare pariter et terminare.

potestate instruo] om

predictos] L, C; per dictos M, N

83. Quibus et eorum cuilibet in solidum do plenam et liberam potestatem, auctoritatem et mandatum, omnia et singula per me, vt præfertur, desiderata, petita, et ordinata gerendi,

faciendi, procurandi et exequendi; omnia et singula credita mea, redditus, prouentus, pensiones et pecuniare summas michi debitas, ab omnibus personis et coram quibuscumque iudicibus, vigore huiusmodi testamenti mei, petendi, exigendi, leuandi, et recipiendi; de receptis quoque et leuatis quittance, acceptilationem, cedulas verbo vel in scriptis dandi et faciendi; vnum quoque et plures subexecutores loco suo aut eorum cuiuslibet, cum simili aut limitata potestate, substituendi, eosque cum expedire videbitur reuocandi, et generaliter omnia et singula faciendi quæ in præmissis aut circa ea quælibet necessaria videbuntur et oportuna.

pecuniare] M, N; pecuniarum L, C      loco suo] M, N; loco sui L, C  
quælibet] M, N; quomodolibet L, C

84. Et vt prænominati mei executores hoc onus executionis libentius acceptent, nolo eos de huiusmodi executione aut aliquo præmissorum cuiuscumque viuenti reddere rationem; concedens eorum singulis, si quæ in præmissis obscura vel ambigua occurrerint, liberam ea declarandi et interpretandi facultatem.

85. Et etiam numerum dictarum bursarum mearum iustitendarum minuere vel augere, juxta qualitatem et quantitatem facultatum mearum, pijs legatis et debitis liquide omnibus persolutis, superextantium.

liquide] M, N; liquidis L, C

#### Conclusion

86. Volens insuper et desiderans vt, si huiusmodi testamentaria dispositio forte jure testamenti non sit valida propter alicuius personæ præteritionem, solemnitatum et legum vigore requisitorum omissionem, quod id saltem jure codicillorum, seu donationis causa mortis, aut inter viuos, seu quomodolibet alias, vt vltimæ defunctorum voluntates, præcipue juxta pontificij juris sanctiones, valere possit et valeat, et pleni roboris firmitatem obtineat.

87. Cassans præterea, annullans et irritans quoduis aliud testamentum, seu codicillos a me quomodolibet conditos: saluo michi semper jure addendi, diminuendi, corrigendi, mutandi.

mutandi] last word of L and C

88. Acta fuerunt hæc in domo mea Mechliniæ, per me dictata et propria manu subscripta die xxij mensis Junij anno a Natiuitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

**Signature**

89. *Sic Subscriptum* : Hec est voluntas mea et dispositio testamentaria quam ego Hieronymus testator jn omnibus et singulis articulis suis post mortem meam per Executores supra nominatos otius ac fieri poterit commode exequuta jri fideliter cupio ; testamentaria hac subscriptione meæ manu propria facta, et sigilli mei appensione roborata.

90. Actum jn domo habitationis meæ Mechliniæ die xxij Junij anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

91. *Denuo sic subscriptum* : jta est, vt supra Buslidius Ariensis Præpositus Testator, manu propria.

92. De et super quibus omnibus præmissis antedicti Executores, nomine quo supra executorio, petierunt a me, Notario publico jnfrascripto, sibi fieri, confici atque tradi, vnum vel plura publica jnstrumenta.

93. Acta fuerunt hæc Mechliniæ antedictæ Cameracensis dioecesis, in loco Capitulari dictæ ecclesiæ Sancti Rumoldi, sub anno, indictione, mense, die et pontificatu præscriptis, præsentibus jbidem honorabilibus et discretis viris Dominis Symone Robosch, Joanne Joannis, Nicolao de Sluytere, Joanne Hoeldere, presbyteris, dictæ ecclesiæ beneficiatis, et Symone Reys, virgario, dictæ Cameracensis dioecesis, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.

Walterus Militis, not' pub'

**C. THE REGULATIONS**

According to Busleyden's Testament, his Institute grafted on the organism either of St. Donatian's or of Arras College <sup>1)</sup>, was to consist of eight scholarships of 25 Rh. fl., destined for young students born at places connected with his life or his family <sup>2)</sup>: two were to be of Busleyden or Bauschleiden <sup>3)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 1.

<sup>2)</sup> *Test.*, 3, 5-6, 24.

<sup>3)</sup> Bauschleyden, Buschleyden, Busleyden, Boulaide, was a lordship situated half-way between Martelange and Wiltz, in the present Duchy of Luxemburg. It used to belong to Bastogne Provostry, and is now divided in Low and High Bauschleiden. The founder's family were originary from that place and possessed some tithes there : *Busl.*, 1-2, 17 ; *Goffinet*, 96-97.

two from Marville <sup>1)</sup>, two from Arlon <sup>2)</sup>, one from Aire <sup>3)</sup> and one from Steenberg <sup>4)</sup>; after ten years or so, two more would be added, one for a native of Mechlin <sup>5)</sup>, and the other, for a young man of Luxemburg <sup>6)</sup>. On week-days they were to attend the lectures of the Faculty of Arts <sup>7)</sup>, and on Sundays the teaching of the three professors, who also were part of the Foundation, and who in turn had to instruct the bursars on ordinary days by presiding at their table at meals <sup>8)</sup>. The three professors provided for by the Institution, were to teach every week-day the three languages at hours arranged for the facility of the auditors, who were admitted free <sup>9)</sup>; they could only accept payment for their public lectures from Prelates or noblemen if they offered it, and for their private tutoring, provided it did not interfere with the regular lecturing: those fees were to be divided equally between the three <sup>10)</sup>. Yet their wages differed: the professor of Greek and that of Hebrew were to be paid 12 pounds Flemish, or 72 Rh. fl., as they were to come from distant places or from other Universities, and thus had to be attracted by high fees <sup>11)</sup>; whereas the Latin professor received only half those earnings, 6 pounds Flemish, or 36 Rh. fl., as he could be easily found in the near vicinity <sup>12)</sup>. After ten years or so the fees for the two more difficult lectures were to be diminished to 8 pounds

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<sup>1)</sup> Marville, a town of the old Duchy of Luxemburg (Goffinet, 10, 15, 202), situated on the Loison, midway between Montmédy, where it joins the Chiers, tributary of the Meuse, and Damvillers, now in the Department of the Meuse, was the birthplace of Elizabeth (Isabelle) de Musset, Jerome's mother, whose fine tombstone is still preserved in the St. Hilary Chapel: *Busl.*, 3-4.

<sup>2)</sup> Arlon, capital of the Belgian province of Luxemburg, was Jerome's birthplace: *Busl.*, 2, 30; *Test.*, 63.

<sup>3)</sup> Busleyden had been chosen provost of St. Peter's Chapter at Aire, on the Lys, on February 17, 1500, and was generally designated by that title: *Busl.*, 40, 43-46.

<sup>4)</sup> Busleyden had amongst his benefices the *personatus* or parish of Steenberg, a village, N. of Bergen-op-Zoom, in the present province of North-Brabant, Holland: *Busl.*, 41.

<sup>5)</sup> Soon after his appointment as Mechlin councillor, Busleyden became canon of St. Rombaut's in that town: *Busl.*, 41.

<sup>6)</sup> Busleyden's ancestors had settled, or had been employed in the capital of his native Duchy: *Busl.*, 1-4.

<sup>7)</sup> *Test.*, 7.

<sup>8)</sup> *Test.*, 8, 49.

<sup>9)</sup> *Test.*, 12.

<sup>10)</sup> *Test.*, 13-16.

<sup>11)</sup> *Test.*, 17-18.

<sup>12)</sup> *Test.*, 19.



Flem., or 48 Rh. fl., as meanwhile those languages had been taught long enough to get candidates at the lowered fees : the money thus saved was to be used for two more scholarships <sup>1)</sup>. The bursars were to attend the daily Mass, and to pray for the founder <sup>2)</sup> ; and they as well as the preceptors were to be present at the four solemn services to be held every year for the testator and his parents <sup>3)</sup>. The president of the College into which this Institute was introduced, could keep his old earnings, and was entitled to the fees for the daily Mass and for the anniversaries if he was a priest, and, for certain, to a salary of 25 Rh. fl. a year for taking care of the goods, and keeping an account, which had to be submitted to the approval of the *provisores* once a year <sup>4)</sup>. He also shared with the three professors in equal parts the profit derived from inmates whom they could allow to share the meals and be trained by the conversation : eight at the table of the four men in authority, and four at that of the bursars <sup>5)</sup>. The president had further to indicate the turn in which the bursars were to serve at table and make the beds <sup>6)</sup> ; he also had to see to the order, and to the good and Christian behaviour of the boys <sup>7)</sup>. The supervision of the foundation was entrusted to three *Provisores*, namely the *Plebanus*, or parish-priest, of St. Peter's, the president of the theological debates in the Holy Ghost College, — or, if there should not be any, the Dean of the Faculty of Divinity, — and the Prior of the Louvain Charterhouse <sup>8)</sup>. They had full right over the property and the assets of the College ; they were to accept the young men to the scholarships, which lasted eight years, but which could be taken away from any one of them who proved undeserving <sup>9)</sup>, and they could change the regulations which the Testament stipulated : they thus controlled both the economy of the household <sup>10)</sup>, and the disposal of vacancies to answer the presentation of candidates by Busleyden's near relatives : viz., his brother Giles <sup>11)</sup>, his nephew Francis <sup>12)</sup>, and his

<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 20-24.

<sup>2)</sup> *Test.*, 25-27.

<sup>3)</sup> *Test.*, 28-33.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.*, 37-43.

<sup>5)</sup> *Test.*, 44-47.

<sup>6)</sup> *Test.*, 48.

<sup>7)</sup> *Test.*, 69-72.

<sup>8)</sup> *Test.*, 73.

<sup>9)</sup> *Test.*, 74, 54.

<sup>10)</sup> *Test.*, 50-57.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 16-22.

<sup>12)</sup> Francis, the son of his brother Valerian de Busleyden : *Busl.*, 12-14 : he died before his uncle : *ib.*, 106, 135.

cousin Nicolas de Naves <sup>1)</sup>, or their successors, and the Deans and Chapters of Aire and Mechlin <sup>2)</sup>. The regulations of the Testament close with an earnest appeal to president and *provisores*, as well as to professors and those entrusted with the right of presentation, entreating them to fulfil their duty as the founder wishes and hopes they will, to the glory of the Lord, to the increase and ornament of the Universal Church and Christian religion, which, by his pious institution, he desires to strengthen and propagate throughout the world <sup>3)</sup>.

## 4. — THE EXECUTORS

### A. BUSLEYDEN'S DEATH

It was as if Jerome de Busleyden had felt his end nearing <sup>4)</sup> : when he reached Bordeaux, he was laid up with pleurisy, and died there on August 27, 1517. His mortal remains were brought back to Mechlin by his faithful chamberlain Bartholomew van Vessem, and entombed in St. Rombaut's <sup>5)</sup>.

The College had been, of all earthly things, last in his thoughts, for on the very day of his decease, he had made a codicil in presence of the notary John Douzeau <sup>6)</sup>, correcting some slips of the will, in which some people had been forgotten, or not too well remembered. Most important of all were the injunctions given about the working out of his great scheme, which explains how some measures were taken with the general approval of the executors, although not mentioned in the testament ; such as the help that was to be asked of

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<sup>1)</sup> Nicolas de Nave or Naves, of Marville, a cousin by his mother : *Busl.*, 89, 107 ; and further, Ch. xix.

<sup>2)</sup> *Test.*, 58-68.

<sup>3)</sup> *Test.*, 75-77.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.* 66 is worded as if he was certain to die within a few months.

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 97-103 ; *Rek.*, 16, v-17, r, 28, v. — The news of his decease reached Belgium in about ten days : on Sept. 7, 1517, Erasmus announces the sad event to Antony Clava, of Ghent, and on Sept. 9, to Cardinal Wolsey : *Busl.*, 109-110 ; *Allen*, III, 650, 4-7 ; 658, 52-54.

<sup>6)</sup> *Inv.*, 1, r : Item eenen brief vander stadt van bourdeaulx beseghelt met des Conincx zeghel ende onderteekent by Johannes Douzeau clericus Maleastensis dioceseos, zijnde een codicil gemaect bijden voerseyden fundateur jn Walschen, van den date xv C xvij den xxvijen dach der maendt Augustj.

Erasmus and of Robbyns, whereas the name of the faithful colleague of the Privy Council, Antony Sucket, who had accompanied him on that fateful journey <sup>1)</sup>, was formally added in that codicil to the executors appointed by testament, along with the third member of that mission to Spain, the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage <sup>2)</sup>. The two remaining envoys continued their way into Charles of Austria's new realm, where unfortunately Sauvage also died from a fever, on June 7, 1518 at Saragossa <sup>3)</sup>.

## B. ADRIAN JOSEL

As executors of the plan of founding the new School, Busleyden had chosen John Robbyns, in the case it was organized in the College of Arras, or John Stercke, if it was erected in St. Donatian's <sup>4)</sup>. He had besides appointed three of his friends, Adrian Josel, Nicolas van Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem to see to the exact realizing of his supreme wish, and to take all arrangements necessary for the regular working order of his grand institution. Details about the lives of these three men are very scanty. The first, Adrian Josel, who invariably signs his name as 'Adrianus Joseph' <sup>5)</sup>, was a master of Arts enjoying a canonry in Antwerp. He had been intimately acquainted with Busleyden <sup>6)</sup>, and had rendered him many services, buying houses for him as well as books <sup>7)</sup>, and taking care of the payment of the revenues of Steenberghe parish <sup>8)</sup>. Amongst the pictures of the deceased was found Josel's portrait, which his co-executors offered to him, in addition to the bequest made in his favour in the will <sup>9)</sup>. He took an active part in the organizing of the *Trilingue* <sup>10)</sup>, and

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, pp 55-57.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 93, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 97.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.*, 78, 79.

<sup>5)</sup> *AccHoevI*, 53, r; *AccHoevII*, 44, r.

<sup>6)</sup> He had often said Mass in Busleyden's presence in St. John's, Mechlin : *Rek.*, 28, v.

<sup>7)</sup> He had bought one of the houses adjoining the mansion in Cow Street, Mechlin, and often procured books for him in Antwerp : *Rek.*, 13, r, 14, v, 35, v.

<sup>8)</sup> *Rek.*, 5, v, 14, r.

<sup>9)</sup> *Rek.*, 100, r. The will stipulated that 50 gold guilders should be paid to each executor; Josel was moreover made a bequest of another 50 : *Rek.*, 22, v, 23, v.

<sup>10)</sup> He spent 49 days in Louvain and Brussels for the sake of the *Trilingue* : *Rek.*, 87, r.

at Nicolas de Nispen's death, he replaced him as chief supervisor of the Institution and auditor of the President's accounts, at least until 1534 <sup>1)</sup>. Probably old age prevented him from coming regularly after that date to the College, to which, in 1539, he sent, by his servant, three pictures as a gift <sup>2)</sup>, and which he visited a last time in 1540 <sup>3)</sup>.

#### C. NICOLAS VAN NISPEN

The second executor, Master Nicolas van Nispen, a secretary of the Bishop of Cambrai, was probably active about that time at the Synodal Court of the Official in Brussels <sup>4)</sup>; he had a house there on the *Sablon*, where several meetings were held for the affairs of the College <sup>5)</sup>, especially when the presence of Antony Sucket, or of Giles de Busleyden, was requested. The founder had probably had a most friendly intercourse with him through his brother Francis and through Bishop Henry de Berghes; it was continued under the management of Bishop James of Croy <sup>6)</sup>, for both of them generally resided at Court <sup>7)</sup>, and so did the latter's young nephew and successor William of Croy. He may have been better acquainted yet with a more renowned brother <sup>8)</sup>, namely John de Nispen, who was *Doctor Juris Canonici*, and who had joined to the title of nobility he possessed by birth, that of Knight of Jerusalem after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Their father Adam de Nispen, married to Jane de Kyefhoeck

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<sup>1)</sup> He signed the accounts of May 24, 1531 and September 14, 1535 — the only ones that have survived for that period : *AccHoevI*, 1, r, 53, r ; *AccHoevII*, 2, r, 42, r, 44, r.

<sup>2)</sup> *AccEdel.*, 18, r.

<sup>3)</sup> *ManBorchI*, 52, r : Item voer den wijn... by her Adrianen Joseps canonick van Antwerpen gedroncken gegeuen tsamen v st vj mites.

<sup>4)</sup> *BruxHist.*, II, 499.

<sup>5)</sup> *Rek.*, 39, r, 46, r.

<sup>6)</sup> Henry de Berghes was Bishop of Cambrai from 1480 to his death on October 7, 1502 : *Busl.*, 5, 7, 8, &c ; and James of Croy from 1502 to 1516 ; he was succeeded by his nephews William of Croy, 1516-1519, and then by Robert of Croy, 1519-1556 : *Cran.*, 1, d, 23, a-c, 51, b ; *BelgChron.*, 351-355 ; Berlière, 82.

<sup>7)</sup> James of Croy had a castle at Dilbeek, near Brussels, where he died on August 15, 1516 : *BelgChron.*, 353 ; Moeller, 138, 281.

<sup>8)</sup> Possibly the relation was only that of nephew to uncle.

or Kyfhoek <sup>1)</sup>) belonged to the aristocracy of Breda, and had sent his son to study in Italy, where John was, in 1474-1475, Rector of the Students Corporation in the University of Bologna <sup>2)</sup>), and recorded as such amongst the members of the *Natio Germanica* in 1474 <sup>3)</sup>). On his return to the Netherlands, he was endowed with several preferments : he became Dean of Hilvarenbeek and of St. Oedenrode, as well as provost of Cambrai Cathedral ; at his decease, on November 14, 1511 <sup>4)</sup>), Busleyden composed an epitaph praising him for his eloquence, his piety and his faithfulness <sup>5)</sup>).

Nicolas van Nispen was with van Vessem the great promotor of the new Institute. He took a considerable share in the providing of a sound financial basis : he looked for judicious investments, and journeyed through the country to purchase advantageous rents and property, so as to ensure stability to the enterprise <sup>6)</sup>) ; he contributed as much as he could to solve

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<sup>1)</sup> In the *Necrologium Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Opidi de Breda* is mentioned on April 11, the *Obitus Domicelle Johanne de Kyefhoek uxoris quondam Ade de Nispen, anno 1476*, for a yearly gift of 'iiii silig.'; she was the daughter of Florent, and of Aleydis van der Werve; her and her husband's pedigrees and epitaphs are given e.g., in Matthias Balen, *Beschrijving der stad Dordrecht* : Dordrecht, 1677 : 1158 ; cp. Hoynck, III, i, 358. — An Andreas de Nispen matriculated in Cologne in 1432, a Joannes de N., of Breda, in 1455 : Keussen, I, 174, 18, 266, 25.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *DeutStud.*, 32-33.

<sup>3)</sup> Knod, 203 : 'D. Johannes de Nispen vel de Hispen, de Breda, scholarium Utriusque Universitatis Rector' : the register notes that for the inscription one florin was received 'a nobili et generoso d. Johanne de Hispen huius almi gymnasii Bononiensis rectore digniss.' — Cp. C. Malagola, *Monographie Storiche* : Bologna, 1887 : 172 ; Dallari, *I Rotuli dei Lettori... dello Studio Bolognese* : Bologna, 1888 : 94 ; Busl., 208.

<sup>4)</sup> The *Necrologium Eccl. B. Mariæ de Breda* mentions for Nov. 14 : *Obitus Magistri Johannis de Nyspen quondam Decani Bekenstis* : Capitulum xii st. et Capellanis todidem anno 1511 : Hoynck, III, i, 415.

<sup>5)</sup> Busl., 208-210 ; the epitaph is entitled in the original : *Epita. D. Ioan. Nijspen, Iuris Cano. Doctoris, Decani Rodeñ* : it recalls various details of his life, such as '*Alma Rodensis eo fuit ædes recta Decano*', although, being only an elegy, and not an epigraph, it does neither mention his deanery of Hilvarenbeek, nor his Cambrai provostry. It is difficult to believe that Busleyden, or his secretary Conrad Vegerius, should have ignored the social condition of this dear friend : consequently the remarks of Coppens, III, 130, that the provostry was obtained from John van der Vorst in exchange for the St. Oedenrode (= *Rodensis*) deanery, looks rather suspicious.

<sup>6)</sup> *Rek.*, 105, r, 113, r ; *Inv.*, 20, v, 21, r, 23, r ; *Busl.*, 91, 112, 120, 122, 165.

the difficulties raised by some members of the University against the incorporation of the *Trilingue* <sup>1)</sup>, and, afterwards, to settle the question of the remuneration of the professors, who had been engaged at a lower rate than the will stipulated <sup>2)</sup>; he checked the accounts concerning the building and the organizing of the College <sup>3)</sup>, and was regularly present at the audits of the management of the president <sup>4)</sup>; he moreover came for both a friendly and supervising stay to the *Trilingue* almost every year <sup>5)</sup> until April 1529 <sup>6)</sup>; as he did not attend the rendering of the account for that year, it is almost certain that he died shortly after that last of his visits <sup>7)</sup>, although no mention of his decease seems to be extant <sup>8)</sup>.

#### D. BARTHOLOMEW VAN VESSEM

The third and, without doubt, the most active of the executors entrusted with the institution of the *Trilingue*, was

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<sup>1)</sup> He attended all the meetings at which the acceptance of the College was discussed (FUL, 1435), spending 107 days at Louvain, Mechlin or Brussels in the service of the Institute : *Rek.*, 48, r-51, r, 84, v, 88, r-89, r. He was offered 50 gold guilders for his share in the execution : *Rek.*, 23, v. <sup>2)</sup> *Inv.*, 1, v ; *Rek.*, 98, v.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 98, v, 99, r.

<sup>4)</sup> He took part in the auditing on December 4, 1521, August 31, 1527, September 5, 1528 : *AccMeerb.*, 1, r, 84, v, 86, r ; *AccMarvI*, 1, r, 109, r ; *AccMarvII*, 2, r, 68, r, 70, v.

<sup>5)</sup> *AccMarvI*, 104, v.

<sup>6)</sup> *AccMarvIII*, 84, r.

<sup>7)</sup> Probably between April 1529 and September 21, 1530, when that audit took place : *AccMarvIII*, 86, r.

<sup>8)</sup> There was a branch of the van Nispen family established in Antwerp, and another at Rosendaal, judging from the entries in the Louvain matriculation register : A 'Johannes de Nispen de Antverpia', was inscribed on February 21, 1486 as a rich student of the Falcon : *LibIntIII*, 6, v ; he may have been the Antwerp merchant Joannes van Nispen, who, with his wife Anna van der Meere, is mentioned as deceased in a will of 1552, so that their daughter 'Margaretula van Nispen' became the heiress : *AntvAnn.*, II, 375. — In 1552 a Cornelius van Nispen contributed 200 fl. to the loan granted by Antwerp to the Emperor : *AntvAnn.*, II, 390. — On February 27, 1491 matriculated in Louvain 'Cornelius Anthonij de Nispen de Roesendale' as a student of the Castle, and on August 30, 1495, his brother Thomas, in the same pedagogy : *LibIntIII*, 30, r, 50, v. — On May 30, 1502, was inscribed 'Quintinus Adrianj de Nispen' : *LibIntIII*, 95, v ; and in 1643, Balthazar van Nispen founded the 'Hospice van Nispen', in Short Squire Street, Antwerp : *AntwHist.*, VI, 97.

Busleyden's most faithful chamberlain and general assistant, Bartholomew van Vessem or Wessem <sup>1)</sup>). He was a brother of Frater Arnold, of Tongerlo Abbey, a clever musician, one of Jerome's acquaintances. It follows from a letter to that Premonstratensian <sup>2)</sup>, that he was tutoring a younger brother, who was undecided as yet in the choice of his career, but who had interrupted his studies in order to be trained in the practice and the theory of the noble art under Arnold's able direction. Busleyden expressed his satisfaction at hearing of the good progress of the pupil, and in order to judge of it by himself, he invited both brothers to come and listen to the new organ built by the inventor, Hans Suys, of Nuremberg, which had recently been placed in his mansion <sup>3)</sup>. Most probably the younger brother was taken into his service on account of his musical aptitude; although he was provided with a canonry at Aire, where his master was Provost, he does not seem to have progressed in his ecclesiastical career; being supplied even, after Busleyden's death, with a canonry in St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, apparently through John Robbyns, he was only a subdeacon when he died in Mechlin, on April 29, 1538 <sup>4)</sup>. He had been thoroughly devoted to Busleyden, assisting him most affectionately until his last moments at Bordeaux; he brought back his mortal rests to Mechlin, together with the most precious of his belongings <sup>5)</sup>. The same spirit of sacrifice which his master had acknowledged by an ample legacy <sup>6)</sup>, was also shown to his favourite scheme; foregoing the fruits of his Aire prebend <sup>7)</sup>, van Vessem gave up several years of his life to secure the instituting, the housing, the setting up

<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 1, r, 33, r, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 349-53.

<sup>3)</sup> The organ was placed in the big room over the portal: *Busl.*, 59-61; by his will it was bequeathed to the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Rombaut's Church together with 100 gold guilders to have it taken down and put up again in the church: *Rek.*, 25, r.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 351, &c; *IBM*<sub>3</sub>, 121, v, sq; *MalInscr.*, 65; his tombstone bears as inscription: Hic jacet sepultus Dñus Bartolomeus Vessem Subdiac. & Canonic. hujus Ecclesiæ qui obiit anº Dñi xv C xxxviii. penultima mensis Aprilis Requiescat in pace.

<sup>5)</sup> *Rek.*, 28, v.

<sup>6)</sup> *Rek.*, 23, r, 28, v - 30, r.

<sup>7)</sup> *Rek.*, 29, r: dair jnne oick begrepen tverlies van zijnder Residentie die hij soude te St. Janss[misse] anno xvij begonst hebben te doene op zijn prouende van arien.

and the ordering of the *Trilingue*, which, but for this humble, but strenuous and zealous worker, would, in spite of Busleyden's generosity and Erasmus' eagerness, have remained a mere scheme and a beautiful dream.

#### E. ANTONY SUCKET

A quite peculiar part of the work of the execution fell to, and was effectively carried out by, the Privy Councillor Antony Sucket, or Sucquet, Golden Knight, who had been appointed executor during the last hours of the life of his colleague and fellow-envoy. He was the son and grandson of physicians of Mechlin <sup>1)</sup>, where the grandfather John, who came from Rouen diocese, had settled after having lectured for several years on philosophy and medecine in the recently-created Louvain University <sup>2)</sup>. Antony studied in that same institute where he matriculated on July 30, 1488 <sup>3)</sup>, and acquired the theoretical acquaintance with jurisprudence which procured him the appointment of secretary and juridical councillor of Bruges <sup>4)</sup>. From that town, where he married Isabella de Waele (Wale or Walle) d'Axpoele <sup>5)</sup>, he was promoted in 1515 to the office of Master of Requests, and experienced as member of the Privy Council the various transformations which that body went through in the first years of Charles of Austria's reign <sup>6)</sup>; he owed that advance to his friend and protector, the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage, who also had him appointed as his companion on his mission to Spain by the middle of 1517, together with Jerome de Busleyden <sup>7)</sup>. Sucket thus was present at Bordeaux at the

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *MalMéd.*, 169; on May 13, 1458 the Utrecht Bishop David of Burgundy wrote to the Mechlin authorities to send their town physician 'Johan Sucket' to come and attend him: he was no doubt the grandfather of John and Antony: cp. *Bijdragen v. de Geschied. van Haarlem*: XLII, 1924: 248.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 95-96.

<sup>3)</sup> *Excerpts*, 90.

<sup>4)</sup> *BrugEst.*, 420 (1512), 448 (1514); Henne, II, 127 (1515).

<sup>5)</sup> *BrugInscr.*, I, 140: she died on Oct. 26, 1533: their sons John and Charles were born at Bruges: *LibIntIII*, 250, v.

<sup>6)</sup> *ConPriv.*, I, 63; *ConPrivT.*, 65; Henne, I, 220, II, 201; Alexandre, 18; Gachard, 509; Walther, 213.

<sup>7)</sup> *Busl.*, 93-97.



decease of their fellow-envoy, and he started his duties as executor in that very town, victoriously defending his friend's inheritance against the pretension of the rector of the parish in which the death had occurred, who claimed the best of the jewels of each kind left by the deceased : the matter was tried before Parliament, and decided in his favour <sup>1)</sup>. He brought back from Spain not only the dresses, beds, utensils and objects which had been entrusted to him as useful for the journey <sup>2)</sup>, but also a considerable sum of money which Busleyden had sent in advance to cover his expenses during his stay beyond the Pyrenees <sup>3)</sup>. Although he was encumbered with work and missions after his return to the Netherlands <sup>4)</sup>, he was ready at any time to help by his experience and his influence the three executors in their, at times perplexing, task <sup>5)</sup>. He especially gave them invaluable assistance in the struggle for the admission of the new Institute by the University at acceptable conditions, which created a situation of anxious uncertainty, in so far that, from July 1519 to March 1520, it was very little short of being desperate. By prudence and sagacity, the experienced jurisprudent solved the apparently insolvable question, realizing beyond all expectation a result which the executors would never have reached <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 1, r, 87, r, v : Item heer anthonys sucket Ridder ende Raidt des Keyzers heeft gehadt voer zijn vacatien bijstant ende diensten ghedaen wijlen den testatuer jn zijn vuterste tot bordeaux ende oick na zijn doot jnt bescudden van allen den goeden tot bordeaux jnt parlement teghen den prochiaen aldair pretenderende te hebbene van allen den juwelen van elck sorte dbeste...

<sup>2)</sup> *Rek.*, 87, r, v : all those objects were offered to him in reward for his services.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 6, r, v : Noch ontfæen doer handen heeren anthonys sucket Raidt des conincs ende mede executuer v C ducaten bij hem in spaingnien onfaen die de testatuer hadde geleuert eenen geheeten diego de ghommele spaignaert jn meininghen die te vinden ende te ontfæen jn spaignen aldair hij niet en quam elcken ducaet te xxxix stuers geexlimeert viz ix C lxxv £ *art.* — The money had been sent by means of two bills of exchange which Adrian Josel's servant took on July 30, 1517 to the Secretary Charles Verderuwe (Verderue), then at Middelburg, to be forwarded to Spain : *Rek.*, 14, r. <sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 122.

<sup>5)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, r - 50, v, and 88, r, mentioning that he spent sixteen days in Louvain on account of the difficulties of having the *Trilingue* accepted : *FUL*, 1435 : 1, r. — He visited the College on March 25, 1521 : *AccMeerb.*, 33, v.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. III and VII ; *Busl.*, 121-22.

That interference brought him the deepest gratitude from all who were concerned in the new College, and, most of all, that of Erasmus. They were friends long before the journey to Spain, for Sucket heartily welcomed the appearance of the *Novum Testamentum* <sup>1)</sup>; in return Erasmus declared that he was his *patronus... candidissimus ac bonarum litterarum inuictissimus propugnator*. And in his admiration he enumerates his qualities : *Quid... illius ingenio magis niueum, quid amico amicus? quis in officio promptior, in consilio fidelior, quis iusti tenacior, quis fucis, fraudibus, et iniustitiæ infensor? Quanta pietas citra superstitionem! Quam perspicax sanumque iudicium, multum abhorrens a vulgi iudiciis! quanta dexteritas in rebus gerendis! quot dotes, quot ornamenta in vno viro...! quanto studio id agebat, ut liberi quos habebat aliquot, mire patriam indolem referentes, honestissimis disciplinis iam inde a teneris instituerentur! Maximum natu destinarat theologiæ, proximum studio iuris; tertium, admodum puerum bonis litteris dedicarat* <sup>2)</sup>. — The two eldest of these sons, John and Charles, matriculated together in Louvain on January 27, 1519 : John was evidently the elder, for Charles is recorded as *minorennis* : ‘pro eo iuravit petrus de follis’ <sup>3)</sup>. Of John no mention is made any further, which suggests that he died before his father, whereas Charles had a glorious, though short, career as jurisperit, and became Erasmus’ personal friend <sup>4)</sup>. The third son, Antony, who seems to have been much younger than his brothers, afterwards also turned to the law : he became ‘advocat postulant’ at the Great Council of Mechlin, and continued the family <sup>5)</sup>, in which there was also a daughter, whom Janus Secundus mentions in the elegy on her brother, ‘*In obitum Caroli Sucqueti, Jurisconsulti Flandri*’ <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, v, 1331, 15, 1342, 255.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, vi, 1556, 2-3, 31-41 : similar praise is bestowed by Erasmus in a letter to his son Charles, July 2, 1529 : Allen, viii, 2191, 12-16, 40-49.

<sup>3)</sup> *Excerpts*, 100.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. vii, ix.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. ix ; *Busl.*, 125.

<sup>6)</sup> *JSecOp.*, 225. — Antony Sucket also left an illegitimate child Francis who matriculated as *diues liliensis* in Louvain on August 28, 1521 : *Excerpts*, 102; he married Jane Despars of Bruges, where he often fulfilled the offices of alderman or of ‘chef-homme’ and died in 1540 : *Busl.*, 125 ; *BrugWet.*, 200-202 ; *Brug&Fr.*, II, 471.

When Erasmus wrote those lines, Antony Sucket was not any longer amongst the living : he died on August 31, 1524, and was buried in St. Donatian's, Bruges, to which town his widow had returned with her children <sup>1</sup>). Most strangely, Erasmus' letter, which Allen places amongst those written in February 1525, is addressed to John Sucket, whom he requests to take Antony's place as protector of Busleyden's grand Institution <sup>2</sup>). This John Sucket was not Antony's son, since he is addressed as a courtier <sup>3</sup>), and Erasmus refers to his house in Mechlin, which he, no doubt, knew from several visits, as well as to John's neighbour, the '*bombardarum opifex*' <sup>4</sup>) John Poppenruyter, with whom, a few years before, he exchanged, he adds '*arma... in amicitiae symbolum*'. '*Dedi Enchiridion*', he explains; '*ille contra dedit gladiolum, quo non magis adhuc sum vsus quam ille libro*' : no doubt the world-renowned gun-founder John von Nuermerkt is meant, who in 1503 had established his works in Old Brussels Street in Mechlin <sup>5</sup>) ; they touched the 'Hotel Sucket', John's house, which itself became a famous apple of discord after

<sup>1</sup>) *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 ; *Busl.*, 95-96, 121-25 ; Allen, v, 1331, 15, vi, 1556, viii, 2191, 3, sq, 2329, 48, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, vi, 1556 : the *Trilingue* is especially referred to on ll. 8-28.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, vi, 1556, 23-25.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, vi, 1556, 42-48.

<sup>5</sup>) Hans or John von Nuermerkt, Poppenruyter, settled in Mechlin in 1503 and died on Febr., 24, 1534 : *MalGod.*, 216-17. Referring to James Latomus' *De Trium Linguarum... Ratione Dialogus* (Antwerp, 1519), where is said that the *ars bombardica* does not require the knowledge of German, the language of the inventor : *LatoDial.*, 53, Erasmus points out in his *Apologia... de Tribus Linguis* (Louvain, March 28, 1519), C 1, r, that, for certain, '*Joanne poppenruterio teste... huius artis precipuo professore*', the gun-founders would study Greek with eagerness if it could better their work. When on June 6, 1521 Dürer made his second visit to Mechlin, he went to see Poppenruyter in his house, and was shown marvellous things. On that visit he lodged at the inn *In the Golden Head*, kept by Master Henry Kelderman, painter, where the painters and sculptors treated him magnificently in a big meeting : DürerD, 94. That note of Dürer's settles the question of this Henry's identity, proposed as doubtful in *Busl.*, 67, 102 : he evidently is different from the painter Henry de Bruyne, whose item in Vessem's account precedes immediately that of 'Henricke int gulden hoot', with only one mark in the margin for the '*vidimus*'; Henry Kelderman, possibly allied to the family of great architects (Henne, v, 70), made several pictures for Busleyden : *Busl.*, 59, 67, 100, 102, 108.

John's death, about the end of 1522 <sup>1)</sup>. It is very strange that Erasmus, who was advised of John Sucket's death by Peter Wichmans, on March 22, 1523 <sup>2)</sup>, should have written to him this letter — which, however, does not seem to have been dispatched; it is equally strange that the editor of Erasmus' correspondence should have noted that : of John Sucket ' little ' seems to be known. He was evidently a person of position ; ' and very likely was the rich uncle without heirs, to whose ' property Viglius Zuichem expected Charles Sucquet < then, ' August 1531, at Turin > to succeed ' <sup>3)</sup>. The Member of the Great Council of Mechlin John Sucket was a well-known character <sup>4)</sup>, and the rich childless uncle, whose heir Charles was to become <sup>5)</sup>, was probably his mother's brother or nephew or uncle, Gulielmus a Vale, de Wale or Waele <sup>6)</sup>, to whom Erasmus wants Charles Uutenhove, his cousin, to praise the fine work his nephew is doing at the University of Turin <sup>7)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> John Sucket had given his house to his brother Antony on Nov. 22/23, 1519, apparently to disinherit his daughter Mary, married to the court physician John Vranckx van der Vorst : as the assets were far below the debts, Mary Sucket and the creditors started a lawsuit against Antony about the legality of the donation of that mansion, which the Great Council of Mechlin ordered to be sold on March 24, 1535 : *Cran.*, lviii, 204, a-c, and sources quoted ; *Busl.*, 123, sq ; *MalGod.*, 218 ; *MalMéd.*, 79.

<sup>2)</sup> FG, 15, 26 ; Allen, v, 1351, 29-30.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, vi, 1556, pr.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Henne, II, 248 ; Gachard, I, 371, *MalConC*, 45 ; *MalConM.*, 61 ; *Cran.*, 204, a, b ; *AltRel.*, 64 ; *Busl.*, 122-24 ; Hoyneck, II, i, 42 ; *KaLuWor.*, 79 ; &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Letter of Aug. 26, 1531 by which Viglius wants to dissuade Charles Sucket from marrying an Italian young lady : Hoyneck, II, i, 40 : it is evident that the uncle is still alive, able to disapprove of Charles's conduct, and disinherit him ; moreover the uncle is without other natural heirs : — nothing of which applies to John Sucket.

<sup>6)</sup> He was the son of Councillor Peter de Waele, and Pauline d'Axpoele, Lady of Hansebeke : Hoyneck, III, ii, 384.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, x, 2700, 160-63 : 'Ornatissimo Guilhelmo a Vale me diligenter commendabis. Referrem hic quam illius nepos Carolus Sucquetus Taurini rem magnifice gesserit, nisi facile suspicarer ipsum omnia perscripsisse'. William de le Waele, Lord of Hansebeke and Axpoele, was made in 1514, first-sheriff of the Keure of Ghent, in 1518, Treasurer and Warden of the Charters, and on June 4, 1534, Councillor of Flanders. In 1539 he just escaped arresting : Hoyneck, III, ii, 377, 378, 384 ; *OlaE*, 479 ; Gachard, 530 ; Allen, II, 301, 37, VIII, 2093, 78. Cp. further, *Chs.* IX, XII.

## F. ERASMUS

The intimate connection between Erasmus and Antony Sucket made them as providential agents in the realizing of Busleyden's noble scheme. From the very first, the three executors appointed by the Testament, who practically managed the whole enterprise, secured the help and assistance of both the great Humanist and of the able and experienced lawyer-Councillor. It was, without doubt, thanks to the latter's calm and sagacious perspicacity and to his patient and resourceful determination, that the new Institute stood the trying ordeal of the obstinate opposition, and of the ceaselessly arising difficulties of the first years. Still, if Sucket was the resisting power, Erasmus was certainly the driving force. He did not want to endanger the realization by waiting, but insisted already on October 19, 1517, in his letter to Giles de Busleyden, to effectuate his brother's wishes, and to engage without delay a Hebrew physician just then at Louvain <sup>1</sup>). He wrote again on October 30, urging that the fit man who happened to be at hand, should be made certain of his appointment, to prevent him going elsewhere; he even suggested nominating also a well qualified professor of Greek, so as to bring glory and dignity to the lecturing from the very beginning <sup>2</sup>). In fact the Hebrew professor was engaged in the first days of November, — several weeks before the sales of Busleyden's goods had properly started. Nor was Erasmus satisfied with that result: he wanted the teaching to set in without delay; he caused a house to be taken, where Matthew Adriani began his lessons in the first days of March 1518. Meanwhile he endeavoured to have the other professors appointed, and their lectures inaugurated: — it happened on September 1, 1518, in a room which the Austin Friars put at the disposal of the new Institute. Thus in compliance with Busleyden's wish, Erasmus became the promotor, the effective patron of the *Trilingue*: his incentive enthusiasm and his unflinching clear-sightedness, as well as his world-renowned erudition worked like a spell. For several years the College

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<sup>1</sup>) Allen, III, 686, 5, 89.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, III, 691.

lived his life, and the managers and professors merely worked out his schemes and suggestions, until, under his impulse, it secured a creative spirit of its own, which was only the continuation of what he had been infusing by all the powers of his soul and mind.

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That spirit of the new Institute made it into an efficient organism to fashion generations to come, and to prepare the able and generous artisans necessary for the welfare of the nation and of the entire humanity. It thus inaugurated the future, and yet, it was as the fit result, as the natural conclusion, as the glorious coronation of the strenuous efforts towards perfection which had started in the Brabant University soon after its foundation. In the beginning the study of language and literature was very simple and rude indeed : it did not extend beyond repeating that which had been taught and learned for ever so long. Still before many years elapsed, the want of a better training in that domain was felt : it created a longing to profit by, and even to come up to, the brilliant achievements realized in the Italy of the *Quattrocento*, — at least, as far as the intellectual development was concerned, since the influence of the sound morality and the deep religious spirit voiced by the disciples of Ruysbroeck and de Groote, prevented that any licentiousness should spoil the glory of proper linguistic studies. Even the very scheme of the *Trilingue* was, in a way, anticipated in the last quarter of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, when a lecture of Latin Literature, exclusively to be given by Italian adepts, was started for the benefit of all the students of the University : unfortunately it was not continued long in the high excellence with which it had begun, for it wanted a sound, systematic organizing : and that Erasmus wished to secure for Busleyden's foundation. All the same, that lecture was most beneficial, especially to the group of serious scholars in the Lily, who zealously applied the welcome message to their own teaching : in so far that, when, in the autumn of 1502, Erasmus arrived in Louvain, he found here a busy centre of humanistic studies in full flourish, which benefited him as it did others. That

way the great movement of the beginning of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century was as the natural result of the aspirations of the xv<sup>th</sup>. The history of those aspirations and of the various attempts made to remedy the awkward deficiency in the University teaching during several *decennia*, will be the subject treated in the Second Chapter.

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## CORRIGENDA

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*On p*

17	<i>l</i> 16	<i>please read</i>	Antony	<i>instead of</i>	John
22	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Lambert	» »	Louis
76	<i>n</i> 1	» »	extension	» »	extensions
93	<i>l</i> 10	» »	to	» »	tho
112	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Ger. v. Goetsenhoven...226	» »	A. van Engelen...228
128	<i>l</i> 11	» »	(John)	» »	John
130	<i>n</i> 5	» »	Ch. VII	» »	Ch. V
221	<i>l</i> 22	» »	Gregory	» »	George
463	<i>n</i> 1 <i>l</i> 14	» »	were	» »	where
528	<i>n</i> 1	» »	<i>LibAct V</i>	» »	<i>LibAct VI</i>

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## CHAPTER II

# THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES IN LOUVAIN BEFORE 1517

## 1. — THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN THE PEDAGOGIES

### A. GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND PEDAGOGIES

The regularizing of university activity in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century into systematic teaching with a prearranged programme according to the Paris conception <sup>1)</sup>, laid some requirements on the students who, up to then, had lived the free life of *vagantes*, and still were living it in some *studia generalia*, like Bologna, in which organized instruction was considered as only accessory to the aim of the institution <sup>2)</sup>. The founding of the duly arranged *Bursæ*, or *Convictus*, or *Collegia*, offering their inmates more than a mere roof or some scanty bedroom furniture for a few nights, enforced those requirements at least on the bursars, by making them pass examinations after having attended regular lectures and taken part in the set of exercises prescribed <sup>3)</sup>. Thus the systematic lecturing and the programmes leading up to the academic promotions, replaced, at least on this side of the Alps, the free studies and the occasional public teaching. Being created on the example of Paris and Cologne, the University of Louvain was arranged from the very beginning in that spirit : erudites promoted in either of those seats of learning were entrusted in 1426 with

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Kaufmann, I, 344, sq ; *DeutStud.*, 32, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *DeutStud.*, 33, sq ; Kaufmann, I, 187, 344, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Kaufmann, I, 291, sq, 294, 297, sq ; Paulsen, I, 37, sq.

the lessons in the higher Faculties of Laws and Medecine <sup>1)</sup>, whereas the lower Faculty, that of Arts, availed itself of the several small grammar-schools that existed in the Brabant capital, where some youths lived and boarded with a master, whose teaching they shared with the boys of the town. The instruction in the Seven *Artes* was entrusted to the heads of those so-called *pædagogia*, which became as the *partes integrantes* of the Faculty, after their responsible directors, the *Regentes*, had been approved of <sup>2)</sup>. With the help of the assistants, the *legentes*, whom they chose themselves, they were to continue as of old the teaching of Grammar, Rhetoric and Dialectics, the *Trivium*, to which they were to add the branches of the *Quadrivium* <sup>3)</sup> : to secure an unobjectionable instruction in this new matter, the Faculty appointed five professors who were to lecture daily in the various schools on Physics and Logic and on the other treatises of Aristoteles during two years ; after which time each pedagogy was to organize those lessons for itself <sup>4)</sup>. — Those schools, moreover, kept up their teaching of Latin, from the rudimentary to the more advanced stage, for which they had been originally founded, and they thus answered a great need. For the young

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<sup>1)</sup> The first professors of Canon Law, Nicolas de Prum, of Winringen, and Henry de Mera, had been studying and lecturing at Cologne: *ULDoc.*, II, 167, 170-72 ; Keussen, I, 106, 12, 112, 14 ; *UniKöln*, 573-75 ; so had one of the two who started the lectures on Civil Law, Daniel of Blockem : *ULDoc.*, II, 184 ; Keussen, I, 119, 28 ; whereas the first professor of that Faculty, John de Groesbeek, as well as John Siberti de Neel who started the teaching of Medecine, were old students from Paris : *ULDoc.*, II, 181, 183-4, 191, 193-94. When the Faculty of Divinity was instituted in 1432, the two first professors, the famous Nicolas Midi and Peter Fabri, also came from Paris University, and when, in 1433, John de Winningen, from dean of the Faculty in Cologne, was appointed in Louvain, he had to promise under oath to make his (Dominican) order treat 'hoc generale studium sicut Colonie' : *ULDoc.*, II, 156, 158-60 ; *ULAct.*, I, 117 ; de Jongh, 30, 34, sq, 37 ; Keussen, I, 119, 18 ; *UniKöln*, 416.

<sup>2)</sup> Vern., 112, sq ; VAnd., 239, sq ; *ULDoc.*, II, 199, sq ; de Jongh, 55, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy and Music : cp. Martianus Capella, *De Septem Artibus Liberalibus* : Lyons, 1539.

<sup>4)</sup> The *Regentes* Peter de Renesse, Godefroid of Gompel, Henry Wellens, John Radulphi Vleminck, *Flaminghi*, and John Stockelpot were paid apart for those 'ambulatory' lessons by the Louvain town administration from December 8, 1426 to September 1428 : *ULDoc.*, II, 7-16, 199, sq.

boys who came to the university had been trained in the schools which had been erected by the chapter or the abbey of their native places, to which they were admitted as day-boys, or, if they were strangers, as *refectionales*, or at least as boarders in the house of the *Rector Scholarum* <sup>1)</sup> : since those schools were chiefly intended for the benefit of the *chorales*, the *phonascus* or *succinctor* had far more importance there than the Latin master or his monitor <sup>2)</sup>. Being, moreover, fully subordinated, for subject as well as for time, to the requirements of the choir services, the linguistic instruction was often inadequate as preparation to University studies. Equally insufficient was the training gained by another class of would-be academic students, who served as apprentices or fags to older boys, their 'masters', in their roaming from one school to another <sup>3)</sup> : that 'vagabondizing' generally gave rise to bitter cruelty and revolting unruliness <sup>4)</sup>, but failed to impart the knowledge for which it was undertaken, on account of a complete want of regular and systematic training : it was repeatedly condemned by the religious authorities <sup>5)</sup>, and, like for the academic students, it was fortunately replaced by the regular attendance of an established school. A third group of

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<sup>1)</sup> Specht, 150, sq, 172, sq, 252-3; Paulsen, 1, 14, sq; Schrevel, 1, 130, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Schrevel, 137, sq; Caullet, 5, sq; E. Steenackers, *L'Ecole des Choraux de l'Eglise de St. Rombaut à Malines* : Mechlin (*Bull. du Cercle Arch., Litt., et Art.*, xxxi), 1926; &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Specht, 198-99.

<sup>4)</sup> An example of that roaming life is provided by the biography of Burckhardt Zenggs (born 1396) : Paulsen, 1, 26, sq; another by the *Hodoporicon*, in which John Butzbach relates his adventures as school-boy and student in the last years of the fifteenth century, until he enters the Deventer School, and ends up in the safe harbour of Maria Laach Abbey. He there became prior in 1507, and died after a busy life as monk and as literator in 1526; his *Hodoporicon*, preserved in manuscript in Bonn University Library, was translated into German in 1869 by D.J. Becker : Butzbach, 1, sq; 216-277. Butzbach was personally acquainted with the Spanheim Abbot John Tritheim, whose cause he defended in the *Macrostroma*, about 1508, and to whose great work *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* he composed an *Auctarium* : Butzbach, 272-4, 276-7; ButzNachl., 7, sq, 28, 76, 79; HuNieWe., 1, editing from the *Auctarium* all that interests the history of Humanism in the regions of the Lower Rhine.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Specht, 200-201.

boys, who had not the advantage of having a school in or near their native places, entered the service of a professor or a priest as *amanuenses*, or servant-pupils <sup>1)</sup>, or, possibly, were prepared in their native village or smaller town by a local 'scholar', until they were of age to be sent to the *Studium Generale*. It is evident that, thus, with few exceptions, a final instruction was actually indispensable before the real university studies could be started, as teaching, debating and all academic functions were carried on exclusively in Latin.

That final instruction, which, in the first years, had to make up for a lack of regular training, was given in the pedagogies or schools of Arts <sup>2)</sup>, and in Louvain it was so much the more natural since they had served that purpose before the University was started. That instruction, given by the *Regens*, helped by his *Legentes*, or, rather, by *Magistri Artium* who had started themselves their studies at some higher Faculty, was as the continuation of the old activity. Thus the *Schola Clericorum*, adjoining a popular inn, the *Lily Flower*, in *Oppendorp Street* <sup>3)</sup>, became the famous *Pædagogium Lilij* <sup>4)</sup>; the old *School of Grammatica*, in a courtyard of *Provost Street*, was turned by John Widoe into the Pedagogy of the Porc, afterwards also called *Standonck College* <sup>5)</sup>; the *Lusus Literarius* directed during several years by Godefroid van Gompel and Herman Brandt developed into the *Pædagogium Castri*, being situated close to the Castle Gate, leading to the fortress on the hill <sup>6)</sup>; a fourth, in *New*

<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus regularly taught his servant-pupils, at least those who entered his service for that purpose, of which a man like Stephen Gardiner regretted afterwards not to have accepted the offer in 1513: *ErAllen*, 99-100, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *AcArExc.*, 95, 189. — In the Paris College of Navarre, founded as early as 1305, there was a section for beginners, *grammatici*, who were taught Grammar, besides that of the *artistæ*, and that of the *theologi*: Kaufmann, I, 294.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *LouvEven*, 548, 559.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Mol.*, 631; *Vern.*, 129-31; *VAnd.*, 261, *sq.*; *FUL*, 1135-1284; *BaxH*, VII, 143, *sq.*; *BaxF*, III, 40, *sq.*; *ULDoc.*, IV, 168, *sq.*

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Mol.*, 634-37; *Vern.*, 131-34; *VAnd.*, 256-60; *FUL*, 1003-1134, 2026-2030; *PF*, II, \*299; *BaxH*, VII, 90, *sq.*; *BaxF*, III, 28, *sq.*, 94, *sq.*; *ULDoc.*, IV, 77, *sq.*

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Mol.*, 633-34; *Vern.*, 134-35; *VAnd.*, 252-55; *FUL*, 838-1002; *BaxH*, VII, 36, *sq.*; *BaxF*, III, 19, *sq.*; *ULDoc.*, IV, 3, *sq.*; *Coppens*, II, 93, 116, 125.

*Street*, brought over, later on, to *Steep Street*, also was designed by the names of the neighbouring inns, first the *Kettle*, *Cacabus*, and afterwards the *Falcon*, *Pædagogium Falconis*<sup>1)</sup>. As the Faculty decidedly discouraged the splitting up of the teaching and of the student population in too many small groups, only four *pædagogia* were admitted after 1446 instead of the much greater number of the beginning<sup>2)</sup>: these four, consequently, gradually extended both in the number of inmates and in importance; it soon made them utilize, besides the original house of the masters, the outbuildings of those neighbouring inns, which, on account of the decline in the cloth trade, had become useless: it explains the unacademical names which they kept during several centuries, especially after the institutes bought the sites and constructed adequate buildings on the extensive grounds, away from the streets, in which they merely kept large ornate entrances, as some of the still existing colleges clearly attest<sup>3)</sup>.

In each of these *pædagogia* Latin was taught regularly and systematically in different classes according to the capacity of the students, in so far that young boys in their teens were sent to those institutes to be properly trained until they should be of age to start the study of philosophy<sup>4)</sup>. Even after the Brothers of the Common Life or the Windesheim regular canons in St. Martin's Priory had taken over, in 1433, the Grammar-School of the *Regens* Henry Wellens, in Grimde

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Mol., 632-33; Vern., 135-37; VAnd., 263-68; BaxH, vii, 195, sq; BaxF, iii, 51, sq; ULDoc, iv, 299, sq; FUL, 1285-1433.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. VAnd., 242.

<sup>3)</sup> E.g., the *Pædagogium Falconis* in the present-day *Rue de Tirlemont*.

<sup>4)</sup> Busleyden stated in his Testament that the boys of Marville, Arlon, Aire and Steenberghe who wished to obtain his scholarships should be at least thirteen: *Test.*, 6; the limit of age is reduced for those of Bauschleyden, who were admitted at the age of ten: *Test.*, 4: it suggests that it was not exceptional to send very young boys to the University who necessarily had to be trained in Latin. Indeed, for those bursars who according to the Statutes, *Test.*, 7, were to study and attend the lectures of the Faculty of Arts, could not be invoked the reasons that prompted Damian a Goes to have his son Emmanuel, born in 1540, matriculated as 'Clericus Tornacensis Nobilis: <pro quo> jurat pater', on November 19, 1540: *LibIntIV*, 140, r; *LibRecI*, 283, r; *MonHL*, 620, 697-98. — Busleyden, too, had come as a boy to the Lily: *Busl.*, 30.

Street <sup>1)</sup>, and even enlarged it in 1470 into a proper boarding-school, which flourished for more than a century <sup>2)</sup>, the four Pedagogies rather developed their teaching of Latin instead of abandoning it. In the Porc it was arranged into a set of four classes, as results from one of the rare documents that have been preserved <sup>3)</sup>, and in the Lily lectures on Greek were added in January 1528 <sup>4)</sup>, about which time the new rational method of studying and teaching languages was introduced by those who had enjoyed the training of the *Trilingue* <sup>5)</sup>.

## B. ERECTION OF SEPARATE GRAMMAR-SCHOOLS

The activity of Busleyden's College had another effect on the teaching of Latin in the Pedagogies, — of which it seems opportune to sketch briefly the further history <sup>6)</sup>. The *ludimagistri* formed by the daily lessons on languages in the new Institute, soon brought real life and enlightenment to the

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<sup>1)</sup> That St. Martin's Priory was founded in execution of the will of Henry Wellens, of Sichein, chaplain of St. Peter's, professor of grammar and philosophy, who died on February 25, 1433: his small pedagogy, in his house in Grimde Street, was changed into a convent by the Brothers of the Common Life, sent from the Deventer house; they accepted the rule of St. Augustine, in 1447, and became regular canons of the Windesheim Congregation in 1462: the Priory soon revealed as a brilliant centre of erudite research: Mol., 284-85; *Anal.*, vii, 225, sq; *ULDoc.*, II, 7-16, 279-80; Keussen, I, 142, 22; LouvEven, 482-86.

<sup>2)</sup> The Brothers at first continued teaching some boys as *commensales*, as Wellens had done, until they started in 1470 a regular boarding-school which lasted till 1572 when it was broken up by the troubles of the time. Martin Lips, uncle of Justus Lipsius, was trained there: cp. further Ch. xiv.

<sup>3)</sup> FUL 1027 is a small register having belonged to the Pedagogy of the Porc, with notes about the names — rich or poor, boarders or day-boys, — about the fees, especially of the new arrivals, *Beanta*, of the *Primani*, *Secundani*, *Tertiani* and *Quartani* for the year 1556.

<sup>4)</sup> They were introduced by the *Regens* Peter de Corte and entrusted to John van den Cruyce, *Crucius*: cp. *Cran.*, 257, pr, 842, and further, Ch. viii.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. xxii.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further in this *History*; as an example may be pointed out Peter Nannius, who came to study in Louvain in the autumn of 1518, attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*: he became rector of the school of Gouda in 1521, where he composed a Latin drama *Vinctus*, already printed in July 1522: Polet, 4-5; he was not an exception at all.

Grammar-Schools throughout the country, which, before long, could send fully equipped students to the University, who did not want any further preparatory training before attending the lectures of the *Artes*. The auditories of humanistics in the Pedagogies, consequently, became less and less numerous as years went on ; and it reminded the teachers that they had not just come to Louvain to toil at the drudgery of the boys' instruction, — which by 1522 disgusted to sickening, in his *Ludus Literarius* of Oppendorp Street, a master as successful and as brilliant as Vives <sup>1)</sup>. They therefore turned their attention to their own studies in the higher Faculties, which were certain to provide a far better payment for a more congenial work, besides freedom and prospects in life ; so that they rather neglected their Latin lessons. By the middle of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, there must have shown an evident slackness in that teaching of the Pedagogies, which prompted an erudite linguist, trained in the *Trilingue*, Francis van den Nieuwlande, *de Nova Terra*, of Ghent <sup>2)</sup>, to request the approval of the University to open a new Grammar-school for the instruction of boys, from the rudiments up to logic. The proposal was examined by the Rector and the Deputies : they requested the advice of the Faculty of Arts <sup>3)</sup>, who, on December 27, 1558, replied that they did not want new schools, and that it was easier to reform what was objectionable. Still as Nieuwlande returned to the charge on January 7, 1559, backed by the Greek professor of the *Trilingue*, Adrian Amerot <sup>4)</sup>, and the town authorities, the Pedagogies, claiming

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<sup>1)</sup> On August 15, 1522, Vives wrote to Erasmus : *Me tenet tantum scholarum tedium, vt quiduis facturum sim citius quam ad has redire sordes et inter pueros versari* : Allen, v, 1306, 43-44 ; *MonHL*, 5.

<sup>2)</sup> Mol., 143, 639-40 : he was born about 1504 ; he studied in the Faculty of Arts and in the *Trilingue* so as to acquire a good knowledge of Greek and Latin. He succeeded Nicolas de Leuze as Scholaster of St. Peter's on November 17, 1561 ; he made his will on May 12, 1574 and died on June 11, 1574 : *ULDoc.*, v, 122-23 ; and further, Ch. x.

<sup>3)</sup> The Faculty of Arts reproached Nieuwlande with having revealed to the Rector and Deputies and even to the Town authorities, *prejudicialia*, *damnosa* and even *scandalosa*, *injuriosa*, *puenda facultati*, although he had taken the oath of respect and fidelity when promoting licenciate : *ULDoc.*, v 132 ; *AcArExc.*, 5, 103, 136, 165.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. III and XXIV.

repeatedly that the study of Grammar and Literature should be kept together with that of philosophy, were advised to consider '*bonam formam reformationis studiorum et morum pedagogalium*': after a few weeks' haggling they had to admit the unwelcome new rival (February 23, 1559)<sup>1</sup>), and they wisely availed themselves of their disappointment. They considered in how far their lectures and general training were actually answering the necessities of the time: indeed, the want of able and reliable teachers in the various schools throughout the country, became more and more imperative, since faith and morality were endangered<sup>2</sup>). They applied for advice to their former student, the wise and erudite Abbot Arnold Streysters of Tongerlo<sup>3</sup>), and in a letter in which they exposed their aims and views, they particularly requested his pecuniary help to secure the services of capable men by sufficient salaries for the teaching of language and literature preparatory to higher studies, or to the forming of well-equipped and morally sound masters<sup>4</sup>). The immediate result of this appeal

<sup>1</sup>) *AcArExc.*, 136-37; *ULDoc.*, v, 131-35; *VAnd.*, 250.

<sup>2</sup>) The Faculty must have felt her shortcomings although she was not pleased on having them pointed out: the humanist Nicolas Mameranus, who had passed remarks on the University in general for her methods and manners in 1560 and 1563, got involved in a bitter controversy: *Mameran.*, 112, 116-120; he specially had criticized the teaching of rhetoric in the Pedagogies: *Mameran.*, 241, 259-261.

<sup>3</sup>) Arnold Streysters, born at Diest in 1496, studied in Louvain under Adrian Barlandus, with a townsman Nicolas Beken Clenardus: *MonHL*, 411; he afterwards went to Orleans, and entered Tongerlo Abbey in 1517, of which he was elected abbot on April 19, 1530. He was a wise and erudite man, a very able canonist and a promotor of learning, not only in his Abbey, of which he enriched the library, but in his native country. John Cochlaeus, by a letter dated from Mayence, March 25, 1549, dedicated to him his edition of *Optatus Milevitanus' De Schismate Donatistarum Libri Sex*: *CochlHum.*, 184-86. He died in 1560. Cp. *Tongerloo*, 308, sq, 356; *TongNecrol.*, 161, 72, 73; *Diest*, 140; *ClenCorr.*, I, 182, II, 136; *Daxhelet*, 178, 216.

<sup>4</sup>) That letter, edited in *ULAnn.*, 1841, 154-159, is undated, but is ascribed to 'about 1539': still the text refers to the Abbot's '*ingravescentes ætas*' and to his zealous study compensating the little stretch of his life that is left, — which hardly applies to a man in the sunny side of the forties; moreover, he just said farewell to the *curia regiæ majestatis*, which happened after Philip II succeeded his father. It most exactly fits in with the proposed 'reform' of the Pedagogies, since it was chiefly on account of the insufficient salary of the professors of



does not seem to be recorded : yet there are evident signs of a renewal of spirit in the old institutes. An appeal was made to King Philip II for a subsidy, which would allow to attract the most able professors of literature to their schools by more liberal fees <sup>1)</sup> : that appeal, — which, maybe, was suggested and even seconded by Abbot Streysters, — was successful ; for in the same year 1559 the Pedagogies applied once more to His Majesty for help to instruct youth, beseeching him to do for philosophy and mathematics that which he had done for the study of Grammar <sup>2)</sup>).

Nor did the Pedagogies content themselves with asking for pecuniary assistance : they drew up a plan of reform in 1559 <sup>3)</sup>, and took up work and study again with fresh ardour. In 1561 was printed the famous *Exemplum Reformatæ Rationis Studiorum cum Grammaticæ tum Philosophicæ, sive Formulam Artium tradendarum in Pædagogio Castrensi* <sup>4)</sup>, published by the staff of the Pedagogy ; it was recommended by the Latin professor of the *Trilingue*, Cornelius Valerius van Auwater <sup>5)</sup> :

Prima reformati Studij laus vestra feretur,  
Vt res cumque cadat, colitis qui castra Mineruæ,  
Castrensemque Scholam regitis, pubemque docetis.

The other Pedagogies did not stay behind : about 1565 Benedict Rosie, *Rosius*, read and explained in the Falcon Vives' *Exercitationes* and de Spouter's Grammar <sup>6)</sup>, and when in Febr. 1568 Duke Alva requested the University to give a list of the lectures <sup>7)</sup>, the Official Statement mentions that, besides the philosophical *professiones*, there were at least

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Grammar and Languages that capable teachers forsook their posts for a higher Faculty : it was the ensuring of proportionate wages, which also van den Nieuwlande wanted to use as means to secure vitality and success to his new School : about 1539 there was no question of that.

<sup>1)</sup> Vern., 122-23.

<sup>2)</sup> *AcArExc.*, 136-37, notes for 1559 : Mittuntur deputati pro subsidio obtinendo a S. Majestate et narratur quod meditetur facultas modum instruendæ juventutis, et supplica oblata est S. M. vt quemadmodum fecit in Gramaticis, idem faciat in philosophicis, quibus etiam adjiciet Mathematicam.

<sup>3)</sup> *AcArExc.*, 137.

<sup>4)</sup> VAnd., 250, states having seen that handbook ; cp. *AcArExc.*, 137.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. xvii.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. xxii.

<sup>7)</sup> The list of lectures seems to have been submitted to Duke Alva in January 1569 : *AcArExc.*, 103.

four literary ones in each pedagogy, and in some even more <sup>1)</sup>.

Meanwhile the College of Ghent or of Nieuwlande knew some years of prosperity : the boys gave several times most successful representations of Latin tragedies and comedies on the Market place in front of the Town hall <sup>2)</sup>, and the premises were enlarged in 1571 <sup>3)</sup>. Unfortunately, at the founder's death on June 11, 1574 <sup>4)</sup>, the institution was overburdened with liabilities, which grew heavier in the fateful eighties ; it was only thanks to the foundation of John de Vaulx <sup>5)</sup>, that it was saved from ruin by being completely absorbed into it, so as to form a *Collegium Vaulxianum*, on April 6, 1592 <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Vern., 122 ; those *professiones* continued to the beginning of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century : *AcArExc.*, 139, 140-42, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Motives for the adoption of the School by the Town authorities by a deed of Aug. 5, 1575 : *FUL*, 4368. — Nieuwlande published in Latin and in Greek a compendium of the Christian doctrine, followed by the *servitium Missæ*, called *Confiteor*, and some sacred chants ; the *BibBelg.*, 237, notes it as '*Doctrina Christiana, Græce & Latine*' printed by Gravius, Louvain, 1560 : it was for certain published as *Disciplina Christianorum* by Barth. Gravius in 1568. — In 1567, Simon Verepæus dedicated (so E. Reussens writes : *ULAnn.*, 1870, 330) to van den Nieuwlande his second book of *Grammatica Latina*.

<sup>3)</sup> Nieuwlande had bought in 1559, or rented for his school several houses in the *Langen Bruel* near the *Minnepoirt brugge* on the Dyle, with a way out in the *Corten Bruel*. In one of those he lived and lodged the five or six masters, for which he had made provision. On Oct. 1, 1571 he bought another house adjoining his own and the school : it was destined to serve as a College of Divinity for a president and four bursars. By his will of May 12, 1574 he bequeathed all his belongings, including his books, to his colleges, which he placed under the supervision of the eldest member in each of the five Faculties : *FUL*, 3240, 4364-67, 4388, 4459. — Cp. *Mol.*, 639 ; Vern., 146-48 ; *VAnd.*, 285 ; *PF.* 269 ; *BaxH*, viii, 52 ; *BaxF*, iii, 98 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 122, sq ; *ULAnn.*, 1870, 329, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Fr. van den Nieuwlande provided by his will for his Grammar-school, with a 'regent' and six or seven masters, as well as for a theological college with a 'regent' and some bursars : *FUL*, 4367, 4364-69.

<sup>5)</sup> On January 19, 1587, a Lille refugee, the *escuyer* Jean de Vaulx, disposed of his estate and his belongings in favour of the poor students of Louvain University in the way which would seem most advantageous to his two executors, the Dean of St. James, James de Bay, and the parish-priest of St. Gertrude's : *FUL*, 4370-4373.

<sup>6)</sup> On account of the ruinous times, the rents by means of which the houses had been acquired proved too onerous, and no other foundation, except that of Peter Titelmans, Dean of Courtrai, the inquisitor, by will of Aug. 9, 1570 : *FUL* 4369, had augmented the shrinking patrimony. The adoption by the Town on Aug. 5, 1575 did not prove durable, so

At the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century the teaching of Grammar in several of the Pedagogies gradually declined <sup>1)</sup>, no doubt since, in one town after another, the well-equipped and well-disciplined Latin Schools of the Jesuits had started <sup>2)</sup>. Their example was even imitated by other religious families, such as that of the Austin Friars, who, in 1612, opened in Louvain, with the approval of the University, a *Collegium Augustinianum* for languages, literature and dialectics <sup>3)</sup>. It is only natural that, little by little, the Latin classes were suppressed in the Pedagogies <sup>4)</sup>; and yet in the Porc they had just then a most glorious efflorescence, which, through the many sons from Poland's choicest families, who were then at study in Louvain, spread the fame of the Brabant Alma Mater far into the awakening East <sup>5)</sup>. It was in a large part due to Nicolas

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that the Dean of St. James James de Bay, chief executor of squire John de Vault, offered to take over the two colleges, and make of them the *Collegium Vaultianum*, which solution was accepted on April 6, 1592 : of Nieuwlande's foundation only two scholarships remained : they were taken over in 1657 by the *Collegium Smae Trinitatis* : FUL, 4388, 4459. Cp. *AcArExc.*, 77-78, 149, 151, 157, *sq* ; *Vern.*, 146-49 ; *VAnd.*, 285-86 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 1-2, 86-88, 122-35 ; FUL, 4370-4391 ; *PF*, \*269 ; *BaxH*, viii, 53 ; *BaxF*, iii, 98 ; *ULAnn.*, 1870, 329, *sq* ; *LouvBoon*, 387 ; *NèveRen.*, 386, *sq*.

<sup>1)</sup> In the eighties of the xv<sup>th</sup> century the number of the students diminished so that instead of four teachers and classes, there was at times only one ; in 1584 the Faculty deliberated about asking the Jesuits to open a *publica Schola Humaniorum*, and by 1588 the boys of the Falcon attended the lectures on rhetoric and languages in the Porc : *AcArExc.*, 140-141.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *DebEnCo.*, 201, *sq* ; *JesHist.*, i, 150, *sq*.

<sup>3)</sup> On February 23, 1612, Thomas Gratianus, Prior and Provincial of the Augustines, received the approval of the University to start that school ; it was begun in the convent of the order in that same year, and soon proved successful : *AcArExc.*, 77, 151 ; *VAnd.*, 250 ; *LouvEven*, 476.

<sup>4)</sup> In the Lily the lessons were not continued after 1613 : *Vern.*, 130 ; and when Vernulæus edited his *Academia Lovaniensis*, 1627, the Porc alone kept on that teaching : 'Dolendum est, he adds, florentissimam toto orbe Academiam hac parte tantum laborare' : *Vern.*, 123.

<sup>5)</sup> Most of those Polish students attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* College, especially those of Erycius Puteanus, who took some of them as guests in his house, or rather his Castle, the *Arx Palladis*, in which he had started a *Collegium Nobilium Puerorum* : Th. Simar, *Etude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)* : Louvain, 1909 : 149-52. A large number was educated and taught in the Porc, where the teacher of Rhetoric Nicolas Vernulæus took particular care of them : Stefan Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen* : Berlin, 1913 : 23, 28-9, 38-9, 45, 51.

of Vernulz, Vernulæus<sup>1</sup>), who, probably mediately, succeeded J. B. Gramaye<sup>2</sup>) as teacher of Rhetoric in 1608, and in 1611 took his place as *Rhetor Publicus* in the University. He made his boys not only act the fine moralizing plays about contemporary events which he composed for them, but also trained them so that they carried on debates and delivered

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<sup>1</sup>) Nicolas of Vernulz, *Vernulæus*, born on April 10, 1583 at Robelmont, near Virton, studied at Treves and Cologne : on the recommendation of J. B. Gramaye, he became in 1608 teacher of Rhetoric in the Porc ; he succeeded him also in 1611 as public professor of eloquence in the University and canon in St. Peter's. He was appointed Royal Historiograph at the same time, but had some trouble in becoming a member of the Faculty of Arts until 1613 ; he remained teacher in the Porc until 1614, and is recorded as 'vice-regent' in 1616 ; he continued afterwards to take an active part in the literary formation of the boys ; on Dec. 9 or 11, 1618, he promoted licenciate in divinity, and on July 23, 1619, he accepted the presidency of the College of John de Myle, *Mylius*, or of Luxemburg. He succeeded his friend Puteanus in 1646 as professor of the *Trilingue*, and died on January 6, 1649 after a life of zealous study and teaching, leaving several works which justify the great renown he enjoyed for several years : Cp. Paquot, III, 428-448 ; *AcArExc.*, 74-77, 153, 155 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 469-70, IV, 134 ; *NèveMém.*, 180-84, 351-52 ; *Vern.*, 125, 231 ; *VAnd.*, 48, 87, 144, 247-8, 281-2, 326, 396 ; *BibBelg.*, 699-701 ; *BN*.

<sup>2</sup>) John Baptist Gramaye, a native of Antwerp who promoted Master of Arts in Louvain in 1596 and, whilst professor of Rhetoric in the Porc, licenciate of Laws in 1600. He then already had written poems and dramas — *Andromeda Belgica* was acted before Albert and Isabella (*AcArExc.*, 149 ; *LouvBoon*, 403) ; on account of his eloquence he was appointed public professor of Rhetoric, succeeding to Livinus Hoir or Ghoir, and, at Lipsius' death, Royal Historiographer ; he also was President of Mons College, 1603. He had meanwhile started his work on the *Antiquitates* of the various towns and duchies of the Netherlands, based on old chronicles and records. In order to continue his historical and geographical studies, he resigned his professorship and his title to visit Gelderland from where his family took its origin, and where he was Provost of Arnhem ; also France and Italy and as far as the North of Africa, where he was kept as captive for several months : he wrote in consequence *Africa Illustrata*, 1622, and a sketch of the misery of the Christians in Algeria, *Diarium Argelense*, 1622. He afterwards made a long stay in Moravia and Silesia, where Cardinal Dietrichstein secured him for lectures and management of his famous *gymnasium* of Olmütz. On the journey back to his native land in 1635 to see to his interests, he fell ill and died at Lubeck, and was buried there in the Cathedral : *AcArExc.*, 6, 190 ; *Miræus*, II, 230 ; *Vern.*, 125, 230 ; *VAnd.*, 247, 319 ; *BibBelg.*, 452-53 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 400 ; *NèveRen.*, 319-342 ; *SweABelg.*, 392, sq ; *NèveMém.*, 354.

classical speeches on subjects of actuality under his direction, which he bestowed on them long after he had left the Latin school of the Porc to become a most inspiring professor of Eloquence for the whole University <sup>1)</sup>. Recalling the example given by the proud mother of the Gracchi, Vernulæus published the orations of his pupils : from 15, as they counted in 1614, they developed into 45 in the *tertia editio* of 1630 <sup>2)</sup>; they were frequently reprinted, and their number even grew in later years, when some were published occasionally apart, as echos of great events <sup>3)</sup>, — such as the victory of Calloo in 1638, celebrated ‘*a Rhetoribus Academicis Collegii Porcensis*’ in that same year <sup>4)</sup>. Still although he was most worthily succeeded in the class of Rhetoric by his disciple Peter Parisot <sup>5)</sup>, even the Latin teaching in the Porc was put an end to in 1657 : in that year the Faculty of Arts replaced the few remaining Grammar-Schools of her Pedagogies, as well as the sadly deperishing College of de Vaulx <sup>6)</sup>, by the *Collegium Sanctissimæ Trinitatis*, kept under her immediate control, and worked by her own members <sup>7)</sup>, in so far that the privileges of the professors of philosophy were extended in

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. the bibliography in Paquot, III, 432, 436, 437, 439, 441, 444.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rhetorum Collegii Porcensis Inclytæ Academicæ Lovaniensis Orationes in tres partes secundum tria Causarum seu Orationum genera distributæ*. Sub Nicolao Vernulæo Collegij Porcensis, & publico Eloquentiæ Professore. Editio tertia aucta... Cologne, 1630. — Paquot, III, 433-35, indicates the various editions.

<sup>3)</sup> Paquot, III, 435-37, 439-40.

<sup>4)</sup> Paquot, III, 445 : *Triumphus ob cæsos ad Calloam Batavos* : Louvain, 1638.

<sup>5)</sup> Paquot, x, 306 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 135.

<sup>6)</sup> That School had been illustrated by several excellent masters, amongst them the Latin poet and playwright Andrew Catulle (1586-1667), afterwards canon and official of Tournai, who wrote the drama *Prometheus* in 1613 (*NèveRen.*, 375-405), designed as a plea for the *Schola Vaulxiana* : it praises the town and the higher Faculties of Louvain, but regrets through the mouth of Apollo that the Liberal Arts and *Humanitas* have not a better and nobler place, and especially no richer dowry ; the *Grudiæ Urbis Senatus*, especially, is urgently requested to vote an annual subsidy : it would be ‘*Novem... Divarum, trium Charitum decus Vitale*’, which statement *Echo* amens : *Tale*. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 47 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 128 ; Foppens, I, 50.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. for the ‘New College’, *AcArExc.*, 78-9, 83, 103, 160-2, 168-82, 189 ; *PF*, \*269 ; *BaxH*, viii, 59 ; *BaxF*, III, 98 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 1-94 ; *FUL*, 4392-4501.

some way to those of languages and literature <sup>1)</sup>. That New College lasted as long as the University ; it was re-opened on October 15, 1813 by the Congregation of the Josephites, and, like of yore, it has been at work ever since as a Latin school for day-boys and boarders.

### C. TEACHING METHODS

For the first fifty years of the University very little remains to give information about the Latin lessons in the Pedagogies. Two facts seem to bring enlightening : one is, that, six years after the founding, one of the chief *regentes* of the Faculty of Arts, Henry Wellens, bequeathed his school, his house and most of his belongings to the Brothers of the Common Life <sup>2)</sup> ; and another is, that by 1475 the *Regens* of the most prosperous Pedagogy, Charles Viruli, gave to the same Brotherhood the necessary means to finish the church, which they had started in 1472 <sup>3)</sup> ; he generally attended there the divine services, and at his death he made several bequests (amongst them even his books and manuscripts) to that Priory, which he had chosen for his burial place <sup>4)</sup>. Those two facts imply that the community founded by Gerard de Groote was not merely known, but highly appreciated by the leading men of the Faculty of Arts, so much the more as St. Martin's soon developed into a seat of intellectual activity <sup>5)</sup>. It may be safely admitted that the influence of that famous Brotherhood was

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<sup>1)</sup> The extensions of the privileges of the Faculty of Arts to the professors of languages and literature, was the subject of a controversy, for which the *professores literarii* made a thorough research in the *Acta Facultatis Artium* and copied several passages — of which the originals have since partly got lost : those notes, without order, but with evident definite aim, constitute the *Excerpta* : they show that, up to the beginning of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century several of the best *magistri* were teaching grammar and languages in the Pedagogies : Cp. *AcArExc.*, 80-83, 139, 140, 141, 142, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 279-80, &c ; *Mol.*, 284, sq ; he was the first *receptor* and *promotor* of the Faculty and one of the five *ambulantes* : *Mol.*, 586, 587, 594 ; and before, p 64.

<sup>3)</sup> *LouvEven.* 485.

<sup>4)</sup> *Mol.*, 596 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 173-74 ; *Paquot*, VII, 351-52 ; *Busl.*, 304, 337-38.

<sup>5)</sup> *LouvEven*, 484 ; *MonHL*, 532-35 ; 556, sq ; *Gestel*, I, 165-66 ; *Delprat*, 69 ; &c.

felt in the Latin schools of the Pedagogies, at least for the spirit — for two things have to be kept apart : the spirit of the Brothers of the Common Life, and their method of teaching Latin <sup>1)</sup>.

That spirit was in complete opposition to the opinions about religion and morals which were then prevailing : the Brothers wanted simple, internal, and yet intellectual religion : neither based on sentiment, nor on the intricate, arrogant reasonings as were then carried on in all Universities <sup>2)</sup>. Instead of the vain quibbling about things beyond man's ken <sup>3)</sup>, they wanted to increase their humble faith by a study of the Bible text and of the explanation of the Fathers of the Church <sup>4)</sup>, aiming at what they were proud to call a *docta ignorantia* <sup>5)</sup>. That faith was not to be merely theoretic, as was then practically considered as sufficient by many, but had to be active, and to penetrate the whole of man's life as a leaven : *non alta sapere, sed bene agere* <sup>6)</sup>. Instead of confiding in the

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<sup>1)</sup> The history of that celebrated community has been described by many authors, from G. M. H. Delprat, 1836 & 1856, and J. G. R. Acquoy (*Het Klooster te Windesheim en zijn Invloed* : Utrecht, 1875-80) to R. R. Post (*De Moderne Devotie. Geert Groote en zijn Stichtingen* : Amsterdam, 1940) and more recent ones. The most interesting sources remain the various treatises and sermons by Thomas a Kempis (KempO, 5-802) and his description of the lives of the founder and of the first Brethren (KempO, 889-1023), or similar documents by the earliest disciples of Gerard de Groote, such as John Busch, *Chronicon Windeshemense, Liber de Origine Devotionis Modernæ, Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum* (edited by K. Grube : Halle, 1886) and *Jacobus Traiecti alias de Voecht, Narratio de Inchoatione Domus Clericorum in Zwollis* (edited by M. Schoengen : Amsterdam, 1908). — Some of the modern studies, although apparently well equipped, lack all sound basis through a complete ignorance of the dogmas of the Catholic Church and her secular teachings, such as that about the Spiritual Communion (cp. Mestwerdt, 90-99, &c) or that about confession and contrition (Hyma, 29, sq, 360-61, &c).

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *De Imitatione Christi*, I, i, 2, 3, iii, 1-2 ; Grube, 68.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *De Imitatione Christi*, I, iii, 1, 2.

<sup>4)</sup> The close attention which, e. g., Erasmus devoted to the study of the Bible and to the establishing of a reliable and authentic Vulgate-text, was no doubt suggested by his Deventer educators.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. for this famous theory the sense which was given to it by one of its great adepts, Card. Nicolas de Cusa : J. Ritter, *Docta Ignorantia. Die Theorie des Nichtwissens bei Nicolaus Cusanus* : Leipzig, 1927 ; E. Vansteenbergh, *Le Cardinal Nicolas de Cues* : Paris, 1920.

<sup>6)</sup> *De Imitatione Christi*, I, i, 3, ii, 3, iii, 4-6 ; Grube, 68.

cooperative merits of an order, they held that each man has to bring about his own salvation by trying to attain perfection ; and instead of living at the expense of other men's charity and generosity, they forced themselves to earn their bread by their own work : either teaching the people, or keeping schools, or copying manuscripts <sup>1</sup>). Before all, the spirit of the Brotherhood was charitable : that which they experienced to be good and wholesome, had to be communicated to others by sermons, by the education of youth, by helping the clergy to overcome ambition and greed, to which the ecclesiastical institutions of those days were more than a mere opportunity, and by bringing order and reform to convents that had lost their pristine purity and discipline <sup>2</sup>).

Those, and other points proposed, must have been highly appreciated in Louvain and practically adapted for teaching and inspiring a sound view of faith and religious activity, as well as a thoroughly Christian life. To the same influence may be ascribed that, if there were debates and controversies — such as that on the *futura contingentia* <sup>3</sup>), — they were carried on in a way which made Nicolas Daryngton, a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, coming from Paris by February 1522, feel displeased with the '*theologie exercitamenta*' : *Frigide legunt, frigidius disputant, omnia, ut ferunt, cum modestia : quam laudarem, si esset absque tarditate et suis nugamentis. Parisiis clamatur vere Sorbonice et voce, quod dicitur, Stentorea : fremunt aliquando ad spumam usque et dentium stridorem : medio igitur tutissimus ibis* <sup>4</sup>). That sensible way of discussing, liberated '*a physicis et alijs nugis*', was

<sup>1</sup>) Mol., 290-93 ; Grube, 67, 71-72, 73, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) In that sense also worked Nicolas de Cusa, Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, Nicolas de Clémengis and others, who were roused up to activity : the life of the Church, like that of any Christian, is not stationary, but essentially struggling and moving toward perfection.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. further in this Chapter, sect. 3, v.

<sup>4</sup>) *EngHistRev.*, xxii, 740 ; de Jongh, 230 ; *MonHL*, 4, 551 ; Brewer, iii, 2052 : the letter was written on February 14, 1522 from Louvain to his colleague Henry Gold, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge ; Gold afterwards became Archbishop Warham's chaplain ; he was implicated in the affair of the Holy Maid of Kent, attainted and executed at Tyburn, May 6, 1534 : Cooper, i, 49 ; Froude, ii, 55, 57.



attributed to the influence of Adrian of Utrecht <sup>1)</sup>, an old pupil of the Brothers <sup>2)</sup>.

If the Brothers deserve high praise for their religious and moral spirit, their teaching itself was only indifferent. They did not necessarily do that teaching themselves in the schools they created or adopted ; they monopolized the direction, the instruction in religion, and the proper education ; but admitted priests and lay professors for the classes, as far as was required by the circumstances <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt they recommended to them their innovations, which were a great improvement on the old receptive methods and on the learning by heart ; such as : enjoining the pupils to note down words and expressions, proverbs and fine passages, into collections, so as to cultivate mind and judgment <sup>4)</sup> ; or entrusting to an older boy the care of helping and correcting the style and talk of a younger one <sup>5)</sup>, which proves to be one of the best ways to learn things oneself. Yet the marvelous efflorescence of humanistic literature in our countries, especially in the first half of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, was in no way due to the teaching of the Brethren, as is often asserted <sup>6)</sup>. Considering the bitter complaints of Erasmus and the severe criticism of Rudolph Agricola and John Wessel, about the instruction in the most famous schools of that Brotherhood in the last quarter of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, it almost would look as if perfection had grown suddenly from insufficiency and bad taste, as if light had been produced by gloom.

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<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 551-552 : as Martin Lipsius had ascribed the calm, eloquent and relevant discussions of the Louvain divines to the influence of Erasmus, he was corrected by Gerard Morinck who, on December 8, 1537, wrote to him a long letter, on this and many other matters, in which he asserted that he judged by what his masters and predecessors had told him, and what he had learned from Adrian's writings.

<sup>2)</sup> *AdriReus.*, x ; *AdriBurm.*, 5 : there does not seem to be any certain indication which school, Deventer or Zwolle, he attended.

<sup>3)</sup> E. g., Alexander Hegius was not a member of the Brotherhood as was his friend and collaborator John Synthen, or Sinden, *de Synthia* : *HuNieWe.*, I, 30, 34.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., the *rapiaria* or *rapuaria*, used by their pupils : Wessel, in *Mare Magnum*, and as well by John Mombaer for his *Rosetum* as by Erasmus for his *Adagia* : *Mombaer*, 19, sq ; *Goch*, 14, 191.

<sup>5)</sup> That was, no doubt, the reason of the connection of Erasmus with the somewhat older boy Cornelius Gerard and with his younger friend Servatius Rogerus : *Allen*, I, 4, 17.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Roersch*, I, 9, sq, 15, sq ; *Altmeyer*, I, 244, sq.

Indeed there always remains the fact that the Brothers, who were so clear-sighted and progressive for religion and morals, were unaware that also for science and erudition the chief criterions of certitude are truth and reason, and not tradition, as was admitted up to then ; nor did they realize that a dead language has to be studied from authentic texts, which have to be considered only as linguistic and literary documents ; nor that all study of any object has to be based on that object itself or on unexceptionable evidence ; in a word, that which constitutes the soul of humanism was as a closed book for them. Erasmus regrets that, instead of pure and authentic Latin texts, suspicious and often injudicious compilations of passages of post-classical or medieval authors, or of the *Vulgata*, were used at Deventer, such as *Ebrardus*, *Catholicon*, *Garlandus*, *Isidorus* ; or versified grammars, like *Florista*, *Grecista*, derived from the *Donatus minor*, to which dialectic arrangements and comments had been added ; or glossaries based on fanciful etymology, like *Papias*, *Hugutio*, *Mammothreptus* <sup>1</sup>). It is recorded that, when he was at Deventer, an improvement had been introduced in the teaching of Latin by two of the masters, whom he praises, Alexander Hegius and John Synthen, who introduced *aliquid melioris literaturæ* <sup>2</sup>) and inaugurated a closer study of Alexander de Villa-Dei's *Doctrinale* <sup>3</sup>) : Synthen's *Glosa super primam partem*

<sup>1</sup>) Erasmus recalls those manuals to his former fellow-student Cornelius Gerard in his letters dated from June and July 1489 : Allen, I, 26, 88-89, 23, 89, sq ; he also mentions them in his oration *Antibarbarorum Liber I*, dating from the same period, as well as in his last colloquy, *Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariei* : EOO, X, 1701, c, 1716, E, I, 892, F ; BB, E, 599, 3-8 ; Renaudet, 261-62 ; Sandys, I, 665-668. The same manuals are said to have been used by Martin van Dorp : *MonHL.*, 263, 297 ; by John Cochlaeus : *CochlHum.*, 14, sq, 189, sq ; by Luther : Scheel, I, 41-51 ; &c.

<sup>2</sup>) Erasmus left the school, which he calls '*adhuc barbara*', before he had reached the class where Synthen taught : still, as he describes it in his *Compendium Vitæ*, in the third person : *ex pueris collusoribus, qui grandiores natu audiebant Zinthium, primum cepit* (viz., Erasmus) *odorem melioris doctrinæ ; post aliquoties audiuit Hegium, sed non nisi diebus festis quibus legebat omnibus* [about 1483-84, before he finished the third class] : Allen, I, pp 48, 34-40, 575, sq.

<sup>3</sup>) Those comments were printed and, according to the agreement made between the two authors, they were ascribed to Synthen, the one who died first (*HuNieWe.*, I, 34) : the commentary on the first part was issued by R. Pafraet in Deventer, 1488, the second by the same in 1496 : Polain, I, 129, 130, III, 3650.

*Alexandri*, printed at Deventer, 1488<sup>1)</sup>), gives an idea of how the interminable metrically constructed grammar was explained : the first line :

Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale nouellis  
is said to contain the *quatuor causas huius libri* :  
Scribere formalem, dat causam materialem  
Doctrinale tibi, paro denotat efficientem  
Causam, clericulis dat finalem nouellis.

Then follows a long explanation of the five words of that line : that for the first may serve as example :

Item *Scribere* habet quinque significata. — Primo modo significat : disponere, *ordinieren*, *vff schicken*. Unde in exodo legimus Moysen dixisse : Domine, dimitte populo huic noxam hanc i. e. peccatum istud, aut dele me de libro viventium in quo me scripsisti i. e. disposuisti vel ordinasti. — Secundo significat aliquid in memoria seruare. Unde communiter dicitur : Scripsi hoc in corde meo i. e. ad firmam posui memoriam. Et sic accipitur ibi : Scribe Beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur. — Tertio significat literas protrahere in papiro. Unde communiter dicitur :

Scribere qui nescit nullum putat esse laborem

Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat. —

Quarto significat : inferre. Unde Iob : Scribe enim contra me amaritudines &c. i. e. infer. — Quinto significat aliquid in scriptis manifestare, vel representare. Et sic accipitur hic, et in communi sermone, cum dicimus : Scribatis intentionem vestram. — Istæ quinque significationes patent in his versibus :

Disponit, meminit, trahit, infert ac repræsentat

Scribere tot sensus significare solet.

Vel sic :

Scribo repræsentat, meminit, trahit, ordinat, infert <sup>2)</sup>).

To be true, the use of those books and their comments may have helped the students to acquire the medium to proceed in their studies, and to dissertate in their turn, and debate on matters of which neither Cicero nor Virgil had any idea : yet there is in them an evident lack not only of taste and common sense, but even of truth and exactitude : significations like those quoted by Synthen, in which the metaphorical or

<sup>1)</sup> In *ErAge*, 41, is suggested the conclusion that Alexander de Villa-Dei's *Doctrinale* was introduced as grammar by Hegius and Synthen at Deventer : from the *Compendium Vitæ* it seems rather that a new way of explaining or commenting is meant : cp. further p 85.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Zarncke, 346-355, from which the two texts of Synthen's *Dicta* (351-53), which he ascribes to 1487, are quoted here.

metonymical, and even the adapted senses of words are mixed with the literal, necessarily produce vague and incorrect concepts, which are rendered even more entangled and confused by the hare-brained etymologic explanations provided as criterion <sup>1</sup>). It follows that such texts and such comments can hardly produce any clear and well-defined representations in the mind, the more so as they are couched in a slovenly syntax, leading to misconceptions and errors, which explains how a large amount of the writings of the late Middle Ages are characterized either by obscurity or by shallowness. Yet intellectual activity is impossible without accurateness in the ideas, and precision in their expression : the text it requires for its formation and fostering, has to be strictly truthful in its correctness, powerfully suggestive in its exactness, and satisfyingly complete in its concision. It is evident that a most judicious training is indispensable to gain a mastery over the old language, and only then one is able to adapt it to the immense variety of modern conceptions : not by empiric creations, which want to be explained before one understands them <sup>2</sup>), but by natural applications of the laws

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<sup>1</sup>) Derivations were of the first importance in the Middle Ages' treatises : they range from Latin etymologies (*December*, derived from *decem* and *imbres*, *quibus abundare solet*, as Papias explains) to Greek ones : such as those from Eberhard of Bethune's *Græcismus* : *apud Grecos tertia litera cima est, Est quoque dulce cī mēn : inde cī mētērīum ; or : Estque geneth mulier, inde genēthēūm* <viz., gynæceum>, which is explained as : *locus subterraneus ubi habitant mulieres ad laborandum, et dicitur a geneth quod est mulier, et thesis, positio*. — As to alphabetical dictionaries, like that of Hugutio, words are placed with their — supposed — roots, so that *capio* not only carries *capax*, and *captivus*, *anceps* and *princeps*, &c, but also *sceptrum*, *scipio*, *caupo* and several more ; and *ovis* has to be sought under *offero*. Cp. Sandys, I, 665, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) It is only consistent that new words should be coined for new concepts, especially for abstract ones, lacking almost entirely in the language of Rome where only actions and facts had any value ; still words like *quidditas*, *ubiquitas*, *hocceitas*, to quote only the most usual ones, are evidently devised without taking any notice of the nature of the language : nor can constructions, such as *legitur Virgilium* or *sillogizantem ponendum est terminos*, pretend to legitimacy : Sandys, I, 668-69. — Paulsen, I, 51, sq, tries to excuse the mediaeval Latin as providing an expression to a wider civilisation, mentioning, e. g., the Liturgical hymns and some of the *Carmina Burana* : it is evident that those splendid achievements of human intelligence and imagination derive

that governed its formations centuries ago : such are the notable forms like *indicendo*, *inexpectans*, *inconsistens* and others, which show that in the hands of the non-Ciceronian humanists, like Erasmus or Vives <sup>1)</sup>, the language was living, and could adapt itself to all needs of expression.

Meanwhile Erasmus spent the few years he was at Deventer attending lessons given in rooms where far over hundred boys were sitting on the floor <sup>2)</sup>, writing first the few lines which the master dictated : for example from Garland, that *canis* has eight meanings <sup>3)</sup>, and *sal* seven <sup>4)</sup>; or from Ebrardus explaining etymology by Greek, e. g.,

Dic decas esse decem, designans inde decanum.

After the verses had been read over again, and the punctuation indicated, the master dictated the commentary which was written down as well as could be. Those *literæ inamoenæ* formed with the rhymed grammar the bulk of the matter taught in a school which, with its rival Zwolle, was the best of those conducted by the Brothers of the Common Life <sup>5)</sup>.

no small lustre exactly from their admirable correctness ; nor is it possible to find how the language and explanations of the commentaries by, e. g., Pierre Tartaret and Thomas Bricot (1493-94 : Renaudet, 96-97, 247) could be otherwise than satyriized, together with the famous *bocardo* and *pheryson*, *est* and *non est*, by Alexander Barclay in his English translation of the *Navis Stultitifera*, in which James Locher ridiculed *Alexander gallus* and *currentem Sortem*, *Platonem stantem* : *Stultifera Navis* (Basle, August 1, 1497), f 38, v ; Barclay, I, 144, sq ; Zarncke, 29, 346, sq ; Pompen, 209-218.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. e. g., sentences in their letters : Allen, v, 1306, 12, 1378, 20, 1381, 378, &c.      <sup>2)</sup> Cp. Zarncke, 346, sq, 352 ; Philippon, 263.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz. : *Latrat et amittit, humilis, vilis, negat, heret* :

*Est celeste Canis sidus, in amne natat.*

the two first and the two last indicate the animal, the bad cast of dice, the star and the fish ; the others are allusions to Bible texts : *humilis*, to what David says to Saul : *canem mortuum persequeris* : I *Reg.*, xxiv, 15 ; *vilis*, Goliath to David : *Numquid ego canis sum* : I *Reg.*, xvii, 43 ; *negat* is said to be an apostate because : *canis ad vomitum redit* : *Prov.*, xxvi, 11 ; and *heret* is made into : be a heretic or an infidel, which sense *hærerere* never has, but which is connected with *Matth.*, vii, 6 : *nolite dare sanctum canibus*.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., *Est sal prelatus, equor, sapientia, mimus*,

*Sal pultes condit, sal est cibus et reprehendit.*

the *prelatus* is explained by *Matth.*, v, 13 : *Vos estis sal terræ*.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *ErAge*, 33-63 : although at Deventer R. Pafraet and J. van Breda started about the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century issuing some texts like Cicero

It may be safely admitted that the Louvain grammar-schools were in no respect better or worse than those of the Brethren <sup>1)</sup>: the language in which were couched the *Acta* of the Faculty of Arts, as well as those of the University for that century, give evidence enough that the knowledge of Latin was as in its infancy. No doubt the old mediaeval manuals recorded for Deventer were used here as well <sup>2)</sup>. In the thirties Antony Haneron, when teaching in *Vinearum Strata*, had gathered some practical hints about orations, about grammar, and about writing letters, indicating the various kinds, and their composing parts, and their requisites, with some examples of beginning and ending. They were highly appreciated, in so far that when, in 1438, he left his school, he generously passed his notes on *Præcepta Oratoribus Utilia*, on *De Epistolis Brevibus Edendis*, and others <sup>3)</sup>, to his successors and his colleagues: they were copied out <sup>4)</sup>, and printed at the first presses established in Louvain. As such small booklets were torn and worn after a few months' use, it is only natural that very few have survived; the *Dyasinthetica* was also issued at Antwerp in 1487 by Gerard Leeuw, and at Deventer by Richard Pafraet, about 1480 <sup>5)</sup>; *De Coloribus Verborum et*

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and Virgil, the larger number were editions of the older manuals: cp. Polain, iv, pp 356-7, 396-7. — In 1489 Bartholomew of Cologne, a Deventer master, composed a practical Latin reader for his class, consisting of a witty letter to a friend, relating the return of a book by Sidonius borrowed, as if it was a person that had been long asleep: that author, like others who are mentioned, Hyginus and Manilius, belongs to the post-classic period: D. Reichling, *Bartholomæi Coloniensis Epistola Mythologica*: Berlin, 1897; *HuNieWe.*, i, 10, 42-45, ii, 61.

<sup>1)</sup> John Molanus, who worked at his *Historia Lovaniensium* between 1560 and 1585, wrote: *Facultas artium diu permansit in stylo antiquæ suæ latinitatis. Tandem tamen prævaluit sermo purus*: Mol., 588; as he only refers in that section to teaching, his attestation applies without any doubt to the language taught.

<sup>2)</sup> On February 3, 1428 the Faculty granted a dispensation to Joannes Calaber who had failed about the *Græcismus*, and in 1490, under Adrian of Utrecht, of the six students that were admitted to the *actus determinantiæ*, one had not attended the lessons on the *Græcismus* and had been admitted only on condition to study it apart: Mol., 588.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further in section 3, D, of this Chapter.

<sup>4)</sup> A bundle of such manuscript copies now reposes in the Library of the Higher Seminary, Mechlin: C. de Clercq, *Œuvres Inédites d'Antoine Haneron*: Antwerp (*Le Compas d'Or*), 1929.

<sup>5)</sup> Campbell, 908; Polain, ii, 1847.

*Sententiarum* was printed at Utrecht by William Hees, in 1475 <sup>1)</sup>, and the (*Ars Dictandi seu*) *De Epistolis Brevibus Edendis*, at Antwerp, by Mathias Goes, together with *Augustini Dathi Elegantiolæ*, without date, and in another edition by itself, without name of printer or date <sup>2)</sup>. That in Louvain the Grammar of Alexander de Villa-Dei was well known and used is implied by the fact that, from the first, it was amongst the books imposed for the *determinantia* <sup>3)</sup>, so that when the Lectures of Poetics started in 1478, the teachers in the Lily at once began checking and correcting the rules enounced in the old *Doctrinale* by the literary documents just revealed to them; as well as by this other, which is in part the cause of de Spouter's success as grammarian, that instead of building up a new manual, he simplified and rectified the old one which had been for so long in many a teacher's and many a student's hands <sup>4)</sup>.

#### D. THE 'EPISTOLARUM FORMULAE'

A most interesting specimen of the Latin taught in the Louvain Pedagogies in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, is a collection of model letters proposed in the classes of the Lily: when printers established their presses in the University town, it was one of the first books that was issued. It appeared for certain in April 1476 with the *incipit*: *Continet iste libellus epistolares quasdam formulas iudicio componentis puerorum captui non absimiles, quas correctoria vocant; easdemque extractas ex maiorum litterarum missiuarum collectorio scholaribus Louanii in pedagogio Lilij lectarum exemplorum gratia, tanquam breviores et ornatiores atque sententia extrahentis, verbo sensuque placidiores* <sup>5)</sup>. In the colophon, on f 72, v, adorned by a woodcut representing a lily, emblematic of the

<sup>1)</sup> Campbell, 909; Holtrop, 38.

<sup>2)</sup> Campbell, 907; and the just mentioned paper by C. de Clercq.

<sup>3)</sup> Amongst the *Antiquæ prælectiones*, Mol., 588, quotes: Inter libros determinandorum nominantur Summula Petri Hispani, Grammatica Alexandri, pars Græcismi. In *Statutis primis*. — Cp. *ErAge*, 41.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further in this Chapter, section 6, B, C.

<sup>5)</sup> The edition is described in Lambinet, 271-73; Campbell, 1201; Hain, 10662.

Pedagogy, the printer John Veldener <sup>1)</sup> declares that he started the book 'multiplicatum magni numeri globo sub placidis atramenti lituris spreto calamo' on April 1, and finished it on the last day of that month, adding that any body could have found him 'Louanij impressioni vacantem in monte calci <Keyberg>, ... si... hoc predicto aprili mense cure fuisset quærerere' <sup>2)</sup>). The sentence added by the printer in the postface about the novel method of copying books, sounds childish unless this edition should be the first, for by April 1476 that innovation had become stale in Louvain, as several books had then been issued there.

It consequently seems most probable that the collection of letters had already been printed before April 1476 – possibly in April 1474, so that, when reproducing the book, Veldener had only to alter the year-date and could copy the final letter without any further change <sup>3)</sup>). That supposition gets more likeliness from the fact that, in the same year 1476, Veldener's edition was imitated exactly by Conrad of Westphalia, even to the postface, with the exception of name, date and place of office : it is said there : *huic artificii nomen esse conrardo de westphalia*, to whom, like to Veldener, 'certa manu insculpendi, celandi intorculandi... assit industria'; also that he started the 'mechanical copying' on December 1, 1476, when anybody could have found him at work 'in platea sancti quintini' <sup>4)</sup>); the lily which in Veldener's edition adorns

<sup>1)</sup> 'Johannes veldener, herbipolensis <Würzburg> dioc.' matriculated on July 30, 1473 in the University of Louvain as a student 'jn medicina': *LibIntII*, 99, r : he soon started printing which he is said to have learned at Cologne, probably issuing Zabarella's *De sententia excommunicationis*, attributed to 'c 1473-74 in Polain, iv, 4063. He printed in Utrecht in 1478-81, and at Culemburg, 1482-84. In 1484 he seems to have tried his fortune again in Louvain, but printed only four books, as far as is known. He was one of the best men of his craft in the Netherlands: Polain, iv, pp 420-21 ; i, 718 ; Lambinet, 268-275.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *LouvEven*, 200.

<sup>3)</sup> Polain, iv, p 420, mentions two editions by Veldener dated 1475, and two undated ones, ascribed, one to c 1473-74, the other to 1474 ; whereas for John of Westphalia there is one issue dated (Dec. 9) 1474, and three, 1475 (April 29, June 10 and Nov. 21), besides three undated editions ascribed to that same year : Polain, iv, p 395 ; *HolMart.*, 101, 110, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *LouvEven*, 228. — Conrad of Westphalia, whom some consider to be John of Paderborn's brother, is said to have been printing at Padua in 1473-74, and to have procured for him sets of punches from Italy. Still



the colophon, comes before the first page and is quite different <sup>1)</sup>; it is replaced before the postface by Conrad's mark. — No doubt the small folio was very popular, for, some time after, it was reprinted by John of Paderborn or of Westphalia <sup>2)</sup>, who reproduced the text of the preceding editions,

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it is also quite possible that John, after having worked for some time at Alost with Thierry Martens, bought his type and settled in Louvain in the summer of 1474 producing Peter de Crescentiis' *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* on December 9, 1474 : Polain, III, 3100; Iseghem, 52, sq. John printed in a fine, new, 'Venetian' letter; 'littera vera modernata, abscisa & formata' it is called in the colophon to that book; whereas Conrad of Westphalia worked with an older German gothic type, which he does not seem to have been able to emendate, as probably the testimony he gave himself of able letter-cutter and founder was only a reproduction of Veldener's postface. He no doubt felt unable to compete with his more prosperous countryman : he produced very few books, and he, most probably, is the 'Conradus de Westfalia paderborn. dioc.' who on Febr. 27, 1477 matriculated as a student of medicine : *LibIntII*, 125, r.

<sup>1)</sup> Polain, III, 2593.

<sup>2)</sup> John of Aken, or Haecken, called, after his native country, of Westphalia or of Paderborn, was apparently in Italy with his countryman — if not his relative — Conrad of Paderborn, possibly with Thierry Martens, of Alost, who was much younger; they evidently worked in a printing office. John is said to have been copying a manuscript at, and for, the Augustinian Convent of Marpach in 1473 (G. Duff, *Early Printed Books* : London, 1893 : 103) : if that is exact, it cannot have been a long text for he seems to have joined in the same year Thierry Martens who had cut punches, and made types for his office at Alost in Flanders where in 1473 he edited Æneas Sylvius' *De Duobus Amantibus*, and Dionysius Cartusianus' *Speculum Conversionis Peccatorum* (Polain, II, 1307, III, 3158) and at least two undated tracts (Polain, IV, p 396). For certain he worked with him at Petrus Alfonsus Hispanus' *Textus Summularum*, — which was published, according to the colophon : *Per. Iohannem de Vuestfalia Paderbornensem cum socio suo. Theodorico martino Anno domini M.CCCC. Lxxiiii. Maij die xxvi* : Iseghem, 181-83. Most probably the two printers made an agreement by which John bought the types which Martens had made, and could settle in Louvain, whereas his partner was to replace his letters, but promised not to establish himself in the University town : Iseghem, 52-77; Gand, 20-23, 179, sq; Lambinet, 201-267. John of Westphalia consequently matriculated in *Jure Canonico* on July 7, 1474 : Joh. de Westfalia paderbornensis dioc.' (*LibIntII*, 105, v) as an ordinary student, so as to become a *civis academicus*; for the University never invited him, nor offered him a house or an office : if he sold books, he had to have the permission of the University, which was to be renewed every year : de Jongh, 32\*-37\*. On December 9, 1474 he brought out — probably the first book he printed

but left out the postface, and added only a simple colophon which brought the author's name : *Expliciunt quedam epistole quas correctoria vocant lecte Louanij in pedagogio lilii per Magistrum Karolum Viruli Impressequ ibidem per me Iohannem de Westfalia* <sup>1)</sup>). That edition is not dated, but was no doubt issued about 1480, for two years later it was reprinted with the same colophon : *Expliciunt quedam epistole... per Karolum viruli. Impressequ in Rüttingen per Iohannem othmar Arcium liberalium magistrum Anno dñi M. cccc. lxxxij* <sup>2)</sup>). Probably about the same time the *Epistolares formulae* were reprinted in Cologne, presumably by Conrad Winters, about 1480 : the colophon is changed into : *Expliciunt epystole venerabilis viri artiumque magistri : magistri Karoli poete eloquentissimi regentis Louanij in pedagogio lilij* <sup>3)</sup>).

A few years later <sup>4)</sup>, on July 1, 1488, it was reedited at Lyons by Guillaume Le Roy, together with Æneas Sylvius' *Tractatus de remedio amoris necnon de amore* ; the letters have a title in big type : *Epistole. Caroli.*, followed by the *Auctoris prohemium*, a small preface <sup>5)</sup>, whereas the text itself, starting on a 2 r, begins with the words : *In hoc opusculo sunt epistolarum componendarum imitationes puerorum ingenijs accommodatissime Louanij in gymnasio lilij edite ac emendate a magistro Carolo viruli*'. — In 1495 Henry Quentell reprinted

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in Louvain — Peter de Crescentiis' *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* : Polain, III, 3100 ; Iseghem, 55, sq, 61, 183. John of Westphalia produced at Louvain work that was as good as it was plentiful, sending many fine books into the awakening world, some of them adorned with his small portrait in form of a medal used as device, and placed between an advertisement : *Et ego Johannes prenotatus* &c, cut in two : Lambinet, 216. At his death, after November 7, 1496, his old partner came to Louvain, and bought up the type which he had sold twenty-five years before, as well as the office, and for a time established himself as well there as in Antwerp, where he had been at work from 1494 : Iseghem, 63, 86 ; Polain, I, 887, IV, 3798-99 ; Lambinet, 201-267 ; HolMart., 85, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> Polain, III, 2592.      <sup>2)</sup> Polain, III, 2594.      <sup>3)</sup> Polain, III, 2591.

<sup>4)</sup> There seems to have been a Paris reprint of 1485 : Polain, III, 2595.

<sup>5)</sup> Polain, III, 2595 : the colophon : 'Expliciunt epistole ornatissime maximo artificio ad vtilitatem iuuenum studiosorum compositae. Impressequ lugduni per magistrum guillielmum regis. Die prima mensis iulij. Anno dñi millesimo CCCC. octuasesimo octauo.' is followed by two distichs by an 'amicus libri'. Cp. Campbell, 339-342.

the collection in Cologne under the general title : *Epistole Karoli*, which, on the obverse of the second leaf, A ii r, is expanded to ¶ *Epistolarum formule in omni genere scribendi iuxta maiorum nostrorum doctrinam et veram epistolandi artem per dominum Karolum meynigken studij Louaniensis magistrum multarum scientiarum peritissimum* '. The colophon merely mentions the printer and the date : M. cccc. xcv. *Secunda Septembris*. and is followed by the table <sup>1)</sup>. — Another reprint by the same Henry Quentell, Cologne, only varies in the date of the colophon : *In prefesto diue magistre Katherine* (24 Novembris)... M. cccc. xcviij <sup>2)</sup>. — Judging by the name given to the author, Quentell's editions were reprinted by Richard Pafraet in Deventer with, on the first page, *Epistole Karoli*. and on the second : *Epistolarum formule in omni genere scribendi iuxta maiorum nostrorum doctrinam & veram epistolandi artem per dominum Karolum meynigken studij Louaniensis magistrum multarum scientiarum peritissimum*... One is dated in the colophon : *Anno M. ccccc. I. altera die natiuitatis marie*, (9 Sept.) <sup>3)</sup>; the other : *Anno M. ccccc. iij. Altera die agnetis* <sup>4)</sup>.

Those numerous editions, of which the list may have been even larger, testify to the popularity of the handbook ; to the wide diffusion of its fame, good or bad, points the fact that in December 1597, it was mentioned in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, composed and played in that month and year in St. John's College, Cambridge : the *Clowne* reads a facelious address to his ' lovely Nigra ', and then adds : *has anie yonge man a desire to copie this, that he may have formam epistolæ conscribendæ?* <sup>5)</sup> — The little manual possibly offers another interest, that of having been the first book printed in Louvain : for it is evident that Veldener would *not* have mentioned his ' mechanical writing ' as a novelty, except if it *were* a novelty : so that it must precede the *Liher Ruralium Commodorum* issued on December 9, 1474 by John of Paderborn <sup>6)</sup> and the

<sup>1)</sup> Polain, III, 2596.

<sup>2)</sup> Polain, III, 2597.

<sup>3)</sup> NijKron., II, 3305 : in the copy described the first leaf is missing ; BB, M, 846.

<sup>4)</sup> NijKron., I, 1270.

<sup>5)</sup> W. D. Macray, *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with The Two Parts of The Return from Parnassus. Three Comedies performed in St. John's College Cambridge A.D. MDXCVII-MDCI* : Oxford, 1886 : 23.

<sup>6)</sup> Polain, IV, p 395 ; HolMart., 97-101.

three editions dated and three undated of 1475 by the same craftsman. That he reprinted in April 1476 the book which he had published in the same month in 1474, betrays an earnest wish to remind the reading public that he had introduced the art into the town ; and that may have been fully justified by the difficulties which he suffered from the growing competition : Conrad of Westphalia counterfeited the whole of the *Epistole* except the name and the date, and John of Paderborn made matters so difficult that Veldener, who is conjectured to have helped Caxton, was driven out of Louvain to try his fortune at Utrecht, where he brought out St. Gregory's *Omellie* on April 22, 1479 <sup>1)</sup>).

#### E. CHARLES VIRULI

The author of that handbook, so frequently reprinted in the last years of the xv<sup>th</sup> century <sup>2)</sup>, was Carolus Menneken <sup>3)</sup>, *Viruli*, or *de Gandavo*, apparently as he was born in that town <sup>4)</sup> about 1413. He matriculated in Louvain in 1432 <sup>5)</sup> and promoted Licencié and Master of Arts in 1435, being classed the 42<sup>nd</sup> on 79 <sup>6)</sup>. He started teaching in the Pedagogy of Oppendorp Street <sup>7)</sup>, in the grounds of the inn the *Leelye*, the Lily, where the old *Schola Clericorum* <sup>8)</sup> of Louvain had been removed to ; it had been organized as one of the institutes of the Faculty of Arts by John Leyten, of Hasselt, who had come to Louvain as a Licencié of Laws by the middle of 1428, and taken up lecturing as *Regens* in October of that year <sup>9)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Polain, II, 1710.

<sup>2)</sup> Campbell, 339-342.

<sup>3)</sup> He is also called in the first deeds 'Carolus de Groone'.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtI*, 123, v : Karolus de gādauo ; *ULPromRs.*, 33 (Carolus Viruli dictus *Menneken* de Gandavo). 42. — *VAnd.*, 261, makes him originary from Cassel, and so do all subsequent biographers.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULMatr.*, I, 142.

<sup>6)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 33.

<sup>7)</sup> Now Rue de Diest ; cp. before p 66.

<sup>8)</sup> *LouvEven*, 195, 584 : the *Schola Clericorum* of the *Dorpstrate* is already recorded in 1358.

<sup>9)</sup> John Leyten, of Hasselt, came probably from Paris, and was accepted as member of the Council of the Faculty of Arts on July 31, 1428, and as *regens* of his pedagogy on October 7, 1428 : the lists record him as such to 1437 ; from 1438 he left the managing of the Lily to Viruli, but continued teaching, and became the professor of *Ethica* on October 25, 1445, which brought him one of the recently-founded

Viruli, who had promoted Bachelor in Canon Law and also in Medecine, succeeded John Leyten by the end of 1437, having become member of the Council of Arts on June 30, 1435 ; on January 31, 1438 the first *actus determinantiae* was passed under his regency. He now devoted all his efforts to his Pedagogy and soon met with great success : he was chosen dean, on January 31, 1442, and receiver, of his Faculty on July 25, 1446 <sup>1)</sup> ; he was elected Rector on August 31, 1447 and again on Febr. 28, 1465 <sup>2)</sup>. Under his able management the Lily developed to a high degree of efficiency and prosperity <sup>3)</sup> : he secured a great esteem <sup>4)</sup> as well as a considerable fortune. Having married Gertrude van den Dorne soon after 1447 he had several sons, the eldest of whom, Nicolas, was trained most carefully <sup>5)</sup>, and taken as partner in the regency from 1489.

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canonries in St. Peter's. He was three times trimestrial Rector of the University, and secured the office of *plebanus* in St. Gummarus', Lierre, as well as that of dean of Hoxem Chapter, Hougard : *ULMatr.*, i, 77 ; *ULDoc.*, ii, 203-8, 210, 216, 226-7, 230, 234, 258-9, iv, 175, 244 ; *VAnd.*, 77, 245-6 ; *Mol.*, 470, 594, mentioning some commentaries on Aristotle which he wrote : they were kept in St. Martin's, Louvain. He seems to have died in 1476, as John Moeselaer Streelincx was appointed his successor for the lesson of *Ethica* on December 7 of that year : *ULDoc.*, iv, 9, 175.

<sup>1)</sup> *ActArtI*, 140, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *Mol.*, 473-74 ; *VAnd.*, 37-38 ; *ULDoc.*, i, 255, 257.

<sup>3)</sup> The prosperous state in which Viruli left the Lily at his death and his ample personal fortune, which allowed him to distribute rents and properties, not one by one, but by whole series as they were noted down in his *codices*, is most striking when compared to the state of the other Pedagogies. The Castle subsisted only by means of loans by the end of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, whilst the Falcon was making shift to live, and the Porc was compelled to sell all its property to the Standonck Community, and to take on lease that which it had held in full ownership (1499 : *FUL*, 1003-4).

<sup>4)</sup> Viruli was one of the executors of the will of the founder of St. Yves' College, Robert van de Poel, *de Lacu*, of Ghent († June 26, 1483) : *FUL*, 1865-66, 1925 ; and he seems to have fulfilled a similar office of confidence to no less a person than John of Berghes, Lord of Bergen-op-Zoom, in favour of his son Henry, Lord of Opvelp, on May 5, 1479 : *LouvEven*, 212 ; *Cran.*, xli.

<sup>5)</sup> Nicolas Viruli was trained by his father so as to promote Master of Arts ; he probably also studied in Cologne, for he, most likely, is the 'Nicolas Virolij de Lovanio', inscribed there in 1470 : *Keussen*, i, 325, 61. He was elected Rector on Aug. 31, 1482 for the Faculty of Arts : *Mol.*,

Viruli's last years having been embittered in some way by his younger sons <sup>1)</sup>, he reserved by his will, January 16, and February 6, 1493, the management of the Pedagogy to Nicolas and to one of his *legentes*, Leo Outers <sup>2)</sup>, who had been his

475; VAnd., 39; *ULDoc.*, I, 259. From 1485 he made every year the regular request to continue the regency of the Lily in his father's name (e. g., *AcArExc.*, 48) and on November 30, 1489 he was appointed as partner for the emoluments, as well as for the responsibility. After his father's death he may have felt the superiority of his copartner in the regency: he for certain abandoned his rights to him against a rent, so that in 1494 Leo Outers was sole *Regens*: *ActArtV*, 109, v, 121, r. Still Nicolas Viruli did not break off his connection with the Pedagogy: he contested the succession of John de Neve, Sept. 12, 1509, in the right of Cornelius Heymans, who had taken Outers' place from 1503, and had died on December 22, 1509; he secured the help of John Paludanus, his father's executor, and had his rights acknowledged by the Faculty in the controversy which was finally resolved on October 8, 1512 by an agreement leaving de Neve by himself in power: *ActArtInd.*, 7; *Mon-HL*, 180-182. He had married, no doubt after February 1483, when the office of Rector to which he had been elected on August 31, 1482 for the Faculty of Arts, came to an end; and had several children. The eldest named Nicolas after him, entered the Premonstratensian order; he was a priest and promoted Licencié in Canon Law in 1523: *Mol.*, 738; a second Peter, matriculated on April 30, 1511; of two others only the names are known: 'Ludovicus and Dodeus, id est Dominicus'; two others matriculated as *lilenses divites* on August 29, 1515: 'Hadrianus & Hieronymus de louanio filii m<sup>gri</sup> Nicolai viruli'; and the last, 'Guill. virulus', on February 27, 1522: *Excerpts*, 96, 98, 103; *BaxH*, VII, 143, sq. His wife having died, he took orders, so that he could request, one of the first, to be nominated by the Faculty of Arts in virtue of the Privilege granted by Leo X, Oct. 1, 1513, to vacancies at the collation of the provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, of the *personatus* of Hasselt, and that of Herenthals, and of the abbot of St. Gertrude's, Louvain, from June 1515 — when he was recorded as priest, and as having been *legens* and *regens* in the Faculty for thirty years — to July 1518, the last date at which he is mentioned: *LibNomI*, 73, r; 81, r, 149, r; *AcArExc.*, 108. — Cp. Vern., 129; VAnd., 261; *ULDoc.*, IV, 172, 176; *Busl.*, 337-38.

<sup>1)</sup> As Viruli lost his wife before 1465, he had taken into his service in his old age a young person, whom his younger sons maliciously called their *noverca*: he attested her innocence before God and in the face of death in his will, by which he made up to her for whatever she had had to endure.

<sup>2)</sup> Leo Outers, or Wouters, of Hondschoote, who matriculated on Aug. 30, 1481: *LibIntII*, 159, r, studied in the Lily and was classed the sixth at the promotion to master of arts of 1485: *ULPromRs.*, 60; he became *legens* under Carolus Viruli, who appointed him *co-regens*

*baculum senectutis*. He died after 56 years of regency on May 13, 1493, and was buried in the Church of St. Martin's Priory which he had helped to finish <sup>1</sup>). He bequeathed his books and papers to the library of that famous convent <sup>2</sup>), where his epitaph remained until its suppression, when it was taken to the Pedagogy <sup>3</sup>). Far from disinheriting his sons, he provided them with ample means, and as they had been trained in the work and the prosperous trade of their father's institute, at least two of them kept well-to-do students as guests in the houses which had been bequeathed to them <sup>4</sup>). The Pedagogy

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with his son Nicolas in 1493, stipulating that he should continue teaching philosophy. He started the proper study and teaching of Latin in the Lily, of which he became sole *Regens* soon after the founder's death. Since he was appointed as canon and provost at Liège, he took as *co-regens* Cornelius Heymans, of Axel, in 1500, and left him, in 1503, to do the work. Heymans, as time went on, transferred the rights he had to John de Neve by Sept. 12, 1509, and died on Dec. 22 following; whereas Outers passed his in 1514 to Thomas Zegers, of Ardenburg, who contested de Neve's monopoly: *MonHL*, 125, 180-81. On June 6, 1532 Outers died as Chancellor of Liège and parish-priest of Dunkirk: he had founded scholarships in the Lily, and left bequests, amongst other convents to the Louvain Charterhouse, where his effigy adorned one of the three stained-glass windows he had given: *Mol.*, 298, 476, 617-19, 631-2; *Vern.*, 130; *VAnd.*, 40, 261-62; *FUL*, 1138, 1224-25; *ULDoc.*, 1, 261, iv, 176-77, 244-45; *Cran.*, xciv, &c; *Busl.*, 30, 337-8, 342.

<sup>1</sup>) Not having a chapel in his Pedagogy, Viruli was accustomed to attend Mass — probably with his inmates — in the Priory; he had at various times given to St. Martin's an amount of 2180 Rh. flor., besides a gilt chalice used for the *festu duplicita majora*, and various ornaments; in return the community had sold to him about 1472 the house of Godefroid Pasteels of which they had kept the garden: *CartMan.*, *Livre des Comptes du Prieuré de St. Martin* 1450-1472: 17, r, 28, r; *LouvEven*, 485. Henry Viruli also made bequests to the Priory: *BrArEc.*, iv, 295.

<sup>2</sup>) Amongst the documents bequeathed was a history *De Seditone Gandensi* by Judocus von Beyssel, of Aix, inscribed to his friend Carolus Viruli: *Paquot*, vii, 351-52; *Busl.*, 304.

<sup>3</sup>) The memorial stone in the choir of the church, removed about 1783 to the Lily, had an inscription which is reproduced in *BibBelg.*, 129; *ULDoc.*, iv, 174.

<sup>4</sup>) To Godefroid was given for his life the house which Charles had used as his own: it had issues in New Street and in Penny Street; to Henry, one in *de Backelaine*, opposite to where Martin van Dorp lived in his last years; Robert, too, received a house, and like his brother he kept sons of aristocratic families, like de Nassau, de Beveren and de Busleyden, as pupils and boarders: *Busl.*, 337-39, etc; *ULDoc.*, iv, 172-73.

itself was made over by his will to the poor students and to the *legentes* who should stay and live in his institute : the ample profits of the regency were to be divided between his son Nicolas and Outers <sup>1)</sup>. It happened that, far from being turned out by his children, as Viruli had been afraid of, it was that disciple who, by 1494, bought out his partner, and was for some time the sole regent of the Lily, although his right did not remain very long uncontested <sup>2)</sup>.

#### F. VEERING APPRECIATION

By the excellent administration of his Pedagogy, and, without doubt, the good education he gave to his students, Carolus Viruli had gained fame as '*moderator*' : his epitaph went even so far as to call him '*Universitatis quoque Lovaniensis in Litteris Humanis et omni Humanitate Decus* <sup>3)</sup>. His *Epistolarum Formulæ* were highly praised, not only for

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Mol., 631; Vern., 129; VAnd., 261; *BibBelg.*, 128-29; FUL, 1136-38, 1223; *ULDoc.*, iv, 168-76; *Busl.*, 337-38.

<sup>2)</sup> The strange situation of *regentes* deriving all the profit from an establishment which was not their own, and of which they were entitled to appoint the *legentes* and even the *regentes* that were to succeed, is the object of one of Nicolas Everardi's *Consilia sive Responsa Iuris* : Louvain, 1554 : xciii. It caused a controversy between Nicolas Viruli and John de Neve in 1512 (*MonHL*, 180-81); another, between John de Neve and Leo Outers with his candidate Thomas Zegers in 1516, in which Josse Vroeye brought a complication : it was settled on Aug. 26, 1517 (*MonHL*, 181, sq; FUL, 1138); a third between John Heems, of Armentières, *regens*, and the Faculty in 1548, which ended by the final *concordia* of Aug. 10, 1560, acknowledging the Faculty as sole owner of the Lily and settling the right of appointing *regentes* and *legentes* : *ULDoc.*, iv, 178-210; thus refusing also the offer made by the Jesuits to take over the Lily, although encouraged by some professors of divinity and by William Viruli, the founder's grandson : *ULDoc.*, iv, 201-2, — probably Nicolas's son; possibly the 'Wilhelmus Viruli', who with 'Ioannes Mannekens', is recorded as Antwerp business man, each contributing 100 fl. to the loan granted by Antwerp to Charles V in 1552 : *AntwAnn.*, II, 386, 390 — and five other heirs, his brothers or nephews. Robert Viruli who had married first the natural daughter of John de Winckele (*Gran.*, 85, a), and, at her death, Catherine van Vlaenderen, Golinus van 't Sestich's widow, had, up to 1522, only a son by his second wife, to both of whom (Robert probably having died) Peter van Thienen, professor of Law, made a bequest on July 3, 1522 : FUL, 1935; *ULDoc.*, III, 144.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, iv, 174.



their judicious, moral remarks <sup>1)</sup>, but even for their teaching : in the edition of William Regis, Lyons, July 1, 1488, they are described in the colophon as : *epistole ornatissime maximo artificio ad vtilitatem iuuenum studiosorum composite*. After the date are added 2 lines followed by two distichs : *Ad auctorem libri amicus qui diligen / tissime perlegerat librum.*

Te legi vir docte. Places. Letere iuuentus.

O quantum studijs debet et ista tuis.

Vos pueri : iuuenesque rogo iam discite doctos.

Amplecti. sic sic itur ad astra. Vale. <sup>2)</sup>

Unfortunately as soon as the Humanists started their sound studies of Latin, instead of the astral glory, contempt was heaped on Viruli's name on account of his model letters, although pretendedly they were taken from the *familiares epistolæ* of Cicero and Æneas Sylvius. Henry Bebel, of Justingen, professor in Tübingen University <sup>3)</sup> criticized him and three other authors of similar class-books : Paul Lescher, John Borida, Pontius and Mennellius : not only did he declare that he loathed their teaching : 'a quorum doctrina adeo abhorreo, ut nihil magis existimem adolescentibus nocere, quam horum præceptiones' : he also wrote several tracts against them and published them together at Pforzheim, in 1510, as *Commentaria Epistolarum Conficiendarum Henrici Bebelii*. In the preface (f i v), he regrets that the *Epistolæ Caroli*, whom he calls 'Mennel (Männlein, Menneken) *Burgundus*' have such a large divulgation : 'velim perpetuo silentio vitam transisset, et propter suum honorem nihil ad posteros transmisisset', on account, he says, of the evil done by teaching such bad and barbarous Latin. In a special part dedicated to the Würtemberg Marshal, Gaspar de Bubenhofen (f xix, sq),

<sup>1)</sup> Mol., 840, 841, pointing out the bad effects of games and the value of a true friend ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 171, referring to events in the University.

<sup>2)</sup> F 94 (m 6), r ; Polain, III, 2595 : at the end of the description of this item, the *Epistolarum Formulæ* and Æneas Sylvius' *de Amore*, Polain notes that 'this edition seems to reproduce the one printed in Paris in 1485, by Pierre Levet', without indicating whether both works or only the second is meant by 'this edition'.

<sup>3)</sup> Henry Bebel (1472-1518), mostly known by his *Facetiæ*, wrote several works about instruction, especially that in Latin language and metre : Trit., 459 ; G. Bebermeyer, *Heinrich Bebel's Facetien* : Leipzig, 1931 ; Polain, III, 5637, & c ; *Busl.*, 298.

he blames the greetings : ' omnes salutationes fere, quas congressit in hunc librum ille audaculus verborum structor, esse incongruas, hoc est barbaras, vel ab omni reverendæ vetustatis religione et sanctitate alienissimas et pueriles inprimis... O Carole, de latina lingua pessime merite, quot vidi literariæ disciplinæ milites per te deceptos...' <sup>1)</sup> Bebel's criticism of Viruli's handbook is mentioned in the notice that Joannes Butzbach wrote in his *Auctarium de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of Trithemius, preserved in manuscript <sup>2)</sup>. As could be expected it is mentioned along with Alexander de Villa-Dei's *Doctrinale*, in the seventh of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*: 'tu debes bene advertere in partibus Alexandri et epistolis Caroli quæ practicantur in aula grammaticorum', as Peter Hafenmusius writes to Ortwin Gratius <sup>3)</sup>. All other humanists felt the same contempt although they were not always free to express it so plainly. Erasmus, who spent several months in the Lily as John de Neve's guest, could not help remarking in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis* <sup>4)</sup>, that in Italy good literature was already fully reviving, 'quum Lovanii magno cum applausu legerentur Epistolæ Caroli cujusdam, qui multis annis moderatus est pædagogium Liliense, quas nunc nemo dignetur sumere in manus' <sup>5)</sup>. Living in the Lily when, under the lead of Leo Outers and John de Neve, the comparative study had well started between the rhymed grammar of Alexander de Villa-Dei and the real, authentic Latin authors, so as to correct the old handbook, making use of what there is useful in it, — in which work especially Gerard Cannyf of Meuwen and John Ceusters of Brecht illustrated themselves, — their pupil John de Spouter, of Ninove, began resuscitating the *Doctrinale* in his famous

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. W. H. D. Suringar, *Heinrich Bebel's Proverbia Germanica* : Leyden, 1879 : ix-xiii ; HutOS, II, 338-39.

<sup>2)</sup> In the Bonn University Library : Butzbach, 276-77 ; HutOS, II, 339.

<sup>3)</sup> HutOS, I, 12, II, 338-39.

<sup>4)</sup> This treatise, composed by Erasmus in 1498 for his pupil Robert Fisher : *Busl.*, 38, was constantly revised, at least up to 1511, but not recognized before 1521 when a copy was printed in Cambridge by J. Siberch. Erasmus then hastened to prepare an authorized issue which was published by John Froben, Basle, August 1522 : Allen, I, 71, *pr*, 241, 28-9, IV, p xx, v, 1284, *pr*, XI, 3099, 4, 3100, 22.

<sup>5)</sup> EOO, I, 352, c.

grammatical treatises <sup>1)</sup>. He evidently felt most keenly the defects of the *Epistolarum Formulæ*, in so far that he could not be brought to believe that they had been composed by Viruli : in his *De Constructione et Arte Epistolari*, added to his *Syntaxis* in 1509 <sup>2)</sup>, he declares that the *Salutationes Carolinæ* are to be avoided as vipers : they are full of barbarisms. The *Epistolæ* are prolix and verbose ; they make a frequent and injudicious use of exaggerations like the expression *mille* and *milliesque*, after the fashion of the *ineptum vulgus*, multiplying their greetings so as to mention them by bags and baskets. The language imitates the talk of uneducated Flemish people, which turns it into barbarousness, since Latin is not to be written as one writes a vernacular language. He therefore concludes that an erudite man like Viruli cannot have published such twaddle, *aniles nugæ* ; for who, he asks, is so senseless not to see that the letters going under Charles's name, *esse totius barbariei sentinam, et olidissimam quidem* ; and he concludes that the impudent charlatan, *nebulo impudentissimus*, whoever he may have been, who ventured to ascribe this old women's dotage to Charles Viruli, does a manifest injustice to the able and expert *Regens* of the Lily <sup>3)</sup>. This well-meant plea did more harm than good, insisting on the bad taste of style and composition as an argument against the authorship of the founder of the flourishing Lily whose honour de Spouter tried to revenge <sup>4)</sup>. No doubt some of his friends who had known Carolus Viruli personally, pointed out to him that there could not be any

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 125-127, and further, section 6, c, of this Chapter.

<sup>2)</sup> That double treatise does not seem to be extant in any copy ; still it was reprinted as *Syntaxis* by Math. Schürer at Strassburg in July 1515, with two letters sent from the Lily, Louvain, to de Spouter, one from Nicolas Broeckhoven, the other from Martin van Dorp, March 27 and 28, 1509 and one from de Spouter to the studious youth of Comines and Bergues-St.-Winoc, dated from this place, October 1, 1509 : *BB*, D, 267, 2-5.

<sup>3)</sup> *Syntaxis* &c, ff cxviii, v - cxix, r ; *BB*, D, 267, 5.

<sup>4)</sup> Viruli's friends may have insisted on the evident marks which he and his sons had given of their sympathy with the Italian Renaissance : one, Robert, had studied law at Pavia University : *Mol*, 558 ; and another, the favourite Nicolas had stood warrant for the Italian professor Vitelli : cp. further in this Chapter, 5, c.

doubt as to the paternity of the *Epistolarum Formulæ* — which explains why this apology was omitted from all subsequent editions of the *Syntaxis* <sup>1)</sup>).

The gentle and most humane Vives, who had heard about Viruli in Louvain, gave a most appreciative idea of him in his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, and praised his method of getting information from clever or experienced people by showing an interest in the matter with which they are familiar. He relates that when the *Regens* expected the visit of the fathers of his boys, he inquired what was their trade, about which he then tried to gather beforehand whatever hints he could ; so that, at table, they were pleased to notice him to be interested in their work and occupation ; on which, in a short hour, he learnt what he would not have done in a lifetime as they communicated to him the *intima & secretissima artis*, feeling both proud and pleased <sup>2)</sup>). By that method, which struck Gabriel Harvey as most easy and efficient <sup>3)</sup>, Vives certainly shows Viruli's earnest desire to learn things ; he adds a few words which sound as an apology : ' *hominis* ' he describes Carolus Viruli, ' *non perinde litterati, ut boni ; nec illi ingenium aut diligentia defuit, sed locus et tempora* ' <sup>4)</sup>) : if Viruli was not as great as literator, as he was good as man, it was not on account of his lack of intelligence or inquisitiveness, but on account of the place and the time : had he taught in Lombardy instead of in Louvain, and written his *Epistolæ* in 1515 or 1520, they would have been quite different. — In fact it was not Viruli's personal fault, but that of the circumstances ; and his class-book with ' *pulcris illis dictaminibus seu variis ineptis ac squalidis præceptatiunculis* ', is an undubitable example of the *infantia*, the *balbuties*, in which the Latin was in the first *decennia* of Louvain University, which it was high time for the humanists to replace by ' *fontes Romani eloquii multis sæculis prope ignotos* ' <sup>5)</sup>).

<sup>1)</sup> *BB*, D, 267, 5, 268, and following.

<sup>2)</sup> *VOO*, VI, 374-75.

<sup>3)</sup> As example of ' Learn, as it were, by the way ', he noted : *Secreta omnium Artium discenda ... facillimo, et familiarissimo more Caroli Virali Xetetici* — evidently for *Zetetici*, viz., of ζήτητικός, eager after knowledge : *HarvMarg.*, 151, 270.

<sup>4)</sup> *VOO*, VI, 374.

<sup>5)</sup> *Mol.*, 588-9 ; *BibBelg.*, 128 ; *FlandScript.*, 38 ; *PF*, I, 397 ; *Paquot*, VII, 301 ; *Altmeyer*, I, 281 ; *NèveMém.*, 10 ; *de Jongh*, 110.

## 2. — THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE

## A. CONNECTIONS WITH ITALY

The evident deficiency of the teaching of Latin in the Louvain pedagogies cannot have been long ignored : it must have been felt many years before the *Epistolæ Carolinæ* were criticized, by a comparison with the results of the irresistible impulse towards a pure, classical, refined language in the Italy of the *quattrocento*, with its public lectures and academies, and with animators like Lorenzo Valla or Guarino of Verona <sup>1</sup>). For the great literary and linguistic movement beyond the Alps did not touch any country as quickly and as thoroughly as it did the Netherlands, with which Rome and the powerful Republics were in a most intimate connection. Bruges was for long years the port where the South met the North and the North-East; and colonies of Genoese, Lombards, Florentines and other Italians were established by the side of the warehouses and offices of the Hansa in the famous Flemish towns <sup>2</sup>). Families like the Lommellini and Adorni, the Gualterotti, Friscobaldi and Portinari connected themselves with the leading patricians and even the nobility, and became as part of the population <sup>3</sup>), of which they shared the well and woe, bearing the trouble of the revolt against Mary of Burgundy's husband and removing to the easier port and the quieter residence of Antwerp <sup>4</sup>).

As trade developed and the transport of money and bullion was still risky, business was carried on by bills of exchange, which required offices of the same firm both in the Peninsula and in the Netherlands. In consequence of the fiscal and centralizing policy of the Roman *Curia*, several agents were sent over to gather the proceeds of *annates* and other taxes, whereas the frequent contestations required procurators of the parties in Rome <sup>5</sup>) ; commercial and financial concerns

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. Burckhardt, 199, sq. 209, sq. 214, sq. 328, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. e. g., *BrugEst.*, 1, 6-14, 270-73, 282-88; *BrugHist.*, 47, sq. 74, sq; *BrugTon.*, 63; *FugZAlt.*, 1, 52, 67, 77-82; Goris, 70, sq.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. e. g., *Brug&Fr.*, III, 103, sq. v, 1, sq. 4, sq; *Cran.*, xlvii, 60, pr, 93, a, 104, a, &c; *Busl.*, 169, 345-48.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. Guicc., 109-112; Goris, 70, sq.

<sup>5</sup>) *FugZAlt.*, 1, 41; *FugRom.*, 1, 6, sq.

were entrusted with the conveyance of the money, whereas some Belgian houses founded a banking business in Rome in connection with the Papal Court : such was that of Victor Bacharen, of Cambrai, and those of John Herfelt, of the partners Arnold Strapper and Lieven van Dael, and, at least from 1492, that of the Mechlin firm William Petri and his associates <sup>1)</sup>. To those material relations came the spiritual interest and the secular want to get nearer the centre of visible Christianity, which was especially strong in our provinces : as results from the many institutes founded in the Eternal City in order to give help and hospitality to 'Flemings', amongst which the one of St. Julian-of-the-Flemings <sup>2)</sup>, and that of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria dell' Anima* <sup>3)</sup> were the most important. There was, moreover, a constantly growing number of young men of these parts who tried to be appointed to some post or other in the *Curia* <sup>4)</sup> : they mostly came from the town or the diocese of Liège, which, from the xvi<sup>th</sup> century gave them the name of '*I Lieggesi*' <sup>5)</sup>. It makes it most natural that the literary development, which was eagerly taken up by the leading classes in Italy, should have found its way to our country through those who had received their instruction and education from one of the great masters at work over there, or those who, during a lengthy stay beyond the Alps, had been initiated into the new culture.

## B. PETRARCH AND SANCTUS

Even the masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance bear witness to the connection with our provinces. When, in his *Inferno*, Dante describes the banks of the Phlegeton, which protect

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<sup>1)</sup> *FugRom.*, 1, 8.

<sup>2)</sup> M. Vaes, *Les Fondations Hospitalières Flamandes à Rome du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (in *Recueil de l'Inst. Belge à Rome*) : Rome, 1913, 161-300.

<sup>3)</sup> It was started by John Petri, man-at-arms, and Catherine Loderin, of Dordrecht, when in 1350 they visited Rome : *Anima*, 35, sq, 86, 124, 127, 145, 156, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> From the time of Martin V, 1417-31, that number was growing larger and larger : *Pastor*, 1, 186, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> M. Vaes, *Les Curialistes Belges à Rome aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, in *MélMoeller*, 11, 100, sq.

him and his guide against 'the red seething wave' in the seventh circle, he compares it to the dikes protecting Bruges and the neighbouring lowlands :

Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia

Temendo il flotto che in ver lor s'avventa,

Fanno lo schermo, perchè il mar si fuggia ; <sup>1)</sup>

still that allusion is not based on an acquaintance with the places, as results from the name *Guizzante*, which, as Lodovico Guicciardini already remarked in 1567 <sup>2)</sup>, is a mistake for Cadzand, opposite Sluys, on the canal connecting Bruges with the sea, where, up to his time, huge dikes were continually building or repairing against the destructive power of the elements : the name was probably mixed up with *Wissant* or *Guissant* (*Guisum*, *Wisantum*), to the west of Calais, between Capes Griz Nez and Blanc Nez, considered to be the *Itius*, or *Iccius*, *Portus* of the Romans, where Cæsar embarked for Great-Britain ; that port was, up to Dante's time, the most frequented for the passage to England : in the xiv<sup>th</sup> century it started being blocked up by sand <sup>3)</sup>.

More personal knowledge <sup>4)</sup> with our country is shown in Petrarch's writings : when he had served Cardinal John Colonna at Avignon and his brother James, bishop of Lombez, for over two years, he obtained leave to journey to Belgium and the lower Rhinelands. In the spring of 1333 he passed through Paris on his way to Hainaut, Flanders and Brabant ; he then turned to the East, spending some time at Liège and Aix, where he admired the tomb of Charlemagne, and wrote a letter to his patron, June 21 ; on August 6, he wrote to Cardinal Colonna from Cologne, and returned, crossing the forest of Ardenne by himself, although Count John the Blind, of Luxemburg, was just then waging war, helped by his allies, against John III of Brabant <sup>5)</sup>. In his letters and his poems, Petrarch referred to that journey, mentioning the

<sup>1)</sup> *Inferno*, xv, 4-6 ; an other reading for *Guizzante* is *Guzzante*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* : Antwerp, 1567 ; Guicc., 243.

<sup>3)</sup> Guicc., 243 ; *FlandAnn.*, 98, b, 137, a ; *FlandIll.*, II, 209 ; *MarlIn.*, 188.

<sup>4)</sup> The allusion to Mary of Brabant, second wife of King Philip III and Pierre de la Brosse († 1278), in *Purgatorio*, vi, 19-24, properly belongs to the History of France : Hudson, 146.

<sup>5)</sup> *Pirenne*, II, 12-22.

weaving of wool of our country, the mead and peat of Flanders, the pride of Ghent in having been founded by Julius Cæsar <sup>1</sup>). His solitary ride through the uncanny forest inspired two of his sonnets to Laura :

Per mezz'i boschi inospiti e selvaggi...  
Vo secur io...

and

Mille piagge in un giorno e mille rivi  
Mostrato m'ha per la famosa Ardenna  
Amor... <sup>2</sup>)

Still more important for him was his find at Liège, the 'city of clerics', where he was told that some old monastery kept treasures : he was fortunate in his search, for he found two texts attributed to Cicero, and he and one of his companions made a copy of them under difficulties. He afterwards boasted having revealed to the world the *Pro Archia*, which he had brought he said, from the most remotest corner of Germany <sup>3</sup>); the second, to which he never referred afterwards, appears to have been an oration connected with his exile, which was attributed wrongly to Cicero in the Middle Ages <sup>4</sup>). The occasion of the journey to the Netherlands was most probably the acquaintance which Petrarch had made, on arriving at Avignon, of Louis Heylighen, *Sanctus*, of Beeringen, of Liège diocese, a cleric who had found his way to the Papal Court, and was a *familiaris* of Petrarch's patron, Cardinal John Colonna, and *musicus* of his brother James, the bishop of Lombez.

A close friendship had soon connected the musician with Petrarch, who greatly esteemed the calm integrity and sound reliability of Sanctus, and gave him on that account the name

<sup>1</sup>) *Opera* : Basle, 1554 : 962, 1367 ; V. Rossi, *Familiares Epistolae* : Florence, 1933 : I, 25, 30.

<sup>2</sup>) Sonnets 143 & 144 : H. Cochin, *La Chronologie du Canzoniere de Pétrarque* : Paris, 1898 : 26, 32-34, 100, 108 ; cp. J. Poulenc, *Rimes de Pétrarque, traduites en vers* : Paris, 1865 : II, (Sonnets 124 & 125) 94-97.

<sup>3</sup>) P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarche et l'Humanisme* : Paris, 1907 : I, 222, 226-46, II, 279-282.

<sup>4</sup>) A. C. Clarke, in his edition of *Pro Archia*, Oxford, 1910, iv-xii, examines the lists of Cicero's works in Petrarch's collection and that of his friend Lapo da Castiglionchio, tracing the origin of all, except for two, one being the *Pro Archia* found at Liège in 1333.



of *Socrates* (σωξ, σάος and κράτος), unless it should be only a 'laicizing' of the too religious *Sanctus*. To that faithfulness must have been joined some remarkable qualities of mind and spirit, which made Petrarch write his praise in several letters : he mentions that, although coming from a barbarous region, Sanctus developed into as cultured a man as any Italian ; the *tellus Ausonia*, which had given him all his other friends, did not produce Socrates, but rather *Cereri ac Bacho et Minerve sterilis, at Virorum fertilis mirica Campinæ* <sup>1)</sup> ; in intelligence and mind he is 'the glory of a poor native land ; a living proof that nature can produce great men from any soil under any heaven. When, by 1347, Petrarch goes to Italy, he misses his friend and faithful companion of Lombez, of Avignon, and, from 1337, of Vaucluse : not only was he an intimate confidant and a willing assistant, he was also the first to share all literary admirations and to offer encouragement as well as soothing, *magno et dulci coævorum consortio* <sup>2)</sup>).

Yet notwithstanding urging and repeated invitations, Sanctus did not join the poet in Italy : having entered by then the service of Cardinal John Colonna as *musicus*, and, from about 1342 at least, as *capellanus*, he continued his work, teaching his art and writing syllogistic treatises on its theory and its excellence <sup>3)</sup> ; rather than following the erratic *vate*, he staid in the *Curia*, gathering preferments with the help of his patron, and the recommendation of Petrarch. On February 28, 1330, John XXII gave to the young *clericus* <sup>4)</sup> ' *Ludovico de Beringhen dicto Sanctus* ' the promise of a benefice : he

<sup>1)</sup> The manuscripts have various readings : *unnea, minea, mirea, mirica* ; the last one is the only one that gives a good sense, as opposed in its barrenness to the fertility of lower Italy ; the *Campinia* is indicated as lying to the west of the Rhine, and to the east of Holland and Brabant at the northern end of *Gallia Belgica*, a stretch of ground which up to our time used to be an endless monotony of dull heath, — yet it can produce a Socrates : neither original, nor immediate copies of this letter exist to correct the faulty transcription of the strange name : M. Dykmans, *Premiers Rapports de Pétrarque avec les Pays-Bas* (*Bull. de l'Institut. Hist. Belge de Rome*, xx, 1939) : 100-109.

<sup>2)</sup> *Epistolæ Seniles* (*Opera* : Basle, 1554) : 814-16, 849.

<sup>3)</sup> One is described as : *subjectum in musica sonora quod Lodovicus Sanctus ... suis assignat* — which implies that he is teaching.

<sup>4)</sup> He was then twenty-six, being of the same age as Petrarch : *BN*.

thus became canon of Bilsen and secured a preferment, by the collation of the Prioress of Munsterbilsen, in one of the neighbouring parishes, namely Guygoven, near Tongres. Petrarch passed to him a prebend at Lombez, and, by 1344, he was appointed to the thirteenth canonry in St. Donatian's, at Bruges <sup>1</sup>). The ensuring of those and other benefices made his presence at the *Curia* indispensable, for his great intimacy with Petrarch and consequent favours, exposed him to the danger of malicious intrigues <sup>2</sup>). At the death of his patron Cardinal John Colonna, in 1348, he even matriculated in Avignon University for the studies of Canon Law, as his situation seemed insecure, at least for a time.

Sanctus kept a regular correspondence with his great friend, judging by the latter's letters, whereas those he wrote are lost : certain it is that the poet was informed through him of all the events and the incidents in the town which was at that time the centre of the Christian world. It was Sanctus who related to him that Laura de Noves was one of the first victims of the Black Pest, and that she was buried in all haste on the very day of her death, April 6, in the Chapel of the Minorites <sup>3</sup>). He also related the ravages of that terrible epidemic to his colleagues of St. Donatian's, Bruges, with one of whom, the musician Canon-Cantor Nicolas de Bouckout <sup>4</sup>), he spent some time at Avignon : in a Chronicle of Flanders was inserted a letter dated from Avignon, April 27, 1348, describing more accurately and minutely than any other record, the effects of the terrible scourge that, in a few months, burned a horrible scar from Egypt to England <sup>5</sup>) : that letter of which the author is not named, was, without doubt <sup>6</sup>), written by the Bruges Canon Sanctus. Apparently the frightful epidemic was not the only occasion on which there were letters from Petrarch's friend Socrates to his Belgian acquaint-

<sup>1</sup>) *BrugSDon.*, 145 : XIII Præbenda : 1344 Ludovicus Sanctus.

<sup>2</sup>) As late as February 1359, Petrarch urged his friend to stay at the *Curia*, notwithstanding difficulties which would prove only transient : *Famil. Epist.*, xxi.

<sup>3</sup>) P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarche et l'Humanisme* : Paris, 1907 : II, 284.

<sup>4</sup>) *BrugSDon.*, 97, 139.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. Torfs, I, 46, sq ; *FlandAnn.*, 151, b, 154, b ; Sanderson, 242-43 ; Introduction to the *Decameron* ; &c.

<sup>6</sup>) U. Berlière, in *BN*, s. v. *Sanctus*.

ances : he, for certain, welcomed to Avignon all those of his countrymen who were attracted by the golden dawn, of which he must have been as a herald.

Amongst the many circumstances that favoured the 'Renaissance' was the arrival at Padua, on Febr. 15, 1350, as Papal Legate, of Guy of Boulogne, son of Count Robert and Mary of Flanders <sup>1)</sup>, Archbishop of Lyons and Cardinal : he was also provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, and Dean of St. Lambert's, Liège <sup>2)</sup> : he became the patron of Petrarch, who, in the following May, accompanied the Cardinal to the Italian Lakes : from there he introduced the abbot of St. Bénigne, Dijon, Pierre de Rainzeville, by a letter to his friend Socrates, — adding one more to the series of remarkable personages who, through the poet, made the acquaintance of the native of the Campinian heath : the letter begins by the praise of friendship and Sanctus is addressed as : *alter idem, status nostri basis, animi lux, consilii dux, studii fax*, and several more glorious appellations <sup>3)</sup>. No wonder that his decease, in May 1361, was deeply felt by Petrarch, who in later life often recalled his dear friend in his writings, and especially in the letters which, dedicated to his memory, he entitled *Epistolæ Seniles*. Little though we know of the works of Sanctus, certain it is that he throws on his native land the glory of having been the staunchest amongst the friends of the 'Father of the Renaissance', and the only one who was not Italian. If he did not bring to our country the full light of Modern Thought, he is at least like the golden summit of the mountain announcing to the dusky valley that day is dawning <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> She was the daughter of the Lord of Termonde, and granddaughter of Guy of Dampierre. At her death Petrarch wrote a touching letter to her son, in which he recalls his own mother Eletta whom he lost before he was fifteen : May 14, 1352 : *Famil. Epist.* (ed. Rossi : Florence 1937) : III, 53, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *BrugSDon.*, 73.

<sup>3)</sup> *Famil. Epist.* (ed. Rossi : Florence, 1937) : II, 238-40.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. U. Berlière, *Un Ami de Pétrarque, Louis Sanctus de Beeringhen* ; Rome (*Institut Hist. Belge*), 1905, and BN, s. v. *Sanctus* (Louis Heyligen), 1911-13 ; H. Cochin, *Sur le Socrate de Pétrarque, le musicien Flamand Ludovicus Sanctus de Beeringhen* (*Mél. d'Archéol. et d'Hist. de l'Ecole Franç. de Rome*, 37, 1918-9) : 3-33. G. Monchamp, *Pétrarque et le Pays Liégeois* (*Leodium*, IV, 1905) : 1-16 ; M. Dykmans, *Les Premiers Rapports de Pétrarque avec les Pays-Bas* (*Bull. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome*, XX, 1939) : 51-109 ; Sandys, II, 2-11 ; Symonds, 70-90.

## C. EARLY VISITORS TO ITALY

Sixty years after Ludovicus Heylighen left the Netherlands a native of Rotterdam, in quest of intellectual development, Arnold Gheylhoven, took the way to Italy. About 1393 he reached Bologna, and studied there law as a guest in the house of Gaspar Calderini, a famous canonist. At his death from the pest in 1399, his ward went to Padua, and was generously taken up by Francis Zabarella, archpriest, professor of canon law <sup>1)</sup>; with that Maecenas, who afterwards spoke out and wrote down the full Conciliar theory about the powers of the Cardinals in the Synods of Pisa and Constance, and became Cardinal himself, there also lived Peter-Paul Vergerio <sup>2)</sup>, who was one of the very first students of Petrarch. He edited the poem *Africa* <sup>3)</sup>, and wrote the first biography in 1396, based on the epistle *Ad Posterios*. Not only did Arnold promote doctor of canon law in October 1403, he also became acquainted through his host and Vergerio with the life and spirit of the great poet, and with his executor, the husband of his daughter Francesca († 1384), 'Francescuolo' da Bros-sano <sup>4)</sup> and their children Eletta, Silvano and Franceschino, probably studying already at the University. He also saw Petrarch's *opera et libros*, namely the series of his own writings, as well as the *armariolum*, the collection of about two hundred manuscripts of Latin and Greek authors which were the poet's pride and joy : a large part of the two separate collections was still kept religiously by the son-in-law when Gheylhoven saw and fingered them.

About the end of 1403 he went for some time to Vienna University before he returned to his native country ; in 1409 he had entered Groenendael Monastery. He there wrote a *Somnium Doctrinale* <sup>5)</sup>, in which he makes quotations from *De Remediis Utriusque Fortune*, and praisingly names the

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<sup>1)</sup> 1408-1417 : cp. Trit., 295 ; Pastor, I, 145, 150 : Cardinal Zabarella died during the Constance Synod, in 1417.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Trit., 307.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. the judgment about that poem, which was greatly vaunted by its author, who left it unfinished, in *BeitKlette*, II, 4-25.

<sup>4)</sup> Symonds, 90, 104 (probably his son is meant) ; *BeitKlette*, II, 23, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Manuscript I. H. 5 of Amsterdam University Library.

author Petrarch, mentioning as well Dante and Boccaccio. By 1424, about the feast of St. Magdalene, he finished, also at Groenendaal, a large compilation of biographical notes of poets, divines, orators, philosophers and historians, gathered from various authors, and enriched by original accounts on the more recent writers <sup>1)</sup>. That compilation, entitled *Vaticānus* <sup>2)</sup>, contains a short paragraph about his benefactor Zabarella, and one about *Franciscus Petrarcha*, with the epitaph of the monument in red marble raised by Francis da Brossano at Arquà, near Padua, and the mention that he had known very well Petrarch's granddaughter and his two grandsons, whose father had shown him the great man's works and his books <sup>3)</sup>. — Gheylhoven thus constitutes a second link between the Italian Renaissance and our country : if his acquaintance with Petrarch was not direct, as was that of Sanctus, it was at least as effective, as it was based on the poet's works : expressed in his own writings, his admiration for the *poeta laureatus excellens* certainly kindled in all his readers the hopeful longing for the coming day.

Another early admirer of Petrarch in our countries was John de Groesbeek, the son of a patrician family of Maastricht, which provided a Bishop to Liège in the sixteenth century <sup>4)</sup>. He was trained in Paris University from 1405 and, having promoted Master of Arts in 1407, he stayed there some time, officiating as Dean of his Faculty for the *natio anglica* during

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<sup>1)</sup> They, no doubt, were made from memory, for small inexactitudes have slipped in : thus Petrarch is called archpriest, although he was only a canon, and he is said to have been contemporary with Boniface VIII, who died one year before he was born.

<sup>2)</sup> Mazarine Library, Latin MS. 1563.

<sup>3)</sup> C. Ypes, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse Letterkunde*: Amsterdam, 1934 ; P. Lehmann, *Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Arnold Gheylhoven von Rotterdam (Historisches Jahrbuch, 58, 1938)* : 34-54 ; M. Dykmans, *Les Premiers Rapports de Pétrarque avec les Pays-Bas (Bull. de l'Institut Hist. Belge de Rome : xx, 1939)* : 109-122.

<sup>4)</sup> Cardinal Gerard de Groesbeeck was Bishop of Liège from June 3, 1565, to his death, December 28, 1580 : *BelgChron.*, 244. Molanus and Vernulæus remark that this Prelate's coat-of-arms was the same as that which adorned up to their times the house in New Street in which the Professor of Law lived, near the Convent of St. Clara and near the house of the Faculty of Arts : *Mol.*, 529 ; *Vern.*, 31, 35 ; *FUL*, 787 ; *LouvBoon*, 353-54 ; *LouvEven*, 519-20.

the term starting November 19, 1408 <sup>1)</sup>. He applied himself probably to jurisprudence, which he went to study in Bologna where the *Acta Nationis Germanicæ* record his presence on January 6, 1412 and 1414 <sup>2)</sup>, and mention him as sharing the management of that nation in 1415 and in 1419, this time with Henry van der Meeren, de Mera, of Herenthals, his future colleague in Louvain <sup>3)</sup>. He promoted Doctor of Laws on April 3, 1420, and was chosen that day *Rector d. Ultramontanorum*. As since January 1414 he was canon of St. Servatius' of his native place, he went to fulfil his office after duly finishing his studies, and heard there of the contemplated foundation of a University, which made him come to Louvain to inquire, possibly to offer his services : at any rate he was requested to become professor of civil law by Duke John IV of Brabant by a letter of August 12, 1426 <sup>4)</sup>. He accepted, and thus started the teaching of that branch on September 8, 1426 : he resigned by the end of September 1444 <sup>5)</sup>, being paid for the last time in the beginning of December 1444 <sup>6)</sup>, and went to live on his canonry at Maastricht, where he died in 1445 <sup>7)</sup> ; he had been the first Rector that was chosen by the University, May 31, 1427 <sup>8)</sup>, and was re-elected on August 31, 1433 <sup>9)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> He passed his *actus determinantie* in the beginning of 1406, his licenciate in April 1407, and started his *magisterium* in May 1407 : Denifle & Chatelain, *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* : Paris, 1889-97 : I, 917 (7), II, 11 (35), 26 (8), 35 (46), 36 (7).

<sup>2)</sup> Friedländer & Malagola, *Acta Nationis Germanicæ Universitatis Bononiensis* : Berlin, 1887 : 165, a (11 : Johanne Krusbeck), 166, a (33), and further, 167, b (24, 33), 168, a (33), 169 (6), 171, b (4) ; Knod, 170.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 171 ; cp. further p 111.

<sup>4)</sup> *PF*, I, 218-19 ; *Vern.*, 13, 96, 138 ; *VAnd.*, 11.

<sup>5)</sup> His wages were paid by Louvain town, four hundred Rhine flor. a year : *ULDoc.*, II, 7-87.

<sup>6)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 87 : he was offered 90 Rh. fl. for a half quarter, his successor John van Gronsselt receiving 50 Rh. fl. for the same term.

<sup>7)</sup> *Mol.*, 529 ; *Vern.*, 97 ; *VAnd.*, 147, 155, 160, 169-71 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 76-77, II, 183-84 ; Knod, 170.

<sup>8)</sup> The first Rector, William Neeffs, *Nepotis*, scholaster of St. Peter's, had been indicated in the deed of the foundation of the University as Rector for a period of five years : still he resigned on Sept. 6, 1426, to the 14 professors who had been appointed, and they elected him again for a period of eight months or so : he effectively resigned on May 31, 1427, and was replaced by John de Groesbeek : *VAnd.*, 32 ; *Mol.*, 469-70 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 248-49.

<sup>9)</sup> *VAnd.*, 35 ; *Mol.*, 471 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 252.

## D. LITERARY DOCUMENTS BROUGHT HOME

By a happy chance there are a few indications about the impression made by the Italian Renaissance on those early visitors : one at least is provided by the mention of the books which John de Groesbeek acquired there, no doubt at great cost since they were manuscripts. At his death, part of them were bought on September 10, 1446 by the Faculty of Arts for her Library, from a *venditrix* 'Metta', possibly the house-keeper, or a relative, of the deceased : amongst the lot, for which were paid 90 Rh. fls., there were works on jurisprudence by Italians like Oldradus de Laude <sup>1)</sup>, Raphael Fulgosus <sup>2)</sup>, and the Bologna professors Antonio de Butrio <sup>3)</sup> and Petrus de Ancharano, Zabarella's friend <sup>4)</sup>, as well as a treatise by Petrarch, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunæ* <sup>5)</sup>. No doubt John de Groesbeek had bought that treatise under the spell of the great poet when he was studying in Bologna, and taken it home along with his books on law. The deputy members of the Faculty, who went to inspect the volumes which 'Metta' offered for sale, did not hesitate in buying Petrarch's work, and the Faculty not only approved of their purchase, but had the book bound, after that twenty-two quires of six leaves in it had been marked and adorned with red ink : for that work the beadle of the Faculty, Adrian Zay of Wemeldingen, who acted as librarian, was paid twelve stivers for the binding, and one 'rider' for the rubrication, on February 1, 1447 <sup>6)</sup>. That way one of the most popular works of the great Italian had its place of honour amongst the *Libri arcium* of the Library of the Faculty <sup>7)</sup>, of which a catalogue was made in, if not before, 1450.

<sup>1)</sup> Trit., 238.

<sup>2)</sup> Trit., 296.

<sup>3)</sup> Trit., 294.

<sup>4)</sup> Trit., 290.

<sup>5)</sup> *ActArtII*, 105, r.

<sup>6)</sup> Item ligauit quatuor libros scilicet... Franciscum Petrarcha... Pro quouis libro ligato assignabant xii stuferos. Item rubricauit in Francisco Petrarcha xxii sexternos pro quibus deputati assignabant Adriano <Zay de Wemeldingen> unum equitem : *ActArtII*, 113, r.

<sup>7)</sup> *F* 57, r, of MS. 5162 of the Royal Library, Brussels, which is the *Liber Statutorum Facultatis Artium*, in which had to be copied an inventory of the books in the Library, according to what had been decided in the meetings of February 1, and June 14, 1447 : *ActArtII*, 113, r, 122, v ; it takes up ff 53, r to 57, v. Cp. A. Van Hove, *La Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Arts de l'Université de Louvain au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* : *Mémoires*, 1, 602-625.

It may be safely admitted that Groesbeek's admiration for Renaissance literature, although he himself was taken up with law, was not an exception, and that, before many years passed, the intellectual upheaval that had started in Italy, was sensed and fully appreciated by several in our country, thanks to the message which some, like Chaucer's Scholar of 'Oxenford',

Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,

As preved by his wordes and his werk <sup>1)</sup>,

and communicated to those who were longing for it. No wonder that, in 1451, Poggio Bracciolini was surprised to hear that one of the Utrecht deans had gathered several manuscripts of Cicero's works, and to find 'tam studiosum eloquentiæ et optimarum artium virum tam longe ab Italia, cuius hæc studia vernacula esse videntur' <sup>2)</sup>. Nor that Erasmus, fifty years later, derived the aim of his life-work from the most precious *adnotationes* of Lorenzo Valla on the Latin text of the New Testament compared with the Greek, which he had found in the 'peruetusta' Library of the Abbey of Parc, near Louvain: it occasioned the edition, on April 13, 1505, in Paris of the first really 'Erasmian' work <sup>3)</sup>, which the publisher, Josse Badius Ascensis, praised in an epigram to Christopher Fisher <sup>4)</sup>:

Multa quoque Erasmo debebitur ingenioso,

Multaque Parcensi gratia cœnobio.

### 3. THE LECTURE OF ELOQUENCE

#### A. THE FOUNDATION

The various relations and personal contacts with the first promoters of the Renaissance in its development did not favour so much an interest in the awakening and efflorescent Italian

<sup>1)</sup> *The Canterbury Tales*, E, 27, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *Epistola* x (23): December 31, 1451, quoted by G. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*: (3<sup>rd</sup> edit.): Berlin, 1893: II, 263.

<sup>3)</sup> *Laurentii Vallensis... in Latinam Novi Testamenti Interpretationem ex collatione Græcorum exemplarium Adnotationes*: *EraBib.*, II, 66.

<sup>4)</sup> It follows the colophon: cp. Allen, I, 182, *pr* (, 1, sq); Erasmus was allowed to take the manuscript of Parc to Paris: he showed it to his host Fisher, who persuaded him to have it printed.



literature, as in the attempt at renovating and perfecting the international language of intellectual life. No doubt by his study and his researches for old manuscripts, Petrarch had only as aim the adaptation of correct and pure Latin of the Augustan era to the economy, policy, science and sociality in his century, — especially in the letters which he developed into a literary genre <sup>1)</sup> — since the diversity and tonality of subjects had grown far richer than they ever were at the highest period of Roman culture <sup>2)</sup>. He consequently declared that man has not only to reach for virtue and for wisdom but also, and more especially, for Eloquence, that is to say, an adequate, correct and pleasing power of expressing thoughts and feelings <sup>3)</sup>. However exaggerated the stress laid by Petrarch on the chief importance of Eloquence, of which he gave such brilliant example, it seems to have been conceived at the time by his admirers as the foundation of all culture, as the key to the new realm of the mind <sup>4)</sup>, and from the first years of the existing of Louvain University it suggested itself as a necessary complement of the curriculum, at least to those of the professors who had been trained in Italy.

One of them was Henry de Mera, of Herenthals, whom John de Groesbeek had met at Bologna <sup>5)</sup>; he tried to obtain

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *BeitKlette*, III, 8, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Paulsen, I, 46, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Paulsen, I, 57, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp., e. g. Agricola, 7; Moog, 33.

<sup>5)</sup> Henry de Mera, van der Meeren, had studied canon law already in Cologne where he matriculated on March 2, 1417: Keussen, I, 112, 14; — he did not stay long, for he is recorded already in that same year as a member of the *Natio Germanica* at Bologna, of which he was *sindicus* in 1419 (cp. before p 108). He promoted licenciate of canon law on April 28, 1422: Knod, 343, and seems to have accepted a position — probably as teacher, — at Hertogenbosch. For in the first days of July 1426, when they were arranging the opening of the University of Louvain, the Duke of Brabant asked the authorities and the Chapter of that town to allow Henry to accept a professorate of Canon Law, which was granted; he came to Louvain, and even took his share in the juridical preparatives, in September 1426: Velde, I, 8, sq; *ULDoc.*, I, 19, sq, 27, sq; Mol., 499, 893. He started his lessons after the opening, Sept. 7, 1426, and lectured at least until Sept. 8, 1437: Vern., 97; VAnd., 147, 155; *ULDoc.*, II, 7-54; he officiated as Rector for three months from Febr. 28, 1430, and became Dean of St. Peter's in 1429 or 1430, replacing as vice-chancellor of the University the provost when absent: he died on September 9, 1440: Mol., 135, 530; Vern., 14; VAnd., 32, 35, 36, 60, 160; *ULDoc.*, I, 77-78, 250-51, 411; II, 171-172.

the establishment of a Faculty of Divinity, excluded in the deed of foundation <sup>1)</sup>, in his wish to attract to Louvain all young men who contemplated entering orders, and to contribute in that way to the welfare of the Church in this Country. He had attended the opening of the University and the inauguration of the first Rector on Sept. 6, 1426, and already in October 1426 he left for Italy to negotiate the creation of a Faculty of Divinity <sup>2)</sup> which, however, was not granted at once : it was only allowed by Eugene IV's bull of March 7, 1431 <sup>3)</sup>, which reached Louvain in the autumn of 1432, judging by the thanks voted by the University on November 18 <sup>4)</sup>.

As years went on, it was felt that several lectures should be added to those that had been founded, so as to meet the wants of the time, and that some means were to be secured to ensure the services of able professors. The clear-sighted amongst the town authorities and the University staff proposed to keep exclusively for actual *legentes*, three of the canonries of St. Peter's, besides the one being connected with the office of *plebanus*, and to create ten more prebends by means of incorporating into the Chapter nine parishes which were too richly provided for, considering the necessities of the population <sup>5)</sup> : they would be taken care of, against a

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<sup>1)</sup> It says : in dicto oppido generale in facultate qualibet, præterquam in Theologia, sit studium... : *ULPriv.*, 5 ; *ULPrivCon.*, 1, 4.

<sup>2)</sup> He availed himself of the occasion to promote Doctor of Canon Law in Bologna on November 19, 1426 (Knod, 343), before going to Rome : it explains how he was styled only *licenciate* when he attended the election of the Rector and the opening of the University, whereas he, a few months later, is mentioned as Doctor : *Mol.*, 469-70. When proceeding further to Rome he was accompanied by Arnold de Wit, who represented the Louvain authorities in the quest for the completing of the University : they seem to have returned in 1428 : *ULDoc.*, 1, 105-109 ; *Mol.*, 499, 893 ; *Vern.*, 80 ; *VAnd.*, 75-6 ; &c.

<sup>3)</sup> *LouvArch.*, 11, 3933 ; *ULPriv.*, 32-33 ; *ULPrivCon.*, 1, 38-40.

<sup>4)</sup> The bull was put into execution on Sept. 30, 1432 by the Abbot of Parc Ambrose van Engelen : *ULDoc.*, 104, 114 ; *Parc*, 228.

<sup>5)</sup> They were the parishes of Brecht, Schelle, Boom and Erps, belonging to Cambrai diocese, and those of Haekendover, Holsbeek, Corbeek-over-Loo, Neerlinter and Kneegsel, with the Louvain *plebanatus*, being in the attribution of the Bishop of Liège : *ULDoc.*, 1, 128, sq ; de Jongh, 43-47. Besides those nine parishes there were two chaplaincies at Over-

stated fee, by *vicarii perpetui*, officiating priests appointed by the Chapter, which should have a right to the surplus revenue to be used for the ten new canonries for as many professors <sup>1)</sup>. The scheme was practically arranged by the end of 1442, one of the chief artisans being a canon of St. Peter's, Peter de Mera, brother to the late dean, who, like he, was doctor of canon law, and had most probably also studied in some Italian University <sup>2)</sup>. He was sent as deputy of the Chapter and of the Town to Arnold de Wit, Witte, who, a few years before, had managed the requesting of the lessons of theology, and had become canon at Liège <sup>3)</sup>; he also put into order the various incorporations, so as to be able to submit

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Loo, under Corbeek, of which Raso de Grave, Lord of Heverlee and Malève, granted on March 30, 1443 the patronage to the town authorities of Louvain in favour of a professor : *ULDoc.*, I, 124-128.

<sup>1)</sup> As the canonries of the second foundation were less opulent than the old prebends, the beneficiaries, called *Professores Eugeniani*, were not obliged to attend the services in St. Peter's; it caused many a quarrel. Those of the old prebends, which were granted to professors by Eugene IV, were actually only given to them as soon as they became vacant, the town supplying meanwhile the emoluments : de Jongh, 44.

<sup>2)</sup> Peter de Mera, of Herenthals — whose name does not appear to be in the Louvain matriculation register — probably was trained in Padua : he owed no doubt his prebend in St. Peter's to his brother; and he was by 1440 parish-priest of St. Waldetrudis' at Herenthals, of which the magnificent choir was finished in 1449, and the nave and aisles were started in 1453 : *MétMoeller*, I, 626-29; for his church, Mera occasionally had to apply to the Louvain Conservator : *ULAct.*, II, 188, 230, 268. Although not sent as a deputy by the University, he was entrusted by her with several *desideranda* on his visit to Rome in 1443, and again on that of 1447 : *ULAct.*, II, 78-80, 88, 91. His juridical practice probably had secured him the office of *Actuarius* or Notary of the Court of the Conservator of the Privileges, which he fulfilled, it seems, until February 1, 1457, when he was replaced by John Boels, uncle and predecessor of John de Winckele, founder of the College of that name : *VAnd.*, 73; *ULAct.*, II, 120 (1448); *ULDoc.*, I, 551. At the death of his brother's successor William de Coster, or Bont, on July 10, 1454, Peter was elected Dean of St. Peter's : *ULAct.*, II, 316-17, 331, 337; still he did not enjoy that office very long, as he died before February 1, 1458; according to his desire he was buried in one tomb with his brother in front of the entrance to the choir : *Mol.*, 119, 135 (he founded two chaplaincies in St. Peter's and one in Herenthals), 483-85; *ULAct.*, II, 304; *VAnd.*, 60, 406, 160; *ULDoc.*, I, 412; *Paquot*, XII, 128.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 180-182, and before, p 112.

to the Pope, along with the petition, a solution which would be agreeable to all parties concerned, and approved of by the bishops of the benefices in question <sup>1)</sup>).

Peter de Mera left Louvain for Italy on January 7, 1443 <sup>2)</sup>), and after a rather difficult journey, — of which he afterwards gave most interesting details to the town authorities in the account of his expenses and of the various presents which seemed indispensable for a good success <sup>3)</sup>), — he returned with the bull, signed at Sienna on May 23, 1443, by which Eugene IV reserves for University professors three of the canonries of St. Peter's, as well as that connected with the *plebanatus*, and incorporates ten benefices, to institute ten canonries of the second foundation, which were similar to those of the first, except for the fact that they did not require any holy order in the beneficiaries <sup>4)</sup>). Unfortunately the Bishop of Liège, John of Heinsberg, displeased at the great advantage which he thus lost, endeavoured to save what he could, and actually obtained a bull from Eugene IV, October 15, 1444, by which the incorporation of five benefices and that of the *plebanatus* were cancelled <sup>5)</sup>) : once more Peter de Mera was applied to, and he managed so well that, on March 11, 1445, the Liège Bishop gave his consent to the incorporation, renounced the revocation he had obtained, and handed the obnoxious bull to the University <sup>6)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 183.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 185-198, 202; *Mol.*, 884; *ULAct.*, II, 78.

<sup>3)</sup> The account was passed and approved of by the town council on Nov. 13, 1443 : *ULDoc.*, I, 189-198, 202.

<sup>4)</sup> *LouvArch.*, II, 3934; *ULPrivCon.*, I, 48-57; *ULDoc.*, I, 133-143; it was promulgated on August 31, 1443 by William Bont, dean of St. Peter's : *ULDoc.*, I, 143-157; de Jongh, 44; — Vern., on 263-66, has, for these second canonries, four pages of text which are evidently a cancel, since the two leaves are stuck to strips of those which were cut out or off; they relate difficulties caused by the Dean and the canons of the first creation, to those enjoying the new prebends, which probably came to Vernulæus' knowledge after his first redaction had been printed off. The text of that cancel is reproduced in *ULDoc.*, I, 153-57, and attributed to the 'Academia Lovaniensis de Vernulæus (2<sup>e</sup> éd., p 141) annoté et corrigé par Bax' : there does not seem to have been a second edition.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 158-59 : the original of this bull and of deeds referring to this matter are preserved in *LouvArch.*, II, 3935-46.

<sup>6)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 160-61, 205-208.

In May 1447, de Mera went once again to Italy <sup>1)</sup>, where Nicolas V, on June 1, 1447, gave him the final confirmation and full approbation of the incorporation granted by Eugene IV, on the report of the repartition of the revenue of benefices incorporated between the newly erected canonries, which the town had proposed to leave unequal, so as to have a means to reward the best professors and the more arduous labour <sup>2)</sup>. The *plebanatus* and two of the old canonries were reserved for professors of divinity, and so was another of the old prebends, for a lesson of Canon Law. As to the ten new canonries they were divided equally between the five Faculties <sup>3)</sup>, with the understanding that of those destined to the Faculty of Arts, one was to be for a professor of Ethics <sup>4)</sup>, and the other for the branch that was then considered by many as most important, Eloquence <sup>5)</sup>. Here may be discerned the personal influence of the man who had arranged this extension of the University teaching, as his brother had contributed to that of 1432; he most probably had endeavoured to make his own country share in the intellectual development of Italy; in that way he greatly pleased the grand protector of artists and literators, Nicolas V, who inaugurated in Rome the golden era of humanism <sup>6)</sup>: indeed, he made a present of one hundred and thirty riders to Peter de Mera, who disposed of them by his will <sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *ULAct.*, II, 78-80, 88, 91 (he was thanked for his services by the University on his return, Sept. 15, 1447).

<sup>2)</sup> *LouvArch.*, II, 3947; *ULDoc.*, I, 161-180; *Vern.*, 263-66.

<sup>3)</sup> *Vern.*, 263-66; de Jongh, 44.

<sup>4)</sup> *VAnd.*, 245-46, 248: the necessity of a lesson of *Ethica* had been felt before 1443; e. g., on Sept. 24, 1428, Joannes Flaminghi was charged with it, on Sept. 28, 1430, John Block, and in 1432, Henry de Loe; cp. the complete list in *ULDoc.*, II, 229-235.

<sup>5)</sup> *VAnd.*, 245-48; *Vern.*, 123-25. Cp. before, p 111.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Pastor, I, 385, sq, 404, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> *Mol.*, 135; Nicolas V was the most generous man of a generous century, — especially for books and manuscripts and learning: he was called the Ptolemæus Philadelphus of his time; the happiness of giving for noble aims has been rarely as fully enjoyed: cp. F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*: Stuttgart, 1879-80: VII<sup>2</sup>, 524; Pastor, I, 409; F. Gregorovius, *Rom in der Renaissance*: Munich, n. d.: I, 131, sq.

## B. JOHN BLOCK AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Unfortunately the men who had the right to appoint the professor of Eloquence were not exactly amongst those who fully realized what equipment was required : obviously they ignored the meaning even which that matter had amongst the leading minds at the time. On the other hand the prebend connected with the new professorship excited the covetousness of some, not so much as an occasion to serve their University and their country with a most up-to-date teaching, than as a secure and very honourable position, obtainable more by favour and intrigue than by personal value and erudition. On Dec. 3, 1438 the University appointed as first *Dictator*, namely as *scriba* or official letter-writer <sup>1)</sup>, the *Regens* John Block <sup>2)</sup>, who two days later was appointed with Henry de Loe <sup>3)</sup> as *Orator* for the Faculty of Arts. Although requiring a thorough familiarity with Latin, those two offices were scantily paid <sup>4)</sup>: still they provided to Block the occasion to solicit the professorate of Eloquence which was conferred on him on October 7, 1444 by the mayors of the town, who were the patrons of the

<sup>1)</sup> VAnd., 49-50 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 311-12 ; *AcArExc.*, 15.

<sup>2)</sup> John Block, master of arts, matriculated in 1429 : *ULMatr.*, I, 101, and was admitted on April 24, 1430 to the Council of the Faculty of Arts, being manager of a small pedagogy which was not prosperous, and hardly lasted ten years : *ULDoc.*, II, 205-221. He was entrusted after a vote, with the teaching of Ethics in 1430-31, and thus gained the title of *regens* : *ActArtI*, 36, v, sq ; *AcArExc.*, 10, 26 ; *ULDoc.*, II, 206. He was elected Rector on November 29, 1532, and secured several benefices, the most important being that of *plebanus* of Hoogstraeten. He took an active part in the University life, being chosen repeatedly as deputy or as a member of a committee : *ULAct.*, II, 30, 40, 42, 47, &c ; *ULDoc.*, II, 205-21, 227, sq ; on November 5, 1446 he made the Faculty of Arts aware of some strange doctrines taught by Henry of Zomeren and others, which was the beginning of the controversy of the *futura contingentia* : *ULAct.*, II, 56-59 ; de Jongh, 77, 81 ; and by March 16, 1451 he helped to redress a breach of jurisdiction against the University at Hoogstraeten : *ULAct.*, II, 194-5 ; Vern., 69 ; Mol., 814 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 514. He died in 1453 : Mol., 471, 582, 594 (the Dean of Jodoigne was Godefroid of Boeslinter) ; VAnd., 35, 50, 77 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 251, II, 230, 231, 233, 244, 247.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 236.

<sup>4)</sup> The function of Dictator was annual ; Block's successor John Sucket, appointed on May 27, 1441, was not replaced in June 1447 : on account of the small wages nobody accepted the post : *ULAct.*, II, 82.

new prebends in St. Peter's : they presented the candidates, properly after consulting the University, to the Dean and the Chapter of St. Peter's <sup>1</sup>).

It did not last long before it appeared that Block was not the right man : he seems to have been more taken up by claiming the rights and dues of his benefices than with his studies <sup>2</sup>), and his auditors for the new lesson must have been very scanty : instead of being attracted by interest and novelty, they had to be compelled by academic constraint. After a year's teaching, he found it advisable to teach mathematics, with which he was more familiar — having had to study it for his masterhood, — than with Eloquence, and, on October 25, 1445, he even obtained the approval of the Faculty of Arts for that change during that year, which had already been sanctioned by the town authorities ; and that it really was the replacing of Eloquence by Mathematics in the fulfilment of his professorate, follows from the fact that, at the same meeting, it was decided that the Faculty should thank the 'masters of the city', and should try to be allowed further to use and dispose of the two prebends incorporated into her, according to the usefulness and the necessities of the moment <sup>3</sup>).

The Faculty, however, did not want to drop the lesson of Eloquence altogether, and decided that at least the bachelors should be ordered to attend it, so that it should be necessary to lecture on Eloquence, and have one prebend both for the teaching of rhetoric and of mathematics : otherwise the lesson

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<sup>1</sup>) VAnd., 245 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 138 ; de Jongh, 46. As the town authorities in the beginning saw to the payment of the wages, they tried to get the best professors possible ; thus the tradition was created, and the 'presentation' by the town mayors soon became equivalent to the 'nomination' ; the consulting the University or the Faculties, which only aimed at preventing the appointment of the unfit and incompetent, was often avoided, or spoilt by competition or favouritism : at any rate it gave rise to endless frictions and contestations.

<sup>2</sup>) The academic Acts from 1446 to 1453 mention numerous appeals by Block to the University and the Conservator for contestations and complaints about his benefices : *ULAct.*, II, 54, 65, 85, 93, 138, &c.

<sup>3</sup>) 'Vltcrius ad regraciandum dominis de opido et ad laborandum quod facultas possit istas lectiones communes ratione prebendarum ordinare et disponere pro vtilitate sua, sicut magis congruum erit, et ad habendum perpetuam incorporationem duarum prebendarum pro facultate artium' : *ActArtII*, 85, r ; *ULDoc.*, II, 234 ; VAnd., 249.

of rhetoric, which is greatly necessary, should perish <sup>1)</sup>. Therefore the Faculty judged it advisable that, in coming years, the bachelors in Arts should attend the lectures, and show a *signetum* of the attendance to that instruction when beginning their test for the *licenciate*; some members were indicated to decide about the time and the place where the subject should be taught <sup>2)</sup>. On March 4, 1446, in answer to Block's request of February 26, the Faculty decided that the new bachelors of that year were to follow the lessons of Eloquence to be given in the School of Arts, at ten o'clock on feast days; and that they were to show the lector's *signetum* for their regular attendance on the day of their '*præsentatio*' <sup>3)</sup>. Three months later, Block found a subterfuge to shorten the series of his lessons on Eloquence in the heat of the dog-days; if the Faculty discharged him of that duty, he would willingly read instead, in winter, the lectures on mathematics required for those who prepared for the masterhood: it was granted according to his demand <sup>4)</sup> — as probably it was obvious that the lectures of rhetoric were a heavy load to the audience as well as to the professor. Only three years after his nomination he seems to have found it advantageous to have a text to base the lectures on: on September 12, 1447 he asked for the loan of Tullius' *Rhetorics* from the library, of which he would make a *pronunciator* dictate some passages to the students, so that they should not come to the lesson without book, *sine libro*. The Faculty agreed to it, on condition that he should place in the library a book of the same value <sup>5)</sup>.

The way in which the newly founded lesson of Eloquence had been given, cannot have satisfied any earnest man, even if he were ignorant of, or indifferent to, the ideal of Italian Renaissance; it certainly must have bitterly disappointed those who wanted a sounder, better knowledge of the language and literature of Old Rome. It explains how at Block's decease the Faculty of Arts were solicitous to have a successor appointed

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<sup>1)</sup> The text reads: *vt haberetur vna prebenda pro lectione rhetorice et mathematice; alioquin lectio rhetorice, que maxime est utilis, periret, etc*: *ActArtII*, 85, r.

<sup>2)</sup> *ActArtII*, 85, r; *ULDoc.*, II, 233-34.

<sup>3)</sup> *ActArtII*, 93, v.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtII*, 124, r.

<sup>5)</sup> *ActArtII*, 127, r; *ULDoc.*, II, 236-37.



that was fully qualified for the task. Through their dean Nicolas of Amsterdam, they appealed in the University meeting of July 18, 1453, to the other Faculties, declaring that the lecture of Rhetoric had not been instituted merely for the utility and advancement of the Faculty of Arts, but for those of the whole University; they pointed out that, in order to reach that aim with praise and profit, it was necessary to appoint a lecturer brilliantly distinguished in knowledge and eloquence, so that by the fame of his eminence, he should not only attract the students of the Arts, but those of each of the other faculties to his lessons, and thus honour the University by the worth and the excellence of her members in the acquiring and perfecting of Eloquence. They therefore urged the other Faculties to kindly participate in their good zeal and beneficial disposition, and to help them efficiently in their application to the town authorities.

Unfortunately at that very meeting Hugh van Rimen, of Haarlem <sup>1)</sup>, a *regens* of the Faculty of Arts, announced that the mayors and the senate of Louvain had already found him able to fill that vacancy and, after presentation, had requested the dean of St. Peter's to install him into the canonry connected with the lesson; he humbly begged the assembly to leave uninjured his honour and the right he thus had acquired; he asserted that, if not *extreme ... ydoneum*, extremely well qualified for that lecture, he was, at least, *mediocriter*, tolerably well equipped, since he had zealously attended the lessons of Antony Haneron in Louvain; and also since he had

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<sup>1)</sup> Hugh van Rimen, of Haarlem, matriculated in 1432 : *ULMatr.*, I, 71; he promoted licenciate of Arts in 1436, and was admitted as *regens* on Oct. 8, 1436 : as such he taught philosophy until 1440 (*ULDoc.*, II, 216-219), when he seems to have left : he may have been in Paris where he may have lectured, 'legit', on rhetoric. He had returned to Louvain in 1444, and continued teaching as *regens* : *ULDoc.*, II, 225-28; he was elected dean of the Faculty on Nov. 27, 1444, and afterwards again about November 19, 1447 : *ULAct.*, II, 101. He took an active part in the life of the University, representing her as a deputy in Utrecht in the spring of 1448 : *ULAct.*, II, 114, 116, standing for her Privileges against Liège, and making frequently use of them to recover unpaid school fees, or the revenue from benefices : *ULAct.*, II, 20, 69, 93, 172, 248, &c; occasionally he accepted some office, such as that of subsidiary dictator on May 11, 1453 : *ULAct.*, II, 274, 276, 358, 359, 362, 364. He died probably in the first half of 1460 : *VAnd.*, 50, 247; *ULDoc.*, I, 313, II, 258.

professed the subject, *legit*, some time in another University. After deliberating separately on the matter, the Faculties declared to be grateful to the Arts, whose view they shared, so much the more since it applied to the prebends of the other sciences, and especially just then to the nomination of a professor in theology to fill a vacancy, in which the honour of the whole University was involved ; as to Hugh's petition, the answer was *suspensiva*, until his ability and fitness was adequately tested <sup>1)</sup>).

The *Acta Universitatis* mention neither the result of the inquiry into Hugh van Rimen's *ydoneitas*, nor the decision taken in consequence <sup>2)</sup>); most probably the accomplished fact had to be acknowledged, especially since the new Rhetor had based the testimony of his qualification on one who was considered by all as the most authoritative and influential member of the University.

#### C. ANTONY HANERON

Antony Haneron, from Arras diocese, had studied in Paris, and having promoted M. A. and doctor of Canon Law, he came to Louvain in 1429, and was admitted to the regency by the Faculty of Arts on January 21, 1430 <sup>3)</sup>). He at once started a very successful boarding-school in his house in *Vinearum Strata*, against the town wall <sup>4)</sup>). He was already elected dean on December 13, 1431, and was a most active member of the Faculty, whom he represented as delegate, as *intrans* for the Rectorial election, or as 'tentator' for the

<sup>1)</sup> *ULAct.*, II, 283-85.

<sup>2)</sup> It seems as if Hugh van Rimen was, at least at times, on bad terms with his colleagues of the Faculty of Arts, — though on May 30, 1453, they made him their *intrans* or deputy for the election of the Rector : *ULAct.*, II, 276. The other Faculties, however, favoured him : on December 20, 1452, at the election of the University receiver, who had to be chosen from the Faculty of Arts, the latter proposed three names 'propter bonum pacis', but the other Faculties refused them and chose Rimen unanimously, against the wish of his own Faculty, who remonstrated then, and on January 5, 1453, though in vain : *ULAct.*, II, 257-9.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULAct.*, I, 55, &c, II, 36 ; *ULMatr.*, I, 5.

<sup>4)</sup> *ULAct.*, I, 190, 269 ; *LouvEven*, 233-36, 587 ; *LouvBoon*, 355, 368 : the name *Kattenstraat* is a reference to a kind of warlike cover, like an overhanging vine, used in sieges : *vinea* : Fl. kat, Fr. mantelet.

promotions <sup>1)</sup>. He was chosen Rector on February 27, 1434 <sup>2)</sup>, and sent on a mission, by the end of 1437, to the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good, for which he was thanked in the University meeting of January 17, 1438 <sup>3)</sup>. He made so good an impression on the Prince that he was appointed preceptor of his son Charles, Count of Charolais, in 1438 <sup>4)</sup>, so that, from then on, he spent all his time at Court, and was used as ducal councillor and secretary, in so far that after Charles the Bold's death, he was made a prisoner in the revolt of Ghent, which cost the lives of Chancellor Hugonet, of the Lord of Humbercourt and of the former Ghent treasurer John van Melle, on April 3, 1477. Haneron was taken to the fortress of Vilvorde, but was probably set free after the ruthless behaviour of Louis XI had caused a complete reversion in the nation's feelings: still he is said to have paid a ransom, Aug. 14, 1477 <sup>5)</sup>. His great services were recognized by Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, who appointed him their councillor: he baptized their son Philip at Bruges on June 29, 1478, and was sent to Clery, in 1481, to negotiate peace with Louis XI <sup>6)</sup>.

Meanwhile Haneron had been amply provided with benefices: in 1446 he became canon of St. Donatian's, Bruges <sup>7)</sup>; later on provost of St. Waldetrudis', Mons, of St. Bartholomew's, Bethune, and of Our Lady's, Maastricht, the last of which he exchanged with Gisbert Brederode for the Provostry of St. Donatian's, and the chancellorship of Flanders connected with it, on December 24, 1467 <sup>8)</sup>: in that dignity he welcomed his former pupil on his first visit to Bruges, offering him the Cross to be kissed, on April 9, 1468 <sup>9)</sup>. In his last years he

<sup>1)</sup> *ActArtI*, 216, v, 218, v, 223, v, sq; *ULAct.*, I, 127, sq, 77, 164, 177, 181, 183, 298; *ULDoc.*, II, 206-8, 210-14; *ULPromRs.*, 25, 27, 29.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 252.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULAct.*, I, 209, 323.

<sup>4)</sup> Pirenne, II, 310: Charles the Bold, who had an earnest and very cultured mind, owed it mostly to Haneron: *FlandAnn.*, 373, b.

<sup>5)</sup> *BrugInscr.*, I, 58; Pirenne, III, 19-20; Behault, I, 139.

<sup>6)</sup> *BrugInscr.*, I, 58.

<sup>7)</sup> He was canon of the VII<sup>th</sup> prebend: *BrugSDon.*, 126.

<sup>8)</sup> *BrugSDon.*, 76.

<sup>9)</sup> *FlandAnn.*, 343, a. — Still it does not seem as if his Provostry only gave him honour and advantages: it appears that in 1474, when the Chapter refused to pay any part in the subvention of 500.000 crowns granted by the States, he was taken prisoner until a decree of the

resumed a more effective connection with the University, in which he had spent the best years of his youth, and in which, all the time, his house, with books and furniture, had been used by students in Canon Law. On August 20, 1484, in a deed passed in the rooms of Carolus Viruli, in New Street, in his presence and that of Peter de Thenis, licenciante in Canon Law<sup>1</sup>), and of Baldwin Joris, keeper of the *Vicus* and of the library of the Faculty of Arts, Haneron made his house, with its orchard and vineyard, with its chapel and with all it contained at his decease, into a College in honour of St. Donatian, for students in Canon Law; there were to be five bursars and one master, or president, who could accept some boarders: the college, endowed with a large part of his fortune, was placed under the supervision of the dean and the receiver of the Faculty of Arts, and of the Provost of St. Donatian's: Charles Viruli and his son Nicolas were to be 'provisores' or procurators for their lives<sup>2</sup>). He died on December 10, 1490, and was buried in the choir of St. Donatian's, Bruges, under a magnificent tombstone<sup>3</sup>).

Haneron was known in his lifetime as a most learned man, as results from the references to him in the various deeds that mention him<sup>4</sup>); his memory was honoured by the poet and councillor of Maximilian, Judocus von Beissel<sup>5</sup>), in an epitaph of four distichs, published in his *Rosacea Christiferae Mariæ Corona*<sup>6</sup>). He seems to have bestowed great care on

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Mechlin Great Council should decide about the contestation: it is added that, in the month of October of the same year, he was sent to Holland to come to an agreement with the delegates of the clergy about the new taxes imposed on religious property and revenue: *BrugInscr.*, I, 57-58; *FlandAnn.*, 361, a.

<sup>1</sup>) He afterwards became professor of laws, 1495-1530: cp. *Cran.*, I, b.

<sup>2</sup>) The foundation also included a daily mass, and the founder practically proposed the rules of the house: Schrevel, II, 21-34; *FUL*, 2001-2020; *Mol.*, 630; *Vern.*, 214; *VAnd.*, 298; *ULDoc.*, III, 122, sq.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. *BrugInscr.*, I, 57-58; *Mol.*, 595; *VAnd.*, 298; *PF*, II, \*21; *BaxH*, IX, 87; *BaxF*, III, 122; *ULDoc.*, II, 257; C. de Clercq, *Œuvres Inédites d'Antoine Haneron* (in *Compas d'Or*), Antwerp, 1929.

<sup>4</sup>) E. g., when he went to interview Louis XI at Clery in 1481, he was styled 'homme tres scavant': *BrugInscr.*, I, 58.

<sup>5</sup>) *Busl.*, 303, 304.

<sup>6</sup>) *F* 30 (e 6) r: *Epitaphium antonio haneron præpositi Brugensi*; the book was printed in Antwerp by Govaerd Back (n. d.): *Polain*, I, 636.

his lectures in Louvain and to have written down his notes in several tracts, which he allowed his colleagues to use freely, even whilst he was still at work himself. That results from Manuscript N° 23 in the Library of the Higher Seminary at Mechlin <sup>1)</sup>, which, amongst other matters, contains two small treatises and some notes by *magistro anthonio de Haneron regente in uniuersitate louaniensi* : one is a series of *Præcepta oratoribus utilia* ; the other, an *Ars Dictandi*, indicating the parts of a letter and the various kinds of missives, to which also refer the notes scattered over some pages. The first, the *Præcepta*, has this ending on *f* 70 *r* : *Explicitunt quædam parua præcepta oratoribus / multum vtilia edita a ven[erabi]li viro artium / magistro magistro anthonio de hanneron & in lilio / per magistrum ambrosium pronunciata'*<sup>2)</sup>). It thus seems as if a teacher in the Lily lectured on Haneron's text : that 'Ambrosius' is probably Ambrosius van Enghelen, a Cologne master of arts <sup>3)</sup>, who is recorded as *legens* of the Faculty of Arts from 1433 to 1439, but who may have been instructing long after that date. The precepts for orations and the writing of letters were methodical and rational : on that account they were greatly appreciated, and used in many a school of Louvain ; so must have been the other treatises by Haneron, which were amongst the first books that were printed in our country, as it saved the copying. One was issued at Utrecht

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<sup>1)</sup> It comes, like other documents in the same library, from the former Augustinian Priory of Bois-Seigneur-Isaac : cp. C. de Clercq, *(Euvres Inédites d'Antoine Haneron (Compas d'Or))* : Antwerp, 1929.

<sup>2)</sup> The colophon is reproduced in C. de Clercq's paper.

<sup>3)</sup> He is recorded as 'Ambrosius de Enghelen, Leod. dioc. *in artibus, pauper*', matriculating in the last months of 1423 : Keussen, I, 137, 26 ; he was inscribed in Louvain by the end of 1427 : *ULMatr.*, I, 4. He was accepted by the Faculty as *legens* on January 8, 1428, and is recorded as such for 1428 ; for 1433-34 and 1437-39 he is indicated as '*regens*' : *ActArtI*, 5, r, 89, v, 198, v, 220, r ; *ULDoc.*, II, 202-3, 209-10, 216-8. Judging by the names, it seems that he was the grandfather of Ambrose van Engelen, ab Angelis, born in Louvain in 1481 from Ambrose, M. A. and N. van Nobingen : entering the Premonstratensian order, he became abbot of Parc in September 1515 and died after a most glorious and beneficent management on March 16, 1543 : his device, suggested by Terence (*Andria*, 61 : cp. *ErAdag.*, 259, ε) : *Ne quid nimis*, has become that of the Abbey : *Parc*, 228, 116, 41, &c. — He is mentioned here by mistake on p 112, n 4, for Gerard van Goetsenhoven : *Parc*, 226.

in 1475, the *De Coloribus Verborum et Sententiarum* <sup>1)</sup>). Another, the *Dyasinthetica*, was published at Deventer by Richard Pafraet about 1480 <sup>2)</sup>, and in Antwerp by Gerard Leeuw in 1487 <sup>3)</sup>; a third, *De Epistolis Brevibus Edendis*, was brought out about the same time <sup>4)</sup>, and also reprinted in Antwerp by Mathias Goes <sup>5)</sup>: the Mechlin Manuscript has the treatise about letter-writing, besides a different one on the same subject, and parts of other writings <sup>6)</sup>. That few of the many copies of the printed editions are left, may be owing to their small extent <sup>7)</sup>, and, for certain, to their popularity and practical use: they must have been worn out rags when they were laid aside. Still judging by the few scraps of text available, it appears that, although those treatises were appreciated and greatly helpful in their time as precepts of literature, they could not have brought Rimen's teaching to the linguistic and literary level of that of a Filelfo or a Lorenzo Valla.

#### D. PETER DE RIVO

Neither Haneron's treatises, nor the reference to his example were efficient in Hugh van Rimen's case: his teaching, which started in 1453, was so insignificant that when, that year, a *Dictator* was wanted, not he, although he had been acting as substitute from May 11, but John Recourt was nominated, Nov. 29, 1453 <sup>8)</sup>, and replaced on August 31, 1454 by Leonard

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<sup>1)</sup> It was printed by William Hees with the type and the press of Ketelaer and Leempt: Campbell, 909; Holtrop, 39-41.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Polain, II, 1847.

<sup>3)</sup> Campbell, 908; Goch, 49.

<sup>4)</sup> Campbell, 907: it has neither printer's name nor date.

<sup>5)</sup> It is printed together with Augustini DATI Siennensis *Elegantiorum*: it is not dated; cp. Campbell, 907.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. the description in C. de Clercq, *Œuvres Inédites d'Antoine Haneron* &c, pp 5-8: the manuscript appears to be a collection of practical helps for teaching and a choice of passages from grammars, letters and epistolary literature.

<sup>7)</sup> The treatise *De Coloribus* comprises 18 leaves, — *Dyasinthetica*, 54 (1), 40 (2), — *De Epistolis*, 24, and the Mechlin Manuscript has only about 38 leaves taken up by 2 treatises and other writings attributed to Haneron. Cp. before, pp 84-85.

<sup>8)</sup> V. And., 50.

Krieke, of Brussels <sup>1)</sup>, and again, on December 22, 1456, by the clever philosopher and mathematician Peter van der Beken, *de Rivo*. Things went so far that Rimen was revoked by the Faculty of Arts <sup>2)</sup>, and that, at his decease in 1460, to prevent another failure, the town authorities readily accepted her candidate Peter de Rivo, whom she had wished to have appointed already in 1453 <sup>3)</sup>: he delivered his inaugural lecture on Sunday, July 6, 1460. This Peter de Rivo, a native of Assche, near Alost, whilst teaching philosophy <sup>4)</sup>, studied theology; by the end of 1446 he was a deputy, with the dean of the Faculty of Arts, in the question raised by John Block <sup>5)</sup>. He probably succeeded Herman Brandt († March 22, 1447) in the management of the Pedagogy of the Castle, to which he afterwards bequeathed his house situated next to it: he is recorded as proper and praiseworthy *Regens* in the Chronicle of the Louvain Charterhouse <sup>6)</sup>: he probably resigned the direction by 1460 to Henry of Ghestele <sup>7)</sup>. De Rivo was no doubt a man of great ability: he is mentioned as friend and executor of Robert van de Poel, *a Lacu*, founder of St. Yves' College <sup>8)</sup>; in 1477 he delivered an *Oratio in Adventu Maximiliani Archiducis* <sup>9)</sup>; he answered an *Epistola ad Univer-*

<sup>1)</sup> *Regens* from 1447, he was appointed dictator on Sept. 10, 1448, and subsidiary dictator on January 13, 1453; he was elected rector in February 1455: *ULDoc.*, I, 256, 313, II, 248.

<sup>2)</sup> Vern., 125.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULAct.*, II, 59; *VAnd.*, 247.

<sup>4)</sup> He matriculated in 1438: *ULMatr.*, I, 214, and studying in the Castle was promoted the second of his year in 1442: *ULPromRs.*, 49; he started teaching as *legens* in his pedagogy in 1444 and from 1445 as *regens*: *ULDoc.*, II, 225-228; he took a large part in the activity of the Faculty: *ULAct.*, II, 47, 101, 185, 235, 241.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULAct.*, II, 59; cp. before, p 116.

<sup>6)</sup> E. Reusens, in *Anal.*, XIV (1877), 249: the Chronicle refers to de Rivo, who bequeathed to the Charterhouse all his books of theology and canon law, and mentions that he *pedagogium Castri multo tempore laudabiliter rexit*: probably from Brandt's decease, 1447, to his appointment as Professor of Rhetoric, 1460: *ULDoc.*, IV, 8, 386-87.

<sup>7)</sup> He is recorded as *Regens* of the Castle in 1462 and 1463: *ULDoc.*, IV, 8; he became dean of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, in 1464, and died in 1476: *ULDoc.*, II, 254-55; Gestel, I, 41.

<sup>8)</sup> *FUL*, 1865, and before, p 91.

<sup>9)</sup> He was then University Rector: the speech was preserved in manuscript in St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, and in the Cathedral Library of Tournai: *BibBelg.*, 758.

*sitatem Lovaniensem de Paschate rite observando*, by an old student of Louvain, Paul of Middelburg, then physician of the Duke of Urbino, by three mathematical treatises <sup>1)</sup>, and thus seems to have been the right professor for a lecture which had to appeal to students of various Faculties. He was entrusted with the lead of the *Quodlibetæ* of 1465, in which, unfortunately, he proposed a thesis about whether Peter could *not* have denied his Master after the prediction, which roused the passionate contradiction in the professor of divinity Henry of Zomerén <sup>2)</sup>, and gave rise to a controversy about the *futura contingentia*, which was decided in Rome against de Rivo and the larger part of the University <sup>3)</sup>. It occasioned his resignation as professor of Eloquence in 1470 in the hottest of the debate about the influence of God's *præscientia* and *prævolitio* on man's freedom, and about all concomitant

<sup>1)</sup> Mol., 507, 577; Paquot, v, 7-8; *BibBelg.*, 758; Polain, III, 3126 (*Opus Responsivum*: Lv., L. de Raveschot, c 1488), 3127 (*Tractatus tertius de anno, die et ferie dominicæ passionis...* Lv., John of Paderborn, 1492).

<sup>2)</sup> Henry of Zomerén, Zoemerén, matriculated in 1434: *ULMatr.*, I, 74, promoted, the 9<sup>th</sup> of his year, in 1437: *ULPromRs.*, 37 and taught in the Faculty of Arts, 1438-43: *ULDoc.*, II, 218-23; he was sent to Rome with the *Rotulus* in 1449; on his return he went to Paris where he became doctor of divinity soon after 1456: *UniPar.*, IV, 707. Having come back to Louvain, he succeeded Heimeric de Campo as professor of theology in 1460, and was chosen Rector in February 1463; he also was dean of Our Lady's, Antwerp: *AntvDiercx.*, III, 36. Having already been warned with Leonard Krieke and 2 others by the Faculty of Arts in 1446 for ill-sounding opinions about God's prescience and man's freedom: *ULAct.*, II, 57-59, he attacked most vehemently Peter de Rivo in 1465 for the doctrine of the *futura contingentia*. Having appealed to Rome by 1470, he was disavowed by four of the five Faculties and even dismissed from the University Council. Still Sixtus IV put de Rivo and the greater part of the University in the wrong, as was announced on August 11, 1472: Zomerén hardly outlived his victory: he died on August 14, 1472, near his great friend and protector, Abbot Thierry of Tuldé, of Parc to whom he bequeathed all his belongings. He left an *Epithoma* about William Ockam, dedicated to Bessarion (Louvain, John of Westphalia, 1481: Polain, II, 1875), some letters and at least one work in manuscript. Cp. Mol., 506; VAnd., 78, 84; *BibBelg.*, 373; *ULDoc.*, II, 282-84; Coppens, III, I, 416; *Parc*, 25, 226-27. — The name-sake, from 1428 in Cologne: Keussen, I, 158, 18, must be different.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Mol., 506-7, 582-86; VAnd., 93-4, 337-57; J. Laminne, *La Controverse sur les Futurs Contingents à l'Université de Louvain au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*: Brussels (, *BullAcBelg.*), 1906; Renaudet, 90-91; Goch, 46-47.



questions, which most probably must have encroached for several years upon all his occupations <sup>1</sup>). Nor is it probable that his surrendering of the professorship was a great loss as far as Latin was concerned : his name is connected with a treatise about making the best of things as they happen, probably based on the story of Susanna. It was edited by John Seversz, at Leyden, on March 20, 1509 under the title : ‘ *Libellus a magistro Petro / de Riwo editus. quo modo / omnia in meliorem sunt partem / interpretanda. / De Susanna hystoria.* ’ — This *libellus* is described in *BibBelg.*, 758, amongst de Rivo’s works : ‘ *Dedit præterea Elegiam sive Dialogum, Quomodo omnia in meliorem partem sint interpretanda, interlocutoribus Homine & Ratione : Leydæ, apud Ioan. Severinum, 1509. 4.* ’ — In that same quarto the printer also edited : *De moribus mense mg̃ri Enghelberti. De Pane dyalogus editus a mg̃ro enghelberto Collocutores. Panis Pistor. Esor.* — as well as three tales *Mg̃ri Regneri de wael : De vacca quam luto circumlitam possessor velut ignotam et alienam venumdedit.* — *De tribus qui anseris auidi in foueam ceciderunt.* — *De Barta et Marito eius per studentem parisiensem subtiliter deceptis* <sup>2</sup>). The *BibBelg.*, 789, exactly reproduces the titles of those three tales (connecting the *Vacca* with Dordrecht) and the edition by Severinus, 1509, ascribing them to ‘Regnerus de Wael, Poëta facilis & facetus,’ without any further particular. The same *BibBelg.*, 204, mentions *De Moribus Mense Carmen : itemque Dialogum de Pane. Interlocutoribus Pane, Pistore, & Esore, versu heroico scriptum,*

<sup>1</sup>) Since de Rivo submitted himself to the disapproving sentence of Sixtus IV, and since the University had elected him Rector at the turn of the Faculty of Medecine, in February 1477, that of Divinity, who had refused to let him promote and enter their Council, allowed him, soon after, to become doctor of divinity. He was appointed canon of St. Rombaut’s, Mechlin, and successor to John Varenacker († 1475) as *plebanus* of St. Peter’s and professor of theology, which he remained until his death, January 27, 1499 ; by his will he founded several scholarships in his Pedagogy the Castle, prescribing that his bursars were to adhere to the statute made by the Faculty of Divinity about the *futura contingentia* at the request of that of Arts : *Mol.*, 73, 473-4, 507, 633 ; *FUL*, 947 ; *Vern.*, 329 ; *VAnd.*, 38-9, 78, 93-4, 247, 253 ; *BibBelg.*, 758 ; *ULDoc.*, II, 267 ; *Goch.*, 47-48.

<sup>2</sup>) The little book is described in *NijKron.*, I, 1708, as counting 22 leaves : A<sup>4</sup>B<sup>8</sup>C-E<sup>4</sup>.

excudit Leydis in 4. 1509 Ioannes Severi, cum versibus quibusdam *Petri de Rivo & Reineri Vuae*. — ascribing them to *Engelbertus Scvt*, Schut, *Leydensis*, called *Versificator & Grammaticus* by Gerard Geldenhouwer <sup>1)</sup>, adding that this poet's *Tractatus metricus de De Locis Rhetoricis* is referred to by John of Mombaer, *Mauburnus*, of Brussels, in his *Rosetum Exercitiorum Spiritualium* : xvii, xli. Considering the titles of the jests by de Wael, and the name of this grammarian in this collection of verses, de Rivo is in very suspicious company — if the Louvain *Plebanus* is meant. For if this Engelbert was not the man against whom John Wessel of Gansfort wrote most disapprovingly in a letter of 1480 <sup>2)</sup>, Erasmus, for certain, put his work on a line with the *Epistolæ Carolinæ* <sup>3)</sup> in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis* : Apud Hollandos, orbis lumen habebatur Engelbertus quidam, qui suis Epistolis nihil aliud docebat pueros, quam inepte scribere <sup>4)</sup>.

#### E. HENRY DEULIN

The lecture of Eloquence was entrusted in 1470 to Henry Deulin of *Minorivilla*, Marville, who had been Canon and scholaster of Tournai, and was Doctor of Canon Law, of which he was *professor extraordinarius* : he was admitted to the University Council on January 18, 1472 and promoted Doctor of both Laws in 1477. On June 25, 1490 he was appointed primary professor of Canon Law, which after the innovation by the Chancellor of Burgundy, John Carondelet, Lord of Champvans <sup>5)</sup>, comprized two hours' teaching on all the days that lectures were given, as well as helping the town authorities in all matters with advice and assistance ; he therefore resigned the lesson of Rhetoric. Already in 1496

<sup>1)</sup> *De Viris Illustribus Inferioris Germaniæ*, in *BatavIll.*, 60.

<sup>2)</sup> NijKron., 1, 2201 : Wesseli Epistola adversus M. Engelbertum Leydensem <et aliæ epistolæ : Zwolle, Simon Corver, c 1522> : as according to Otto Clemen, *Goch*, 49, John Wessel wrote on May 12 <, 1480> against an *Engelbertus* about indulgences, and that this Engelbertus is called master by James Hoeck, dean of Naaldwyk (*Mon-HL*, 289-92, 319, 398-99), and is supposed to be a Dominican, it is more than likely that Engelbertus Messmaker, Cult[r]ificis, professor of divinity, in the Nijmegen convent of his order, is meant; cp. *HEpG*, 20, a.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 96.

<sup>4)</sup> EOO, 1, 352, c.

<sup>5)</sup> *Busl.*, 283.

he was replaced as professor of Law by Peter l'Apostole<sup>1)</sup>: part of his wages were paid to him by the town on August 29, 1497, and the remainder in 1502<sup>2)</sup>. He had meanwhile succeeded the much younger Peter de Thenis as president of St. Yves' College in 1498, where he himself was replaced in 1500. He had been elected Rector in February 1491<sup>3)</sup>. Deulin closes the series of 'home-made' Latinists, who either by their lack of linguistic knowledge, or on account of their being engrossed in other matters, did not give satisfaction to those amongst the *cives academici* who had any direct or indirect acquaintance with the movement which was then developing in all its glory and strength in Italy.

## 4. — FIRST HERALDS OF THE RENASCENCE

### A. ANTONY DE RECANETO

Indeed even from the beginning there were professors at work who were either Italians or had received their training in the land of Renaissance. Amongst the first who taught theology was Antony de Columbella of Recaneto (or Recanati), a town in the Marches of Ancona; he was of a noble family, and having entered the order of St. Augustine, became doctor of divinity in Paris in the Sorbonne on September 16, 1424<sup>4)</sup>. He was acting as vice-procurator-general of his order at the Council of Basle, when he was invited to Louvain at the creation of the theological Faculty; he matriculated in 1434<sup>5)</sup>. On the last day of May of that year he started lecturing, and

<sup>1)</sup> *Bust.*, 311-12.

<sup>2)</sup> Namely 14 flor. 8 sh. in 1497, and 40 lb. 16 sh. in 1502: the total yearly wages were 200 crowns: *Anal.*, xxxix, 275, 279, 283.

<sup>3)</sup> *Mol.*, 538; *Vern.*, 125; *VAnd.*, 155, 157, 173, 247, 296; *ULDoc.*, I, 260, III, 107.

<sup>4)</sup> He had promoted Licencié in Theology on March 3, 1424: cp. *UniPar.*, IV, 428, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> 'Doctor theologie, Anthonius de Rachneto, in theologia professor'; he was paid the first time in September 1434: 'Meester Anthonis de Raganeto, ter Augustinen, dat viel xxxj in oexst': *ULDoc.*, II, 39, 161, v, 270; *ULAct.*, I, 167-68.

his name is mentioned in the town records <sup>1)</sup> from September 1434 to December 1441.

Recanati does not seem to have been greatly pleased with Louvain, possibly since the superiority of the Council over the Pope was not admitted there, as it was in the University of Paris, where it led to the *Pragmatic Sanction* of Bourges of 1438 <sup>2)</sup>; no doubt it had occasioned the departure of Nicolas Midi, also a Paris Doctor of Divinity, the preacher at the foot of Joan of Arc's stake, who, allowed to go to the Basle Council about the end of May 1434, did not obey the order of the Duke of Brabant, calling him back before he was far on his way <sup>3)</sup>. Recanati showed very ungrateful to Louvain, although his wages exceeded those of most of the other professors <sup>4)</sup>: instead of dissuading his 'confratres' of Bruges from endeavouring either to transfer the University to that town, or to found there a second <sup>5)</sup>, he encouraged and helped them in their design. The recently appointed provincial of his order and councillor of the Duke of Burgundy, James of Bruges, or of Ostend, who had finished his theological studies in Paris, had been dispensed on July 11, 1439, by the Pope from the sworn promise to promote master in that University, and was allowed to do so in Louvain or in another University. On May 18, 1441 he even requested Eugene IV's permission to promote at Bruges, 'a celebrated and famous town, in which, he wrote, there were many more doctors of theology than in Louvain', so that the marks of the dignity might be lawfully given by 'Antonio de Rachanate' or 'Hieronimo de Viterbio', or any of the Paris *magistri* residing there. The Pope had already granted the permission, on condition of being tested carefully

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<sup>1)</sup> The prebends for the professors of theology — two of the first foundation and the *plebania* reserved, augmented by two of the second foundation — were only created by Eugene IV in 1443 (cp. before, p 115); before that date the town paid their stipend.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, 87.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, 36; *ULDoc.*, II, 158-59.

<sup>4)</sup> 'Anthonis de Raganeto' started at 'xv peters' per quarter; from September 1435 he was paid 25 Rh. fls., and from December 1436, 30 Rh. fl.; he thus received '120 gold guilders' a year: *ULDoc.*, II, 39-74.

<sup>5)</sup> Bruges has several times tried to start a University (cp. further, Ch. V); a series of lectures of higher instruction were founded by John de Witte, Bishop of Cuba, in 1539, and realized from 1541: Schrevel, 249, sq; *BrugHist.*, 290, sq.

at least by six *magistros*, when the news reached Louvain : the town authorities at once sent a deputation to the Duke of Burgundy, to frustrate the plot of Recanati and of the Bruges Austin friars against them <sup>1)</sup>. — No doubt, Philip the Good, as the head of the Brabant Duchy, did not want to disappoint the town authorities in their well-meant desire to ensure prosperity and even the existence to the institute which they had supported most generously ; nor did the Duke, who had gathered in his hands the management of so many provinces, forego the most efficient, if not the only possible, way to secure unity and understanding amongst his various estates by moulding the leading men of the nation and all the intellectual artisans of peace, welfare and social greatness in one and the same *Studium Generale*<sup>2)</sup>). Therefore the intriguing professor was dismissed, probably in November 1441, and a messenger was sent in May 1442 to the Pope to prevent any further attempt at having the Louvain University either replaced or emulated<sup>3)</sup>, although Bruges was a wealthy centre of trade as well as of art, literature and erudition, besides being honoured by the Princes' Courts and the concomitant high life<sup>4)</sup>. Recanati returned to Italy, where on Dec. 15, 1447 he became bishop of Sinigaglia and died in 1466<sup>5)</sup>.

#### B. LODOVICO DE GARSIIIS

Amongst Recanati's colleagues there was another Italian, Lodovico de Garsiis, originary from the diocese of Bologna, in which town he promoted Doctor *Vtriusque Iuris*, and obtained a canonicate ; he was a clerk of the *Camera Apostolica*, and was at the Council of Basle when in May 1435<sup>6)</sup> he was

<sup>1)</sup> *UniPar.*, iv, 609, n 2531 ; *ULDoc.*, ii, 161-63.

<sup>2)</sup> Accounts of Louvain town for 1441 : f 101 ; *ULDoc.*, i, 192 ; *ULAct.*, i, 167, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, i, 192. Amongst the '*Ex archivis oppidi Lovaniensis quædam notata*', Molanus mentioned the attempt of Bruges to get the Louvain University in her town : '1442 Brug arbeide om de Universiteit van Loven to cryghen' : Mol., 884.

<sup>4)</sup> *BrugHist.*, 46, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Mol., 501-2 ; Vern., 81 ; VAnd., 82 ; PF, i, 18 ; *ULDoc.*, ii, 161-63, v, 270 ; de Jongh, 37, 39, 58, 87.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. the entry in the Louvain accounts for 1435, in *ULDoc.*, ii, 140.

offered the chair of Canon Law. He accepted, and matriculating on October 2, 1435, he succeeded Nicolas Doeser de Prum or de Winringen <sup>1)</sup>, after having passed the proof of a public defence instead of the usual *Repetitio*. He was paid by the town for the first time in December 1535, and if the stipend ever can be taken as a sign of greater or smaller esteem, there was no professor who was as highly valued as he was <sup>2)</sup>. He was elected Rector in Nov. 1535 and May 1538; and he resigned in the autumn of 1438, when William Bont, de Coster, replaced him from the first of October. When, on November 5, Garsiis left for Rome, the town offered him a handsome farewell present in Rhine wine <sup>3)</sup>.

### C. JOHN CANTER

If Recanati, who had studied in Paris, did not bring to Louvain the spirit of awakening Renaissance, Garsiis may at least have communicated some of the ideals which he had learned to esteem in his native country. So may have done his countryman and pupil, George de Cæsarinis <sup>4)</sup>, Roman Baron, brother of the Papal Legate Julian at the Basle Council, who, passing through Cologne, where he became Bachelor of Canon Law in 1435, settled in Louvain, promoting *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* in St. Peter's on January 31, 1436 <sup>5)</sup>, and becoming member of the Collegium Juris. For certain, it was the case with John Canter, of Groningen <sup>6)</sup>, who went in 1440

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<sup>1)</sup> VAnd., 155, 160 : Nicolas de Prum was the first professor of Canon Law for the morning lesson : he had studied in Erfurt and Cologne : *ULDoc.*, II, 170. In the accounts of Louvain town his name does not appear after September 1432 : *ULDoc.*, II, 31.

<sup>2)</sup> Garsiis was paid every quarter 'cxxv guilders' : the primary professor of Civil Law John of Groesbeek only received 'c guilders', and the stipend of the others was below fifty florins : *ULDoc.*, II, 45-59.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 60; cp. Mol., 471, 531; Vern., 97; VAnd., 36, 161-62, 169; *ULDoc.*, I, 252-53, II, 176.

<sup>4)</sup> *UniKöln*, 186.

<sup>5)</sup> VAnd., 169. George de Cæsarinis promoted Licentiate in Canon Law on January 28, 1436; he was Canon of Liège Cathedral and Arch-deacon of Hesbaye; his brother Julian, the Legate, praised by Paul Jovius, also enjoyed a Liège canonicate.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *HuNteWe.*, I, 65-66; Allen, I, 32, *pr*; Keussen, I, 196, 5; *UniKöln*, 187; CeltE, 79-80, 309, 328-29, 339; HutO, III, 75.

to study in Cologne, and, having promoted bachelor of Arts, proceeded to Turin and Ferrara, where he became master of Arts. In 1445 he came to Louvain; he attended the lectures in various higher faculties, and gained the title of doctor of Civil Law <sup>1)</sup>. No doubt, he proved already in Louvain a zealous protagonist of the cult of classic Latin, which he afterwards prescribed as the exclusive language to be used in his household, not only for his wife Abel <sup>2)</sup>, and children, but even for his servant.

He passed a life of study in Friesland, helping gratuitously with his juridical knowledge all those who resorted to him <sup>3)</sup>. He educated and instructed his sons and daughters in literature, philosophy and theology <sup>4)</sup>. One of the sons, John, became Doctor of Medecine; another Andreas, born in 1463, was a prodigy as a child: he was invited in 1473 by a letter of Frederic III to come to his court and study at Vienna University <sup>5)</sup>; he delivered a speech in Rome, which made Pope Sixtus IV write to congratulate the father <sup>6)</sup>. A third son James studied law in Cologne <sup>7)</sup>: he wrote poems, for

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, I, 32, *pr*, styles John Canter (the father) a doctor of Medecine, of both Laws and of Theology, besides M. A., which is contradicted by his son James, who, on November 21, 1497, wrote to request Conrad Celtis to compose an epitaph for his recently deceased father, and provided to that effect the necessary details. He clearly specifies: *Nomen ... Joannes Canter, artium liberalium et legum civilium doctor, patria Groningæ*: CeltE, 309. It is quite evident that if his father had any right to the three doctorates, he certainly would not have omitted mentioning them. It is not possible to supply information from the Louvain records which are lost for that period of the xv<sup>th</sup> century; nor does the list of the doctors of law carry others than those who were *Doctores Viriusque Iuris*.

<sup>2)</sup> CeltE, 309.

<sup>3)</sup> CeltE, 309, 79.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. the introductory letter to G. Geldenhouwer's *De Institutione Scholæ Christianæ*: Frankfurt, 1534; Geldenh., 107-109.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, I, 32, *pr*: he had studied with Conrad Celtis, and was renowned as astronomer: CeltE, 16; he matriculated in Cologne on November 19, 1483: Keussen, II, 380, 19.

<sup>6)</sup> Andreas is praised for helping efficiently to improve the study of Latin: *WestphalOp.*, 49; *Murmell.*, 22; *Geldenh.*, 109; *HuNieWe.*, I, 65-66; Allen, I, 32, *pr*; Keussen, II, 411, 16; *BibBelg.*, 53; *HutOS*, II, 71; *HutO*, III, 75.

<sup>7)</sup> James Canter, c 1471- c 1539, as vicar at Emden: Allen, I, 32, *pr*; Keussen, II, 394, 57; *HuNieWe.*, I, 48, 66-7; CeltE, 79, *sq*, 100, *sq*, 193, *sq*, 509; *Uniköln.*, 187.

which, in 1494, the Emperor crowned him with laurels; he taught and studied in Antwerp, — where he helped Gerard Leeuw to bring out books on various subjects: on March 3, 1489, a series of treatises about the revelations and meditations of St. Bridget, which he dedicated to his sister Ghebba <sup>1)</sup>; on March 14, 1489, an edition of Petrarch's *Secretum de Contemptu Mundi* <sup>2)</sup>; on Sept. 12, 1489, a commented edition of *Proba Falconia*, with a letter to his sister Ursula <sup>3)</sup>. He afterwards journeyed in Germany: Erhard Ratdolt, at Augsburg, issued on March 26, 1491, his edition of Guido Bonatus de Forlivio's *Liber Astronomicus* <sup>4)</sup>; and Peter de Friedberg, in Mayence, Rud. Agricola's translation of Plato's *Axiochus* (undated) <sup>5)</sup>, as well as Thierry Gresemondus' *Dialogus Podalyrii cum Catone de Furore Germanico* <sup>6)</sup>. Four of his letters to Conrad Celtis <sup>7)</sup>, dated from Krumau, in Bohemia, where he lectured, have survived, but some of his poems, such as the much appreciated *Osculum*, 1495, seem to be lost <sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Opusculum Vitae et Passionis Christi ... ex revelationibus S. Birgittae ... Accedunt ... Epistola exhortatoria ad meditationem passionis Christi*: Jacobus Canter frisius Ghebbe virgini docte sanctimoniali deo devote in claro frisie monasterio jesse sorori sue. — That book was reprinted without printer's name [Deventer, Rich Pafraet] on May 16, 1491: Polain, I, 903, 904.

<sup>2)</sup> *Franciscus Petrarca, de Secreto Conflictu Curarum suarum...* Iacobus Canter frisius Ad lectorem studiosum...: Polain, III, 3066.

<sup>3)</sup> *Proba Falconia, Cento Virgilianus*, vetus et novum testamentum continens cum commento Jacobi Canteri: Iacobus Canter Frisius Vrsule virgini docte sorori sue... He mentions that he started explaining 'opera Virgilii' in Antwerp: Polain, II, 1463; Allen, I, 32, 37, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Polain, I, 754: it has on the reverse of the title the letter: Iacobus Canter frisius Ioanni Miller sideralis scientiæ studioso, — as well as four distichs to the same friend.

<sup>5)</sup> Polain, III, 3193: it has a letter: Iacobus Canter Phrysius artium ingenuarum professor: Poeta Laureatus Ioanni Rinco Agrippinæ Coloniae civi optimo; as well as an *Epigramma* of 9 distichs to the same personage. This edition, which was issued after 1494 when Canter became Poeta Laureatus, is reproduced with the letter and verses to Rinck in *Diui Hieronymi Epistolæ duæ...* &c, printed probably by Richard Pafraet, c 1500: Polain, II, 1952.

<sup>6)</sup> Polain, II, 1741: it has on f A iij r, five distichs by Canter on the author.

<sup>7)</sup> CeltE, 79, 309, 328, 339.

<sup>8)</sup> From 1492 to about 1501: CeltE, 79; cp. HutO, III, 75; Allen, I, 32, *pr.*



His sister Ghebba <sup>1)</sup> in the convent of Jesse was famous for her eloquence and erudition <sup>2)</sup>. It is natural that the father of that learned family should have acutely felt the deficiency of the teaching of Latin in Louvain, and have started already there that proselytism for good letters which made him afterwards an agreeable companion to Wessel <sup>3)</sup> and also a member of the Academy which Abbot Henry of Rees gathered in his Adwert Abbey <sup>4)</sup>.

#### D. RAYMOND DE MARLIANO

A few years later there came to Louvain another herald of the Italian Renaissance, the professor of jurisprudence Raymond de Marliano. Born in Italy about 1420, he probably took his degree of D. V. J. in Padua University, and taught for a time with great success in Dôle University <sup>5)</sup>, in so much that he was invited by the Louvain town authorities for the primary lecture of Canon Law : it had been granted to John de Lyzura in 1456, and as he was absent from June 1458, he was replaced provisionally about July 1458 by Baldwin Heinrich de Ziericx-zee, who, in vain, requested an appointment for a series of years <sup>6)</sup>, whereas the town wanted to engage a professor

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<sup>1)</sup> *HuNieWe.*, I, 67 ; *ButzNachl.*, 52-53 ; — this *Agnula*, as she is called by Conrad Celtis, in his dedicatory letter of Rhosvita's *Opera* to Frederic III, Duke of Saxony, 1501 (: *CeltE.*, 465 ; *ButzNachl.*, 54), was very learned in law and philosophy, and is especially praised for her sapphic verses : she seems to have been lame or, at any rate, not as beautiful as her two sisters, for besides Ursula there was a third, who married a goldsmith, — although in the Koelhoff (Cologne) Chronicle of 1499 it is said that the mother of the four brothers had only one daughter : their father may have remarried : *ButzNachl.*, 52-54.

<sup>2)</sup> *HuNieWe.*, I, 67 ; *ButzNachl.*, 52-53.

<sup>3)</sup> Wessel, 108. — If John Canter, the father, had any teaching from Wessel at Zwolle, as is mentioned in *Wesseli Vita*, ed. Kan, *Erasm. Gymnasii Progr.* 1894 ; Allen, I, 32, *pr.*, — it can hardly have been otherwise than as a fellow-student from a senior : they hardly differed two years in their ages : *cp.* before, p 79.

<sup>4)</sup> *HEpG*, 20, 35 ; Wessel, 109 ; and further, p 141.

<sup>5)</sup> Paquot, VIII, 428-32 : at Dôle de Marliano married Jeanne, daughter of the Lord of St. Hilaire.

<sup>6)</sup> *ULDoc.*, II, 121-132, 134 (: Heinrich was appointed for 6 years to the secondary lecture of Canon Law in April 1461).

'from outside' with a great renown of ability <sup>1</sup>). Marliano was appointed on February 1, 1561 : he matriculated on March 27, and he invited his colleagues to a meal on April 21, 1561, when he held his *repetitio*, on which occasion the town offered him eight stoups of wine <sup>2</sup>).

Marliano had bound himself to assist and advise the town authorities in all matters, and he seems to have acquitted himself both of his teaching and of his counselling most excellently. He therefore probably was asked to assist the Prince-Bishop Louis de Bourbon against his revolted subjects of Liège town and their clergy ; having been excommunicated, the latter had proposed a meeting at Maastricht and had secured the help of the professors of law of Cologne University. Marliano successfully answered their arguments against the Bishop's censure : still his evident victory over his adversaries at Maastricht did not finish the bitter opposition with which the Bishop had to contend, as the revolt was only a move of Louis XI against the House of Burgundy <sup>3</sup>).

Even at the time of his lecturing Marliano devoted all his leisure to the study of literature : he started in Brabant a research, fully in the spirit of Renaissance, to identify the names of the Celtic and Gallic tribes and places which are quoted in Julius Cæsar's writings ; the result of his researches was published as an *Index urbium, fluminum & locorum* to xv<sup>th</sup> century issues <sup>4</sup>), and as an appendix, *e. g.*, to the Aldine edition, of Julius Cæsar's *Commentarii* in Venice 1513 <sup>5</sup>). He

<sup>1</sup>) *ULDoc.*, II, 125 : de stad dat niet doen en woude, ouermids dat sy enen notabelen doctor van meerder famme daertoe crygen woude...

<sup>2</sup>) *ULDoc.*, II, 132-34.

<sup>3</sup>) Pirenne, II, 296.

<sup>4</sup>) *C. Iulii Cæsaris Commentariorum de Bello Gallico Liber Primus*, edited by 'Hyeronymus Bononius Taruisinus', a folio printed in Venice by Philip Pinzi, October 25, 1494, has, on f 117 v : *Index commentariorum : C. Iulii Cæsaris : & earum rerum quas ad cognitionem urbium & fluminum & locorum uir clarissimus : & eruditissimus Raymundus Marlianus inuenit : atque addidit* ; the list extends to f 133 v : Polain, I, 951. Another edition printed at Venice, apparently with Ph. Pinzi's type, for Benedetto Fontana, on April 13, 1499, has also on f 117, r, the same title of the index, which also extends to f 133, v : Polain, I, 952. Cp. *MarlIn.*, 178 r-199 v.

<sup>5</sup>) Pp 265-296 : *Index eorum, quæ in Commentarijs Caii Iulii Cæsaris habentur, per ordinem alphabeti ; per Raimundum Marlianum, hominem sui temporis eruditissimum. In quo, diligenter quidem, sed cursim*

continued the same work for Tacitus' writings, and thus prepared a description of *Vetus Gallia*, which was often edited <sup>1</sup>). He was a most remarkable man, who lived a life of ideal intellectual work in Louvain, after the three years' term of his lecturing was over <sup>2</sup>): his wife having died on June 12, 1463 at Maastricht, where was held the meeting about the difficulties between Louis of Bourbon and the people of Liège, he became a priest, and was provided with a canoury in Liège Cathedral, and another in that of Besançon. He was appointed Councillor by Philip the Good, but he devoted himself chiefly to study <sup>3</sup>). The town authorities, who in 1473 had wished to appoint him as primary professor of Civil Law <sup>4</sup>), sent him to Rome in 1474 to vindicate some of their rights, for which journey they paid him the expenses on July 5 of that year.

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recognito, quædam emendata sunt, quædam uel dempta vel mutata, multa addita usque ad hæc tempora. — The same index is found in the edition of the *Commentarii* of Julius Cæsar, printed at Lyons, 'In ædibus Iacobi Moderni de Pinguento Anno m.d.xxvii. Mense Augusti: — ff 178-199; there are amongst the *liminaria*, besides a map and plans of fortifications, lists of names of places in *Gallia* and in *Hispania*.

<sup>1</sup>) *Veterum Galliæ locorum, populorum, urbium, montium ac fluviorum Alphabetica descriptio*; eorum maxime quæ apud Cæsarem in *Commentariis* sunt, & apud *Cornellium Tacitum*: autore *Raymondo Marliano*: Lyons, 1560, — reproduced by God. Jungerman, in his edition of Cæsar, Frankfurt, 1606.

<sup>2</sup>) He was succeeded in 1463 by Robert de Lacu: VAnd., 155.

<sup>3</sup>) It seems as if Marliano had been entrusted with a lecture on the Decretals, on Sun- and feastsdays from 1461: VAnd., 156: cp. however, Paquot, viii, 430-32, who mentions the second morning lecture on Civil Law, which he gave until April 5, 1475, when ill-health prevented him from continuing: *ULDoc.*, ii, 188.

<sup>4</sup>) In 1473 the town authorities wished to replace John de Gronsselt by Marliano for the primary lecture in Civil Law, which had been given to him after John de Groesbeek vacated it in 1444; they said that the time agreed upon with him was touching its end; the Duke, who was requested to approve of the measure, communicated that demand to the University who protested against the use of their right of discharging for an unobjectionable professor, declaring not to know of any reason to dismiss de Gronsselt: VAnd., 153-54, quoting the *Acta Universitatis* of March 23, April 9 and May 9, 1473. John de Gronsselt died on June 9 of that same year, and — as Marliano probably refused to accept a place against the wish of the University, — John van Papenhoven was appointed as successor: VAnd., 155, 170, 172.

He fell ill on April 5, 1475 and died in Louvain on August 20, 1475 <sup>1)</sup>.

He was acknowledged as one of the most erudite men of his time. He was thoroughly versed in literature and in both civil and canon law. His interference in the Liège dispute made him some enemies, who could not forgive him for having shut the mouths of the Cologne Doctors : one wrote that he had : *de literatura multum, de æquitate parum ; nam omnia Jura in scrinio pectoris sui censebatur habere reclusa : sed ritum gentis & morem patriæ ut Italus ignorabat* <sup>2)</sup>. Whatever may have been his acquaintance with the laws and customs of our provinces, he cannot have been deaf nor blind to the state of the knowledge of Latin language and literature : it is impossible to devote oneself as he did to the study of Roman antiquity in connection with the country in which he was residing, without noticing the deficiencies of those from whom he might have expected help and enlightenment in his researches. It is natural that he found others who sympathized with him, and provided them with the knowledge they longed for and with the means to cultivate it. He thus created in Louvain a focus of the new movement by his thorough study of the works of his authors, by searching for the explanation of all details, not only with the help of history and of old monuments, but with that of a comparative study of Greek and Hebrew texts, especially for the Bible. Those new ideas, which he spread generously amongst all those who were interested in them, no doubt were for several, if not a revelation, at least a most welcome supply of information, and an ever ready encouragement. Marliano even wished to extend that influence after his death, since he founded a scholarship intended to allow a Louvain student to go and study for some time in Italy : it was entrusted conjointly to the Rector and his deputies, St. Peter's Chapter and the town authorities to appoint the bursar : the foundation

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<sup>1)</sup> He was buried in St. Peter's, in front of the choir : the bronze inscription on his tomb was already badly worn when Paquot copied it. Cp. Mol., 535 ; VAnd., 164 ; Paquot, VIII, 428-432.

<sup>2)</sup> *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* (ed. of 1654) : 385, quoted by Paquot, VIII, 429.

referred to in 1494 and in 1513 <sup>1)</sup>, probably was lost in the troubles of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century.

#### E. WESSEL GANSFOORT

Amongst those who profited from that spirit that was at work in Louvain from the middle of the fifteenth century, were, no doubt, the two great protagonists of humanism in both the Netherlands, Wessel and Agricola. The first, Wessel (or Basilius) Gansfoort, the son of Herman <sup>2)</sup>, born at Groningen either in 1419 or 1420, suffered from bad eyes and a lame foot, but showed so much the more eagerness at the study in the School of the Brothers of the Common Life near Zwolle, where he was sent by his aunt Oda Jarvis, since, as a child, he had lost his parents. He was entrusted there with the teaching of the younger boys in the *Parva Domus* <sup>3)</sup>; he also made the personal acquaintance of Thomas a Kempis, in the neighbouring convent of Mount-St. Agnes, and became thoroughly familiarized with the moral and religious principles of the order, which explains several of the particular opinions attributed to him as characteristic <sup>4)</sup>.

Still he did not very long share the antipathy of the Brothers for philosophical and theological debates : it rather seems as if his naturally inquisitive mind found in them the satisfaction to his craving for enlightenment at any contact with opinions different from his own. That happened in October 1449, when he came to the Cologne University <sup>5)</sup> where, as an inmate of

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<sup>1)</sup> It is recorded that a student of medicine, only indicated as John de N—, was appointed as bursar on February 28, 1494 by the Rector and the two other bodies, and that on November 29, 1513 they sent to Padua George de Zelle, son of Peter Winckel de Zelle, of Herenthals, Doctor and Professor of Laws († Aug. 31, 1531), as bursar of that foundation : Paquot, VIII, 431 ; Mol., 536 ; VAnd., 164, 181.

<sup>2)</sup> The name Gansfoort, Ganzevoert or Goesvoyrt, is, no doubt, that of a little hamlet in Westphalia, near Haren, on the Ems, from where the family originated ; it does not seem to be a sign of nobility, and the crest on the house, where Wessel is said to have been born, is not necessarily authentic, as his father was a baker. — The name *John* clinging to *Wessel* seems posthumous. <sup>3)</sup> Voecht, 155-56, 125, 169.

<sup>4)</sup> Most of the particular views of Wessel about religion and religious practices, as well as about studies and methods, can be traced to those of his first masters. <sup>5)</sup> Keussen, I, 243, 6.

the *Bursa Laurentiana*, he promoted on December 1, 1450, bachelor, and in the first months of 1452, master of Arts. He started the study of Divinity <sup>1)</sup>, which, after a short sojourn in Heidelberg, he continued between 1452 and 1454 in Louvain. He took an active part in the discussions about the theories of the Realists and Nominalists, and it seems that his attention was turned towards the study of the Bible by the group of scholars favouring the Italian Renaissance, — to which the acquaintance that he had made of the rudiments of Greek and Hebrew, taught by some stray refugee taken up in some convent, proved a great help. It was the desire of learning more of those languages, as well as that of taking a share in more lively and frequent debates, that made him go by 1455 to Paris, where the controversy between the philosophical schools, mixed with that between the adherents of Plato and Aristotle, had flared up again <sup>2)</sup>. He attended there the short-lived lectures on Greek by Gregorio de Città di Castello <sup>3)</sup>; he tried in vain to bring his countrymen Henry of Zomerem <sup>4)</sup> and Nicolas of Utrecht from the renewed Nominalism back to the *Via Antiqua*, the Thomistic Realism, to which he had adhered in Cologne and Louvain : for he, too, became a friend of the *Via Moderna* <sup>5)</sup>, although his habit of testing critically, and even opposing, accepted statements, made him be called *Magister Contradictionis* rather than an adherent to any of the contending parties : the differences between the various schools were to him a constant cause of doubt and anxiety, in so far that, until his life's end, he was 'in travail : *parturio*, as he said, *intra me* ' <sup>6)</sup>.

That freedom from, and that standing over, the factions, came Paris University in good stead, for about the time of Wessel's return from a stay in Italy and Rome, 1470-71, — where he met Cardinal Bessarion and the Franciscan General

<sup>1)</sup> *UniKöln.*, 187-88.

<sup>2)</sup> Renaudet, 82-3, 85-86, 92-3, 224 ; HerMaur., 58-59.

<sup>3)</sup> Renaudet, 82, 93, 117.

<sup>4)</sup> He was in Paris from 1450 to 1456 when he promoted Doctor of Divinity before returning to Louvain : cp. *Goch.*, 46 ; and before, p 126.

<sup>5)</sup> He found from experience that it is much easier to refute and condemn a contradictor when he is absent than when he is there to speak for himself : *Wessel*, 102-3 ; Renaudet, 90-91, 93.

<sup>6)</sup> *WessO*, 850, 890 ; *Wessel*, 102.

Francesco della Rovere, the future Sixtus IV <sup>1)</sup>, — the King of France prohibited Nominalism in his University, as it darkened and nearly destroyed its dignity by the savage debates of philosophers and divines <sup>2)</sup>. In that extremity the Bishop of Avranches, Jean Boucard, applied to Wessel to restore the great institute to its ancient splendour <sup>3)</sup>. It brought him a new title of glory, the *Lumen Mundi*, to which was added that of his Bible studies, which made him advocate several beneficent theories, such as that of St. Paul's Christian Liberty <sup>4)</sup>, and give a mighty impulse to the linguistic investigations of his countryman Rudolph Agricola and John Reuchlin whom he met about that time, the one in Paris <sup>5)</sup>, the other in Basle <sup>6)</sup>. For he started his way back to his native country, and if he went to Heidelberg, his stay there was not very long. He helped the Utrecht Bishop David of Burgundy as physician at Vollenhoven, which procured him protection and a peaceful old age <sup>7)</sup> : he lived and worked, now at Mount-St. Agnes, Zwolle, now at the Adwert Abbey, where the Abbot Henry of Rees gathered his famous Academy <sup>8)</sup> ; he

<sup>1)</sup> Renaudet, 86, 93. — It has been said that, on taking leave of the new Pope, Wessel preferred a Greek Bible to the bishopric Sixtus IV offered : it rather seems a biased tale invented by a Lutherizing editor or biographer : Wessel, who often refers to Sixtus IV, never mentions the incident : Wessel, 103.

<sup>2)</sup> Bulæus, v, 708 ; Renaudet, 91-94 ; Wessel, 103-104.

<sup>3)</sup> Bulæus, v, 918 ; Wessel, 103-4.

<sup>4)</sup> Renaudet, 433.

<sup>5)</sup> Renaudet, 82, 93, 224.

<sup>6)</sup> ReuchlE, 8 ; Renaudet, 82, 93 (supposes Reuchlin to have met Wessel already in Paris), 640 ; Wessel, 103.

<sup>7)</sup> The Bishop paid the expenses of Wessel's board and lodging in the monastery where he stayed : *HEpG*, 20, a.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. *ErAge.*, 7-32 ; it comprized besides the Abbot Henry of Rees (1449-85), Wessel and Agricola, Alexander of Heek, *Hegius*, of Deventer, Rudolph Langen, of Munster, William Fredericks, chief parish-priest of Groningen, Antony Vrye, of Soest, John Ostendorp, Deventer canon, Paul Pelantinus, physician, John Canter, of Groningen (cp. before, pp 132-35), Lambert Frylinck, of Groningen, Knight Onno of Ewsuma, Arnold of Hildesem, and Gerard a Klooster, of Mount-St. Agnes, one of Wessel's auditors. William Sagarus, de Zagere, of Goes (*Cran.*, 147, a, b), Imperial Councillor, joined, later on, the few survivors, and offered ten pounds Flemish to the Spiritual Virgins of Groningen for Wessel's funeral memorial : those names were given, many years later, by Goswin of Halen, who had been Wessel's amanuensis : *HEpG*, 20, a, 36, b ; Renaudet, 224.

often met Rudolph Agricola, and lavished his beneficent influence on the schools of Deventer and Zwolle, until he finally retired to the restful convent of the Spiritual Virgins of Groningen, where he died on October 4, 1489 <sup>1</sup>).

Unto his last years he continued his search for truth, and pondered over many points of Christian faith and religious practice, which had not been duly decided by the authority of the Church, and which mediaeval theology, in its lamentable lack of all historicity, had deprived of much enlightenment. As a real *Magister Contradictionis*, he pondered as well over the difficulties and objections as over the traditional enunciation and accepted interpretation. He often recurred to proper divines, such as the learned dean of Naaldwijk, James Hoeck, *Angularis*, Doctor of Divinity <sup>2</sup>), to whom he expounded his doubts, in so far that the latter consulted the Cologne Faculty of Divinity, who evidently considered it all as the necessary truth-loving investigations of a studying mind, — and not at all as the headstrong affirmations of a prejudiced heretic <sup>3</sup>).

Unfortunately those letters or their copies fell into the hands of men who thought of finding in them some of the theories advocated by Luther, and in their zealotry, they published, besides five treatises by Wessel <sup>4</sup>), in three volumes, a

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<sup>1</sup>) Cp. J. Friedrich, *Johann Wessel*, Ratisbon, 1862; *HEpG*, 19, a-23, b; Ullmann, II, 242-322; Lindeb., 39-57; M. Van Rhyn, *Wessel Gansfort*: The Hague, 1917; *BibBelg.*, 849-50; *UnivKöln.*, 187-88; Lomeier, 34, 150, 181; *ErAge*, 9-13, 29-32, 200; Renaudet, 82, 93, &c; Voecht, 154-57; *HuNieWe.*, II, 9; *MonHL*, 289-91, &c.

<sup>2</sup>) He had been parish-priest of Wassenaer, and died as dean of the Naaldwijk Chapter of St. Adrian's, on November 11 in the year 1509, or at any rate before 1513 when, in October, Martin van Dorp edited, in his *Oratio de Laudibus ... Disciplinarum ac ... Louanii* (Louvain, Th. Martens, Oct. 14, 1513), an instructive *Epitaphium*: *MonHL*, 289-92, 398-99.

<sup>3</sup>) WessO, 864-65; Ullmann, II, 323; Wessel, 110; although Hoeck did not exactly encourage Wessel, the latter asked for advice about other matters, and even submitted a lengthy memoir about indulgences: WessO, 866-67, 876-912; Ullmann, II, 323, 325, *sq*, 491, *sq*; Lindeb., 49-52, 54, *sq*; *MonHL*, 289-290.

<sup>4</sup>) Those treatises, no doubt edited by Hoen, Hinne Rode and their friends, are *De Causis Incarnationis. De Magnitudine ... Dominicæ Passionis Libri Duo* (168 ff); — *De Oratione et Modo Orandi* (96 ff) and *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ et audienda Missa ... De Incarnatione Verbi*



*Farrago of Raræ & Reconditæ Doctrinæ Notulæ*, issued in the beginning of 1522 at Zwolle by Simon Corver, who also printed the other writings by Wessel <sup>1</sup>). That *Farrago* contained some of Wessel's doubts, — just like in all the *articuli* of the *Summa Theologica* objections are put forward; still, different from what is done in Thomas Aquinas' work, no solution or refutation is given. Moreover those *Notulæ* all lack authenticity, as they were not edited from texts prepared and arranged for publication by the author, and consequently cannot be considered as *his* theories; they make of Wessel, against his wish and decision, as a rebel against the authority of the Church <sup>2</sup>). It was no doubt a move of Cornelius Henrici Hoen, a lawyer connected with the Council of The Hague <sup>3</sup>), who was partial to the new ideas, and used the papers of Dean Hoeck for propagating purposes <sup>4</sup>). He, no doubt, had

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(36 ff) : three quartos printed at Zwolle by Simon Corver, about 1521, unless they were taken as manuscripts to Luther, and printed after July 30, 1522 : NijKron., I, 2200, 2203, 2204.

<sup>1</sup>) *Farrago VVesseli | M. VVesseli Groningensis Lux Mundi olim uulgo dicti, raræ & reconditæ Notulæ aliquot & Propositiones* : this quarto contains 102 ff; it begins with a list of contents and an index, followed, on f 4 r, by : *Antonij Liberi Zusatensis* <viz., Antony Vrije, of Soest> *Carmen panegyricum, in lauden & iucundum adventum ex Italia præstantissimi admirandi philosophi M. Vvesseli Groningensis* : NijKron., I, 2202.

<sup>2</sup>) Those *Notulæ* are evidently passages which, being taken out of their surroundings, become objectionable because deprived of their context, — not to mention the fact that only what the writer lets go out of his hands to be published, can be called authentic. It is natural that in inquiries, as well as in arguments, many things are said or written which are not even the expression of the opinion of speaker or writer. The editing of the *Farrago* is without any doubt, a piece of bad faith, an imposture lacking all reliability.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. HoopSch., 86; Ullmann, II, 323-26, 547, sq; Allen, v, 1358, 28; *Corplinq.*, v, 261, &c; *AdriBurm.*, 247, sq (a letter by which Cornelius Gerard of Gouda asks his friend's protection for his *Apocalypsis*, an advice of reform to Adrian on his election as Pope, in the first months of 1522 : Pastor, IV, i, 60).

<sup>4</sup>) It has been said (WessO, [\*\*7], r), and repeated (*HEpU*, 424; *HEpG*, 20, a; Ullmann, II, 323; HoopSch., 87; Lindeb., 161, 227) that Hoeck was the uncle of Martin van Dorp : yet the latter does not mention that relation in his *Epttaphium* on the Dean of Naaldwijk, who, for certain, would have passed his books and documents to a nephew studying theology. That circumstance makes it also look most improbable that Hoen should have received the famous papers from the young Louvain

the *Farrago* printed by Corver at Zwolle in the first half of 1522, and by the middle of that same year 1522, he sent it to Luther by the head of the Utrecht St. Jerome School <sup>1)</sup>, Johan (or Hinne) Rode, *Rodius* <sup>2)</sup>, likely with the other recent editions of Wessel's treatises, and a series of his letters for which Luther wrote a preface : *Christiano lectori... S. Elias Theshbites propheta olim...* dated from Wittemberg, 3 Kal. Augusti (July 30) : it was added to the *Epistolæ*, printed by Simon Corver, Zwolle, between July 31, and September 1, 1522 <sup>3)</sup>. In that last month, Adam Petri reprinted the *Farrago* at Basle ; to it was added that same preface <sup>4)</sup>, with its famous declaration : *Hic si mihi antea fuisset lectus, poterat hostibus meis videri Lutherus omnia ex Wesselo hausisse, adeo spiritus utriusque conspirat in unum* <sup>5)</sup> : — although that similarity may be due to quite other causes. Another group of documents, also submitted, were the *Fragmenta aliquot* of John Pupper

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professor, who was very eager at his study of divinity and was moreover highly interested in the writings of Wessel's friend Rudolph Agricola : *MonHL*, 291-92, 318, sq, 335, sq, 398-99 ; *AgriCorr.*, 303-5 ; *Iseghem*, 248-49 ; *Cran.*, 96, b.

<sup>1)</sup> Hinne Rode, who directed the Utrecht School of St. Jerome organized by the Brothers of the Common Life, where George Macropedius taught, was dismissed in the second half of 1522, no doubt on account of his journey to Luther. He returned to Germany with Hoen's letter, and came back to the Netherlands in 1525 as one of the promoters of the Anabaptist movement, especially in East Friesland : *HoopSch.*, 30, 90, sq, 101-7, 470, &c ; *Enders*, III, 423.

<sup>2)</sup> Hinne Rode was accompanied by another of Hoen's friends, George Sagarus, Saganus, who afterwards went with him to Basle and Zurich.

<sup>3)</sup> *Wesseli Epistola adversus M. Engelbertum Leydenssem* < Mess(e)-maker, *Cultrifex*, O. P., Nijmegen : cp. p 128 ; Polain, 1204-6>. *Epistola M. Jacobi Hoec decani Naldicensis ad M. Vesselum* &c. — The edition is a quarto of 56 leaves : on f 4 r is a ' *Prefatio Lotheri | Ihesus | Christiano Lectori. Martinus Lutherus. S.* — *NijKron.*, I, 2201 ; *Grisar*, III, 938.

<sup>4)</sup> That preface by Luther for Wessel's *Farrago*, of which there is a manuscript text by Stephan Roth in the Zwickau Library (Cp. *Goch*, 184, n = α), is absent from the Zwolle issue of the *Farrago* (first half of 1522), which had probably been taken to Wittemberg : Hinne Rode and Sagarus brought it to the Netherlands and had it inserted in the bundle of *Epistolæ*, issued between July 30 and Sept. 1 (= β). Rode, dismissed, went to Basle by September, and had the *Farrago* printed with the preface by Luther (= γ) ; *Lindeb.*, 55-56, 160-63 ; *Goch*, 67, 184.

<sup>5)</sup> *HEpG*, 23, b ; Wessel, 112-15, 280-83 ; *Ullmann*, II, 547-51 ; *Lindeb.*, 55, sq ; *Goch.*, 184-85.

von Goch, to which Luther added an *Epistola gratulatoria super inuentione & editione lucubrationum Ioannis Tauleri ordinis predicatorum, Vuesseli Phrisij Groningensis & Joannis Gocchij Mechliniensis. Christiano lectori S. Si in scholastica theologia &c* <sup>1)</sup>, which preface was printed, without name, in the issue by Simon Corver, Zwolle, no doubt in the latter half of 1522 <sup>2)</sup>).

By these editions and prefaces, Wessel's humble and sincere inquiries were handled most unfairly and used dishonestly as proofs of erroneous doctrines at the expense of his good fame, to strengthen that of Luther and his adherents. Indeed, when Hinne Rode submitted the *Farrago* to Luther, he also brought a letter about the Eucharist, pretendedly found amongst Hoeck's papers, which roused Luther's suspicions, as not only the doctrine, but also the style and even the tone were different from those of Wessel <sup>3)</sup>. It was refused as it

<sup>1)</sup> *Goch*, 262-63. That letter, which does not bear any name in the issue of Zwolle, is evidently Luther's, as appears from the mention of the writer's owning his wild animosity against a he-goat, alluding to his quarrel with Jerome Emser, 1521, and from that of the burning of his books : cp. *Goch*, 62-67 ; F. Pijper, *Opuscula Dñi Joannis Pupperi Gocchiani necnon Cornelii Graphæi* (1910), in *BibRefNe.*, vi, 267-271. — Clemen ascribed this prefatory letter to June 1521, after Luther wrote and published his three 'unchristianly' savage pamphlets against *den Bock zu Leipzig* : *Grisar*, III, 937. Since mention is made of the finding of Wessel's writings, which he declares to have completely ignored until Hinne Rode's visit to Wittenberg, the date has to be placed in July 1522 : *Grisar*, III, 938.

<sup>2)</sup> In *Divine Gratie et Christianæ fidei commendationem ... Fragmenta aliquot D. Ioan. Gocchii Mechliniensis antehac nunquam excusa &c* : Zwolle, Simon Corver (quarto, 46 leaves). On f 3 r-v is found the unsigned *Epistola gratulatoria* (*NijKron.*, I, 1012), which suggests as date the second half of 1522, after the return of Rode and Sagarus from Wittenberg with the *Preface* to the *Farrago*, July 30, 1522.

<sup>3)</sup> The letter, reprinted in *Enders*, III, 412-421, is written in a better Latin than that of Wessel ; it refers in eight places to *Romani*, *Scholastici Romani*, *tyrannis Romana*, &c (II 25, 41, 70, 77, 184, 248, 253, 308), which distinctly suggest the break which happened only by 1520 ; on II 190, sq, it mentions Erasmus' *annotationes* on I. Cor., XI, 24 (EOO, VI, 716, E), which are certainly later than 1516, and speaking of the *universa religio papae*, it asks : *quam [religionem] aliquando casuram quis dubitabit ?* and adds : *cum eam modo magna ex parte videas cecidisse* : II 279-281. Cp. *Enders*, III, 423-25 ; *Goch.*, 184 ; *HoopSch.*, 102 ; *Wette*, II, 433-34 ; *Wessel*, 112, 122, sq.

was against Luther's principles, and at Rode's emigrating to Germany it was offered, apparently after Nov. 16, 1522, to Œcolampadius, on his return to Basle; but it was declined again. It was finally accepted by Zwingli who, four years later, published it in September 1525 <sup>1</sup>). That famous letter is, no doubt, an imposture of Hoen's, who wanted to pass off his own opinions as Wessel's, pretendedly writing under the influence of what he says to have read in Hoeck's papers <sup>2</sup>): that imposture throws discredit on the whole fabric of the *Farrago*, even for the authenticity of the quotations <sup>3</sup>).

Passionate prejudice, however, prompted implicit belief in the deceit, and from a man educated by the same system as the old pupil of Magdeburg School <sup>4</sup>), Wessel was made into Martin Luther's herald and even, in a way, his voucher <sup>5</sup>). That fame grew as years advanced on account of the diffidence on one side, and the gratification of having such a man as co-religionist on the other. It reached its zenith in the biography by Albert van Hardenberg, which was prefixed to the edition of Wessel's *Opera* of 1614 <sup>6</sup>). That *Vita* attributes to Wessel seventeen *capita doctrinæ*, which are, most of them, the very opposite of Catholic belief <sup>7</sup>), — but, at the same time, also of what is expressed in Wessel's writings, if fairly examined <sup>8</sup>). In fact, leaving aside points which were only decided at the

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<sup>1</sup>) The first issue, without name or date (ascribed to Chr. Froschauer, Zurich, Sept. 1525) has as title: *Epistola Christiana Admodum ab annis quatuor ... ex Bathauis missa, sed spreta, longe aliter tractans cœnam dominicam quam hactenus tractata est*: Enders, III, 412-423: Zwingli, the editor, added to it II 349-405. — Cp. Wessel, 112; Ullmann, II, 459-75, 484-85; HoopSch., 87-107; Herminjard I, 384; Lindeb., 159-62; Allen, VI, 1621, 17-20.

<sup>2</sup>) HerMaur., 125-26; Allen, VI, 1624, 18; Enders, III, 423-24.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. WessO, 864-65; Ullmann, II, 323; Wessel, 74, 223, *sq*, 232, *sq*, 280, *sq*; Denifle, II, 405.

<sup>4</sup>) Scheel, I, 70-97.

<sup>5</sup>) Ullmann, II, 532, *sq*; Seck., I, 226-32; Foppens, II, 1164; Goch, 43, 54, 64, 70; Renaudet, 225; HerMaur., 50, 55-56, 89; Delprat, 39, 143-44; Melanch., 75; Lindeb., 52; &c., — against, e. g., Wessel, 280-83: it is worth while remarking that only after 1522 Wessel's opinions were called heretic or even suspicious.

<sup>6</sup>) *Vita Wesseli, conscripta ab Alberto Hardenbergio*, in *M. Wesseli Gansfortii Groningensis Opera*: Groningen, 1614. Cp. Wessel, 92, 93, &c.

<sup>7</sup>) *HEpG*, 21, a; Wessel, 280-81.

<sup>8</sup>) *HEpG*, 20, b-23, b.

Council of Trent, and considering that criticizing the lives of some men, as well in the regular as in the secular clergy, is not condemning the Church <sup>1)</sup>, there is nothing in any of those writings that is materially, essentially different from the principles of Catholic faith <sup>2)</sup>.

It is deeply regrettable that, on account of the ill-omened immixture of untrustworthy editors, it is difficult to get a clear idea of some of the opinions and of the mental activity of this most interesting man, since even the *Opera* have been blighted by the Calvinistic spirit of the *Vita*, and are not any more reliable than is the *Farrago*, against which John Faber, the future bishop of Vienna, vehemently protested as early as 1528 <sup>3)</sup>. No wonder that Grotius remarked that the editions by disciples of the Despot of Geneva are mostly *plane corruptæ ac depravatæ* <sup>4)</sup> : unfortunately the historical injustice still prevails <sup>5)</sup>, even with Catholic authors, as they have to draw

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<sup>1)</sup> Wessel, 283.

<sup>2)</sup> That thesis, already sketched and planned in *HEpG*, 20, b-23, b, was carefully proved in every detail by J. Friedrich, in his *Johann Wessel. Ein Bild aus der Kirchengeschichte des XV. Jahrhunderts* : Ratisbon, 1862 (= Wessel). Cp. Altmeyer, I, 178 ; Denifle, II, 334, 405, 461.

<sup>3)</sup> In the pamphlet, 'Beschrieben durch Doctor Johann Fabri', entitled : *Wie sich Johannis Huszs, der Picarder, und Johannis von Wessalia, Leren und Buecher mit Martino Luther vergleichen* ; it was printed at Leipzig by V. Schumann in 1528 ; the preface is dated from Prag, Sept. 1, 1528 : cp. Ullmann, II, 532-37 ; Wessel, 280, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> In *Voto pro Pace Ecclesiæ*, ed. 1642, pp 31-32. Cp. Paquot, IX, 424, who quotes it in his appreciation of the *Opera Regneri Prædicii*, 1563, claimed as chief authority by Albert van Hardenberg. Statements about Wessel by Geldenhouwer (*Geldenh.*, 13-14) are without doubt as biased as those which he made about his master Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht : *Cran.*, 240, e-h ; van Rijn, *Oudheden van Deventer* : Deventer, 1725 : I, 337.

<sup>5)</sup> Wessel accepted the views of the Brethren, who, with their *Devotio Moderna*, which is merely a return to the secular belief and proper discipline of the Church, did and were doing incalculable good in the troublesome times of the Western Schism. They advocated the innerly reform preached by men like Nicolas de Cusa. Still the criticizing of abuses, which is a natural consequence of their principles, does not make a Lutheran or a forerunner of Reformation, since Luther himself went to school to the Brothers at Magdeburg in 1497 (Grisar, III, 932 ; Scheel, I, 70-97). Yet some authors, like Hyma, make of Wessel a replica of de Groote in one place of their book, and consider, in another, Erasmus and Luther as replicas again of Wessel, whose writings

from troubled sources <sup>1)</sup>. Against all that can be urged the great authority which had clung to Wessel, not only during his life in Paris and Italy, when he was courted by the highest notabilities <sup>2)</sup>, but also after it, especially amongst the acquaintances who had known him most intimately in his life and in his death. One of them was John Mombaer, of Brussels, a Brother of the Common Life, who was sent to reform the Abbey of Livry, near Paris, afterwards entrusted to his direction; he inserted in his ascetic *Rosetum Exercitiorum Spiritualium*, 1491 <sup>3)</sup>, the entire *Scala Meditationum* of Wessel <sup>4)</sup>; as well as several extracts from his *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, *De Oratione Dominica* and *De Indulgentiis* <sup>5)</sup>, as they were considered as the expression of the Windesheim ascetism. That is corroborated by the high value attributed to his manuscripts preserved at Mount-St. Agnes: for when Mombaer requested to have them in loan at Livry for further studies, they were decidedly refused, and were said to be of far too great value to be sent at such a distance <sup>6)</sup>.

#### F. RUDOLPH AGRICOLA

Wessel's humanism did not show so much in the elegance of his style as in his eagerness for learning, in his investigating the ground of all knowledge and of each point of belief, and in his sincere effort to make action and behaviour correspond to knowledge and creed <sup>7)</sup>. His glorious match, Rudolph

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Luther did not know before the middle of 1522 (Enders, III, 423, sq); many conclusions are not based on Wessel's works, but on prejudice or tradition (Mombaer, 221). Cp. Hyma, e. g., 214, sq, 220, 225, sq, 285-87, &c.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Wessel, 280-83 and *passim*; Ullmann, II, 237-575; *CorpCath.*, IX, 6; Denifle, II, 405, 419, 427.

<sup>2)</sup> Renaudet, 91, 92, 640; Wessel, 105.

<sup>3)</sup> Hain, 13994; it was reprinted in 1494, probably at Zwolle by Peter van Os: Campbell, 1224; Polain, III, 2644; Mombaer, 331; and in 1504 at Basle by James de Pfortzen; further in Paris in 1510 by John Parvus and John Wattenschire; in 1603 at Milan and in 1623 at Douai: Mombaer, 331-32; Renaudet, 219.

<sup>4)</sup> Mombaer, 35-36, 167, 180-81, 206-26, 254, 256, 290, 311.

<sup>5)</sup> Mombaer, 189, 201-2, 223, 239-41.

<sup>6)</sup> Mombaer, 154, 226; Renaudet, 254.

<sup>7)</sup> The earnest desire to make life and action correspond to truth and to faith, caused Wessel to become an innovator in some points of liturgy

Agricola was quite as eager as he was in his quest of truth : he learned Hebrew near forty <sup>1)</sup> ; he also endeavoured to find the source of all knowledge and to adapt his life to it, but he was captivated before all by the beauty of all being ; he was no moralizer like his great countryman, but an artist : not only in his partiality for music and drawing shown from his earliest youth, but in his valuing and effectually imitating the elegance of antique literature <sup>2)</sup>).

Rudolph Huusman, *Agricola*, was born at Baflo near Groningen on February 17, 1444 <sup>3)</sup>. After having been educated in that town by an aunt, he was sent to the University of Erfurt where he matriculated soon after May 1, 1456 <sup>4)</sup>. On May 20, 1462 he matriculated in Cologne <sup>5)</sup>, but did not stay long : he went from there to Louvain, and became an inmate of the Pedagogy of the *Cacabus*, which, later, was called the *Falcon*. He there applied himself to learning French, and, although indulging in his bent for drawing <sup>6)</sup> and music, was so proficient in philosophy that he was classed the first at his promotion to Master of Arts in 1465 <sup>7)</sup>. He seems to have

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and exegesis, which were as an occasion to misinterpretations, yet not before they were referred to in the religious struggle started by Luther. Although he was for a long time involved in the Paris debates where he was known as *Magister Contradictionis*, and afterwards lived several years most familiarly with the disciplinarians of Mount-St. Agnes, no mention seems to have been made about heterodoxy in behaviour or opinions, until more than thirty years after his decease, when, namely, Hoen and his companions wanted to flatter Luther by the *Farrago* and the *Cæna*.

<sup>1)</sup> Renaudet, 677.

<sup>2)</sup> Ullmann, II, 300-301.

<sup>3)</sup> According to the *Vita Agricolæ* by Goswin van Halen, Rudolph was the son of a 'clericus', *parochus*, *sed nondum in sacerdotem unctus*, in Baflo, Henry Vries Huusman, and a Zycka, who afterwards married a Syko Schroeder, tailor. It is said that the father became Abbot of Selwert on the day his son was born : *Agricola*, 42, sq ; Keussen, III, 14.

<sup>4)</sup> J. C. H. Weissenborn & Hortschansky, *Akten der Erfurter Universität* : Halle, 1881, sq : I, 255.

<sup>5)</sup> Keussen, I, 292, 62 ; *UnivKöln*, 188.

<sup>6)</sup> He learned the art of adorning manuscripts with fine initials, and he so arrived naturally 'ad ipsam pictoriam artem' : *Geldenh.*, 121.

<sup>7)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 59 ; *Mol.*, 599, mentions that he learned, not the plain, uncultivated French of the natives of Hainaut, but the very courtly talk, in so far that Frenchmen wondered how a Frisian could speak the pure language so fluently after a very few months. He also adds that he acquired the foundation of the theory of music, and learned to sing and

availed himself eagerly of the advantages which the then most flourishing University offered him <sup>1)</sup>, and, for certain, he acquired through the Italians, like Marliano, lecturing and propagandizing there, the acquaintance with, and the love of, literature and of fine language which was to become his characteristic. Geldenhouwer, who knew him from hearing his master Hegius talk about him, and who, at Deventer <sup>2)</sup>, and later on, in Louvain, may have gathered information from tradition, or consulted documents, mentions several interesting details about Agricola's stay at the Brabant *Alma Mater* <sup>3)</sup>; in opposition to Paris and Cologne, he calls her '*quoddam bonorum morum* <sup>4)</sup> *solidæque eruditionis emporium*', and further relates: 'Erant tum Lovanii nonnulli qui latine dictionis puritatem amare cœperant, hisce Rodolphus fato quodam familiarius adiungebat, suffurabaturque nonnihil tempusculi quo, ab Aristotelicis laboribus vacans, Ciceronem, Quintilianumque legendo percurreret' <sup>5)</sup>. It thus appears that Louvain and the group of which Raymond de Marliano was the soul and the centre, greatly contributed to the formation of the man who became famous for his eloquence.

The eager student came there into contact with a thoroughly understood and highly valued Cicero, and the future author of *De Inventionem Dialecticam* found there the source of modern pedagogy, Quintilian <sup>6)</sup>. From the erudite and experienced Marliano he for certain learned a large amount, not only about the great authors, but about the literary study itself and the history of ancient Rome; and it probably was further made evident to him that the study of Antiquity is not a final aim,

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to play wind- and stringed instruments. — That information provided by Geldenhouwer's *Vita*, fills the gap in his biography, 'no indication of his movements' being found between 1462 and 1469: *AgriCorr.*, 309.

<sup>1)</sup> *Agricola*, 53, sq; Woodward, 87.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Geldenh.*, 13.

<sup>3)</sup> Geldenhouwer's *Vita Rod. Agricola* in J. Fichard, *Vitæ Virorum qui superiori nostroque seculo eruditione et doctrina illustres fuerunt*: Frankfurt, 1536; cp. *Geldenh.*, 121-22; *GeldColl.*, xi.

<sup>4)</sup> Agricola, according to Geldenhouwer, lived most abstemiously in Louvain: *Tantus erat bonarum literarum amor, tam indefessum studium, ut turpis Veneris fornices et lustra ne noverit quidem.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Geldenh.*, 121-22.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. J. Hauser, *Quintilian und Rudolf Agricola. Eine pädagogische Studie*: Günzburg, 1910.



but merely a means to a better understanding of the book by excellence, Holy Scripture. Agricola is one of the first to proclaim that principle <sup>1)</sup>, and he probably communicated about it in Paris, whereto he went afterwards <sup>2)</sup>, with his countryman Wessel, who may even have taught him some Greek <sup>3)</sup>. He himself seems to have lectured there, and to have had Trithemius amongst his hearers <sup>4)</sup>.

From Paris Agricola went to Italy in 1468 and studied Law and Rhetoric in Pavia from 1469 : in 1473 he delivered there the rectorial oration for the Fleming Paul de Baenst <sup>5)</sup>, and in 1474 he rendered the same service to a German nobleman, John Kämmerer von Dalberg <sup>6)</sup>, who, presumably like the brothers John and Frederic, sons of the Count of Oettingen <sup>7)</sup>, had secured him as preceptor, and became his friend for life. The style and the language of those orations surprised the Italians, who believed him to be a native of Phrygia, in Lesser Asia, rather than of Friesland. He left Pavia for Ferrara, where he enjoyed the protection of Duke Hercules d'Este, and studied Greek and Hebrew under Battista Guarino, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi and Theodore Gaza, with whom he discussed learned subjects : philosophy with the latter, poetry with the two first <sup>8)</sup>. The great sympathy which he felt for Italy and his felicitous receptivity made him most agreeable in the Peninsula, of which he studied the vernacular so as to acquire its mastery both *versu et oratione soluta* <sup>9)</sup>: the Italians considered him as one of theirs. He worked at translations from Greek, and studied Aristotle in the original language, besides delivering for the University of Ferrara a series of

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, p 158.

<sup>2)</sup> It is evident that his visit to Paris has to be placed, not soon after 1460 : Renaudet, 82, but only after 1465.

<sup>3)</sup> Renaudet, 82, 93.

<sup>4)</sup> Renaudet, 260 ; Trit., 359.

<sup>5)</sup> *Agricola*, 71-74, 78.

<sup>6)</sup> John of Dalberg (1455-1503), afterwards bishop of Worms and Chancellor of Heidelberg University : *CeltE*, 174-76 ; *ADB* ; *Agricola*, 71-77 ; *Rupprich*, 30, 184 ; and further, pp 153-54.

<sup>7)</sup> Woodward, 88 ; *Agricola*, 68, 70.

<sup>8)</sup> *AgricE*, 26 ; *AgricO*, II, 158, 163 ; *CorpRef.*, XI, 441 ; *Sandys*, II, 62 ; Woodward, 88 ; *SanHarLec.*, 184, 196.

<sup>9)</sup> Woodward, 90-93 ; Hallam, I, 185, 210, *sq.*

lectures on philosophy and higher sciences <sup>1)</sup>. In 1477 he held at Pavia a fine oration about Petrarch, whom he celebrated especially as Latinist and inspirer of the Revival of Learning <sup>2)</sup>.

The fame of his great success in Italy seems to have reached the Netherlands, for when, in the last months of 1477, the new lecture of Latin was going to be created in Louvain University, it was offered to Agricola : he was then engaged in a great work on Greek, which made him decline the post <sup>3)</sup>, to which Lodovico Bruni was appointed <sup>4)</sup>. Hardly two years later, in 1479, he left Italy and returned to Friesland, to which he seems to have made a short visit about 1470 <sup>5)</sup>; he accepted the office of town clerk of Groningen in 1480, which left him ample freedom, and caused him to be sent in 1481 and 1483 on embassy to the Court of Maximilian of Austria, who tried in vain to secure him as preceptor for his son. He made friends on those occasions with the great musician James Barbiriau <sup>6)</sup>, with the Imperial Councillor and poet Judocus von Beyssel <sup>7)</sup>, and with other leading personages. He seems to have constructed an organ about that time, which was the first that was supplied with the *Vox humana* stop <sup>8)</sup>. He was often in the company of Wessel, as the latter's amanuensis Goswin

<sup>1)</sup> The initial lecture was pronounced in 1476, in the presence of Duke Hercules ' *In Laudem Philosophiæ et Reliquarum Artium Oratio dicta in studiorum ad hiemem innovatione* ' : Rupprich, 164-183.

<sup>2)</sup> That oration kept as ms : *Vita Petrarchæ, illustrata per eruditissimum virum Rudolphum Agricolam, ad Antonium Scrofinium* (Scrovigni) *Papiensem* 1477, has been edited by L. Bertalot, in *La Bibliotheca*, xxx, 1928 : 382, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further in this Chapter, sect 5, A, B ; Agricola was taken up, it seems, with translations or the copying of Greek authors. Writing to Dietrich von Plenningen on October 25, 1482, about the professorship at Heidelberg offered to him, he says : I fear lest ' ... quemadmodum Græcæ literæ mihi conditionem eam que Louanij oblata fuit, abstulerunt, sic nunc Hebraice hanc fortunam intercipient ' : AgricE, 28 ; on April 1485, in a letter to his friend Adolphus Rusch he refers to William Raimundo Mithridates, the carrier of the missive, as the one who, some time ago, had gone to Louvain as he had heard that he, Agricola, was lecturing there : AgricE, 32 ; cp. further, p 160.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 304-5 ; and further, sect. 5, A, B.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *AgriCorr.*, 310 : Ep. 3 : Ziloe, Oct. 26 [1470].

<sup>6)</sup> *Agricola*, 139-41 ; Fétis ; Polain, I, 636, III, 3192 ; BN.

<sup>7)</sup> *Busl.*, 258, 303-5, 318-20 ; *Agricola*, 139, 210.

<sup>8)</sup> Woodward, 91.

van Halen relates <sup>1)</sup>, and was a frequent member of the Adwert Academy <sup>2)</sup>, keeping his erudition and aptitude at his friends' disposal : he taught Greek to the head of Deventer School, Alexander Hegius <sup>3)</sup>, and frequently corresponded with Rudolph von Langen, the headmaster of Münster <sup>4)</sup>.

When in 1482 his friend John Dalberg became Bishop of Worms, Agricola paid him a visit and was made to promise and teach in Heidelberg University, although he had just recently refused a similar request for Antwerp suggested by his friend Barbiriau <sup>5)</sup>. Still he kept his promise only in May 1484 ; the delay was largely compensated by the result : not only did he please his friend Bishop Dalberg <sup>6)</sup> by teaching Greek, but he revealed humanism <sup>7)</sup>. He influenced professors like Pallas Spangel <sup>8)</sup>, Judocus Galtz, *Gallus* <sup>9)</sup> and Wimpfeling <sup>10)</sup> ; he introduced sounder study of text and grammar, poetry and drama <sup>11)</sup>, and formed famous disciples <sup>12)</sup>, amongst whom was the fervent and faithful Dietrich von Plenningen <sup>13)</sup>, and the poet and wandering apostle of the Revival, Conrad

<sup>1)</sup> *ErAge*, 9, sq ; unfortunately the meeting of the two friends frequently led to excesses on Agricola's part : *HEpG*, 20, b ; *ErAge*, 31-32 ; Hyma, 204.

<sup>2)</sup> *ErAge*, 7, sq ; Ullmann, II, 314, sq ; cp. before, p 141.

<sup>3)</sup> Woodward, 84-85 ; *HuNieWe.*, II, 5-9 ; Hyma, 126.

<sup>4)</sup> *Langen*, 58, 59, 100 ; *HuMünst.*, 40, 122 ; *MünstSchule*, 33 : Agricola wishes on September 20, 1480, his friend Langen to take care of his half-brother Henry, whose preceptor, the Brother of the Common Life Frederic Mormann, had been sent from Münster to another convent : cp. *Murmell.*, 27-28.

<sup>5)</sup> *ErAdag.*, 167, c ; *AgriCorr.*, 313 ; Laurie, 11 ; *Agricola*, 151, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> *CeltE*, 174 ; Janssen, I, 88 ; Rupprich, 30, 184 ; *Worms*, 65-91, 93. Agricola helped to gather Dalberg's famous collection of books : *Lomeier*, 278.

<sup>7)</sup> *CeltE*, 218 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 16 ; *Melanch.*, 64, sq ; Philip, Elector Palatine (1448-1508), was greatly interested in him, and requested him to write a Chronicle of the World : *CeltE*, 172 ; *Worms*, 64, sq, 93, sq ; Rupprich, 31, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> *Melanch.*, 59, 65, sq.

<sup>9)</sup> Jobst Gallus (c 1459-1517) : *CeltE*, 171 ; Rupprich, 33.

<sup>10)</sup> James Wimpfeling (1450-1528) : *WimpfLeb.*, 16, 132, 237, 307.

<sup>11)</sup> *CeltE*, 180, 239 ; Rupprich, 31-32 ; Massebieau, 57.

<sup>12)</sup> Agricola may have had there as disciple Herman von den Busche, who arrived in Heidelberg only in 1485 : *Liessem*, I, 2, a ; and further, Ch. VII.

<sup>13)</sup> Dietrich, brother of John, Palatine Councillor (c 1450-1520) : *AgricE*, 8, sq, 12, sq, &c ; Rupprich, 30-31 ; Hartfelder, 4-9, 13-18.

Celtis, who gratefully spread the teaching he had received throughout the country <sup>1)</sup>, so that Agricola by an influence, which Melanchthon still attested in 1539 <sup>2)</sup>, has come to be considered as the Father of the German Humanists <sup>3)</sup>.

Unfortunately the glorious period of his lecturing in Heidelberg, with occasional stays at Worms, did not last long : in 1485, after the election of Pope Innocent VIII, Bishop Dalberg invited him to accompany him to Rome where Agricola congratulated the new Pope in an oration which was so admired that it was twice printed in Rome <sup>4)</sup>. On their way home Agricola fell ill, and remained for a time at Trent ; he returned to Heidelberg only to die in his friend's arms on October 27/28, 1485 <sup>5)</sup>.

Although he wrote comparatively few books, hardly any man in his lifetime exercised as considerable influence on his contemporaries as he did. He subjugated all who saw and heard him by his eloquence, by the erudition and sound sense of his talk and writings, and most of all, by the charm of his attractive personality, which seems to have been that of an accomplished sportsman <sup>6)</sup> ; to that fine appearance he joined remarkable qualifications for musician and orator, and the irresistible power of his mind and intellect, all of which must have made him into the ideal 'uomo universale' the Italian Renaissance dreamt of <sup>7)</sup>. His life has been sketched by his

<sup>1)</sup> Conrad Celtis, 'Erzhumanist' (1459-1508) : CeltE, xv, 26, 218, 610, 617, 622 ; Matz, 4, sq, 10-41.

<sup>2)</sup> In his *Declamatio de Vita Agricolæ* pronounced in July 1539 : CorpRef., xi, 438, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Janssen, i, 58 ; Woodward, 80-81 ; Laurie, 11 ; Hessus, i, 23 ; Krafft, 178.

<sup>4)</sup> Pastor, iii, 186-87.

<sup>5)</sup> Bishop Dalberg had a monument erected and composed a touching *Elogium* for his great friend : Rupprich, 184 ; Reuchlin pronounced an oration in his praise when hearing of his decease : HEpG, 48 ; Arnold Bostius, Carmelite at Bruges, deeply lamented it in a letter to Celtis : CeltE, 218 ; Hermolaus Barbarus made an epitaph, which Judocus von Beissel edited in his *Rosacea* : Polain, i, 636 ; Mol., 599 ; Viglius added an Epigraph to it : Foppens, ii, 1080, a.

<sup>6)</sup> Woodward, 90-93 ; Rupprich, 31.

<sup>7)</sup> It explains the deep sympathy he found in Italy : cp. before, p 151 ; even the great Ciceronian Peter Bembo admired his style : Nolhac, 128 ; Allen, x, 2708, 12-14.

friend and pupil John of Plenningen.<sup>1)</sup>, as well as by two illustrious admirers, Erasmus <sup>2)</sup> and Melanchthon <sup>3)</sup>, besides several others <sup>4)</sup>. His works comprise a few poems <sup>5)</sup> and the historic description of the meeting of Emperor Frederic III and Charles the Bold at Treves, on November 1, 1473 <sup>6)</sup>; several translations from Greek, such as *Axióchus*, falsely attributed to Plato <sup>7)</sup>; some treatises on study and erudite education, as well as a series of highly interesting letters. That most precious part of Agricola's legacy to posterity, which brings the intimate thoughts and feelings of that great man, is occasionally increased by new finds <sup>8)</sup>, although already

<sup>1)</sup> John of Plenningen, canon in Worms (AgricE, 8, sq, 13, &c; *Agri-Corr.*, 307, sq), wrote Agricola's biography at the request of his brother Dietrich; it is preserved in a Stuttgart MS., published in Nauman's *Serapeum*, x, 97, 113, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> In the comment on the adage *Canis in Balneo*: *ErAdag.*, 166, c-167, c; he also highly praises him in the *Ciceronianus* and the *Ecclesiastes*: *EOO*, I, 1014, A, B, V, 920, F, 921, A, c; Renaudet, 396-97; Mestwerdt, 149, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> In a *Declamatio* delivered in July 1539: *CorpRef.*, xi, 438, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Geldenhouwer's *Vita* of Agricola was one of the very few preserved by being printed in J. Fichard's *Virorum Illustrorum Vitæ*: Frankfurt, 1536: *Geldenh.*, 118-19.

<sup>5)</sup> *Carmen de S. Anna*, *Epicedion Mauritio Comiti de Spiegelberg*: AgricE, 30; *CatSél.*, 2; Polain, I, 49; other poems are mentioned in Polain, III, 3192; NijKron., I, 43, 44.

<sup>6)</sup> Polain, III, 3192; it is the translation of the French letter of Arnold de Lalaing to Paul de Baenst, made at the request of Antony Scrovigni: AgricO, II, 221, sq; *Agricola*, 78-79.

<sup>7)</sup> Polain, II, 1952, III, 3192, 3193; Renaudet, 477. — In 1530 Haio Herman Hompen edited Agricola's translation of Lucian's *De Calumnia*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Erard de la Marck; it was printed by Rutger Rescius and John Sturm, Louvain, July 4, 1530: NijKron., II, 3447.

<sup>8)</sup> In addition to the letters to Barbiriau about the teaching in Antwerp, edited by Peter Gillis, 1511/12, to Hegius (*HuNieWe.*, II, 5-9; NijKron., I, 46, 1041) or his half-brother Joannes Schroeder (NijKron., II, 2603, 2607-8, 2610-15, 3213-44), and those in Alard's *Opera*, K. Hartfelder edited in 1886 the 'Plenningen Collection', AgricE; in 1906 P. S. Allen, in *AgriCorr.*, put those three groups of letters into order, and provided a history of what had been done to collect and keep Agricola's writings. The great esteem for them is instanced by the fact that Viglius sent an autograph letter of him as New Year's gift to Hector Hoxvirius for many benefits received: his own letter was preserved amongst his correspondence from 1537 to 1541 (vol. III) in the College he had founded in Louvain: *HEpG*, 48, b; Hoynck, II, I, pr, \*2, v; it does not seem to have survived: *AgriCorr.*, 309. — Besides the 2 letters

Erasmus and Martin van Dorp sought eagerly for all his writings, which were edited by their friends Peter Gillis, 1511<sup>1)</sup>, and Alard of Amsterdam, 1539<sup>2)</sup>. They all are animated with Agricola's fervid admiration of Eloquence, that ideal of humanistic culture<sup>3)</sup>, and with his practical wisdom in study and teaching<sup>4)</sup>.

That wisdom is especially expounded in Agricola's remarkable *De Inventione Dialectica*<sup>5)</sup>, which was greeted as the disclosure of a new intellectual world. It was abundantly used by the great masters of pedagogy in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century : John Louis Vives was guided by it in his *De Causis Artium Corruptarum*<sup>6)</sup>, and he unconditionally recommends it in his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*: 'ad investigationem probabililitatis... voluminibus tribus facundissime et ingeniosissime expositam' <sup>7)</sup>. Equally amply it was used by the Preceptor of Germany, Melanchthon<sup>8)</sup> ; Thomas Elyot praises it in *The Governour*<sup>9)</sup>, and Gabriel Harvey extolls, over all other authors for subject, for form and for aim, what he calls 'meus Rodolphus

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to Reuchlin published in ReuchlE, 6-8, 9, a third, from Reuchlin to Agricola, undated, was found by P. S. Allen in Schlettstadt Library : *Agricola*, 229.

<sup>1)</sup> *Rodolphi Agricole Phrysii... Nonnulla Opuscula* [viz., *Axiochus Platonis*, *Epistola de Congressu Imperatoris Friderici & Caroli Burgundionum ducis*; *Epistolæ ad Barbirianum de re scholastica Anuerpiensis &c*] : Antwerp, Th. Martens, January 31, 1511/12 (*MonHL*, 358) : Iseghem, 230-31 ; *CatSél.*, 199 ; *NijKron.*, 1, 46 ; Paquot, iv, 260.

<sup>2)</sup> *Agrico* ; also *NijKron.*, 1, 47, 789, 11, 2251 (*Parænesis de Ratione Studij*), 1, 534, 11, 2603, 2610-15, 3243-44 (*Isocrates*), 2986 (*Eucherius*), 3749, (*Pliny's Epistolæ*), 1, 459 (*In Boethium... Enarrationes*).

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 111, 115, &c, and *AgricE*, 7.

<sup>4)</sup> Several extracts from Agricola's letters and other writings were quoted as models in some classical editions, like the *Scoparius* of his admirer, Langen's disciple John Murmellius : *MurmO*, v, 23, 57, 86-90, 100 ; *Murmell.*, 6-10, 88, 101, 144, 155.

<sup>5)</sup> It was edited for the first time by Martin van Dorp and Alard of Amsterdam, and printed by Th. Martens, Louvain, Jan. 12, 1515 : Iseghem, 248-49 ; *NijKron.*, 1, 45. Cp. *MutE*, 566 ; *Krafft*, 188.

<sup>6)</sup> *Vio Vita*, 107 ; *Watson*, cxxii ; Vives makes a highly laudatory mention of Agricola's style and language in his comments on *De Civitate Dei*, quoted by Hallam, 1, 211.

<sup>7)</sup> *VOO*, vi, 355, 364 (*De Tradendis Disciplinis*, iv, ii and iv) ; *Watson*, 178, 193 ; *Woodward*, 201, 209.

<sup>8)</sup> *Melanch.*, 79, sq, 91, 126, sq, 463, sq ; *Woodward*, 216, 239-40.

<sup>9)</sup> *Woodward*, 283.

de inventione dialectica' <sup>1</sup>). Indeed, Agricola introduced quite a new way of study, breaking off with degenerated dialectics; and the only fault which some find in that work, which evidently was written only for the transition between old and new times, is that he did not break off also with the old Faith, but rather connects the modern ideas with the secular belief and sound religious practice <sup>2</sup>). He was far too intelligent to identify a good thing with the bad use made of it, and his historical sense had made him acquainted with the fact that the 'old faith' and the clerics and monks who professed it, had saved the language and literature, and, as far as possible, the culture of the so much admired Antiquity. Availing himself of the examples thus preserved, he advocates a study, aiming at a thorough and exact knowledge of things, as well as at an adequate and pleasing expression of it <sup>3</sup>), — thus joining the two chief *desideranda*: Eloquence, and a personal research based on the object considered, or on unobjectionable documents. To crown those *desideranda*, he gives them, as aim, the improving of man's life: for he places *mores* above *cognitio* and *eruditio*: study should make men 'paratiores ad virtutem' <sup>4</sup>). He thus describes for the first time the real essence of humanism: making man *humanior*. He also indicates the means: to be educated, the mind wants, besides philosophy, also literature and history <sup>5</sup>), poetry and orations; they, he argues, must produce a longing for a trustworthy and

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<sup>1</sup>) In his *Marginalia* he noted: 'Nullus scriptor, ne Valla quidem, Quinctiliano affinior vel materia, vel forma, vel fine, quam meus Rodolphus de inventione dialectica. Ergo ad Rodolphum cum Quinctiliano': *HarvMarg.*, 123.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. W. Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation. Eine Zeitenwende*: Stuttgart, 1932: 491, *sq*; the notice about Agricola concludes: 'ahnungsvoll tastete Agricola nach etwas Neuem', and closes with the exclamation: 'Der Freund antiker Philosophie wurde in der Mönchskutte begraben!'

<sup>3</sup>) In his *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, Vives writes about the style of Agricola's letters: Rodolphus Agricola, si ipse sua emendasset, maximis quoque veterum potuisset comparari: tanta erat in illius eruditione soliditas et sanitas, atque acrimonia in iudicando: VOO, II, 314.

<sup>4</sup>) Woodward, 100-101. Similar opinions are expressed by Agricola's two great disciples, Vives (Woodward, 203) and Melancthon (*Melancthon*, 39, *sq*).

<sup>5</sup>) Woodward, 100, 87 (expressing the need of historic theology).

truthful direction in life, which pagan authors ignore, and which only the Bible can give : Scripture shows the radiant light of what is, whereas the writers of Antiquity were immersed in dark and compact clouds. Nor has the knowledge thus acquired to be reserved to a few scholars : it has to be extended to all, and, on that account, Agricola urges besides the study of Latin also that of the native languages <sup>1)</sup>, which have to be made purer and richer by sound and beautiful literary compositions <sup>2)</sup>. It is an honour for Louvain to have largely contributed to the development of that eminently modern man, who learned to appreciate the two *desideranda*, revealed to him by the thorough study of Cicero and of Quintilian, and by the understanding of all their significance, in the beneficent atmosphere created there by Marliano and his friends.

#### G. DISCIPLES AND VISITORS

Wessel Gansfoort and Agricola were not the only ones that profited by the first rays of the new day breaking through the thinning dusk in the Brabant *Alma Mater* : already in the middle of the xv<sup>th</sup> century Louvain sent out disciples, who, though scantily equipped, were hailed and appreciated in foreign Universities as teachers of humanism. When, in 1446, Serv. Goswin announced a lecture of Rhetoric, of Epistolography and of the explanation of the *Æneis* in the University of Leipzig, the Faculty of Arts of Cologne, in which Goswin had promoted Bachelor before he went to finish his studies in Heidelberg, decided to institute a lesson of Rhetoric : it was entrusted to Cornelius Ghiselberti Borch, of Zierikzee <sup>3)</sup>, who had promoted Master of Arts in Louvain, where on February 26, 1437 he had been classed the thirty-second.

<sup>1)</sup> Here again, Vives follows Agricola's lead : Woodward, 197.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. for his life and works : *ErAdag.*, 166, c-167, c ; *Trit.*, 359 ; *Mol.*, 599 ; *Vern.*, 313 ; *BibBelg.*, 798-800 ; *HEpG*, 48 ; *Hoyneck*, II, i, 312 ; *JovEDV*, 61 ; *Hallam*, I, 211 ; *Woodward*, 79-103 ; *HarvMarg.*, 113, 121, 123 ; *Janssen*, I, 56, 58-60, &c ; *Sandys*, II, 253-55, 258 ; *Allen*, I, 23, 57 ; *ErAge*, 14-21 ; *Knod*, 4 ; *CeltE*, 218 ; *Reuchlin*, xi-xii, 11, sq ; *NèveMém.*, 13, sq, 124 ; *Moog*, 73-75 ; *Renaudet*, 224, &c ; *Rupprich*, 31-32 ; *Agricola* ; *Altmeier*, I, 244, sq ; &c.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 38 : ' Cornelius Borch '.



Unfortunately an opposition, about which no details have been preserved, caused the new lecture to be stopped <sup>1)</sup>.

The presence in Louvain of a professor of renown like Raymond de Marliano naturally attracted some of the wandering adepts in humanism, moved by their zeal to deliver some lectures in the various universities, as men like Francesco Filelfo <sup>2)</sup> (1398-1481) and Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano <sup>3)</sup> (1454-1494) were still doing in the various towns of Italy. Thus about 1464 there was in Louvain the Florentine physician James Publicius Rufus, *poeta laureatus* and professor of rhetoric; from Brabant he went to Erfurt in 1466-1467; from there, to Leipzig <sup>4)</sup>, and afterwards to Cologne, where he is recorded in 1468 <sup>5)</sup>. In the next year he was in Cracow, and in 1470-71, in Basle. In the seventies he seems to have visited Hungary, France and Portugal, lecturing everywhere on rhetoric and on the art of writing letters and essays <sup>6)</sup>.

Rufus was followed up by another *poeta laureatus*, Stephen Surigonus, of Milan, member of the Order of the 'Umiliati', bachelor of Canon Law. He had visited already Augsburg and Strassburg when, by the end of 1471, he reached Cologne. Like on his other stages, he propagated the new literary movement by lecturing and by conducting practical exercises of composition; still he appears to have fallen into bad company, for in some of his poems he owns to be living a wild life, although others are addressed to honourable people <sup>7)</sup>. After staying six months or so, he left for Louvain, where he matriculated on July 18, 1472 <sup>8)</sup>. — Of his further life nothing seems recorded, and what is known of the preceding years, is found in his poems, which are preserved amongst the manuscripts in the British Museum <sup>9)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *UniKöln*, 188-89; Keussen, I, 286, 71.

<sup>2)</sup> Sandys, II, 55-57.

<sup>3)</sup> Sandys, II, 83-86.

<sup>4)</sup> Rupprich, 33, 44.

<sup>5)</sup> Keussen, I, 317, 109; *UniKöln*, 189.

<sup>6)</sup> Rupprich, 7.

<sup>7)</sup> Keussen, I, 331, 1; *UniKöln*, 189; Rupprich, 26.

<sup>8)</sup> *LibIntII*, 92, r: Mgr stephanus de suroibus qui dicit se poetam laureatum, dioc... (the name is not added).

<sup>9)</sup> Keussen, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XVIII: 352-369.

Soon after Surigonus arrived in Louvain an Italian doctor of Laws, Stephen de Luignania, of the Vercelli diocese, who matriculated on December 23, 1473 <sup>1)</sup> : on account of the gaps in the academical archives of the latter half of the fifteenth century, no details are available, — although it is not likely that he would have taken the trouble to be inscribed in the University, if his visit had only been casual or transitory.

Hardly any more information, as to his activity in Brabant, is supplied about a man of greater ability, namely Flavius William Raimundo Mithridates, of Vich, a town a little more than 60 kilometers to the North of Barcelona. It seems that from a Jew he was converted, and that he had studied the *Artes*, and even Theology. He proved a thorough adept in humanism, and a most able linguist : he offered to give private lectures in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arab, Greek and Latin in the various University towns where he came. He thus visited Tübingen soon after its foundation <sup>2)</sup>, for the professor of theology Conrad Summenhart, of Claw († 1502), who also taught Hebrew, relates that he and several others in Tübingen, had learned that language from William Raimundo, professor of divinity, a man well versed in five languages <sup>3)</sup> : still no date is given. Raimundo came to Louvain some time between 1478 and October 1484, because he expected to find Rudolph Agricola professing in the University <sup>4)</sup> : possibly in the spring of 1484, after the latter had left Groningen for Heidelberg. In October 1484 he went to Cologne and was inscribed as an honoured guest <sup>5)</sup> ; he gave lessons, but quarrelled with some of his hearers : the contest, which lasted from February 5 to

<sup>1)</sup> *LibIntII*, 103, r : Dns Steph. de luignania (buignania ?) V. I. Dr. Dioc Vercellen.

<sup>2)</sup> Tübingen was founded by Sixtus IV on December 13, 1476, which foundation was executed by Count Eberhard of Württemberg on July 3, 1477 : Kaufmann, II, xvii, 24, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *HebStud.*, I, 19 ; Summenhart (or -hard) was one of the first Hebraists : Rupprich, 37 ; Muther, 100, 154, 179, sq ; *CatSél.*, 162, 541.

<sup>4)</sup> In his letter of April 13, 1485 Agricola recalls to Adolphus Rusch that he had told him, when they last met at Worms, that, hoping to see and hear him, *Guillelmus Raimundus* had gone to Louvain : 'quem dixi audiuisse me Louanij professum esse' : AgricE, 32 ; cp. before, p 152.

<sup>5)</sup> He is styled : art. et theol. prof., ap. sedis acolit. et lingwarum hebraice, arabice, caldaice, grece et latine interpres ; i [ntitulauit] et n [ihil] dedit propt. honorem pers. : Keussen, II, 384, 22 ; Rupprich, 26.

March 24, made him dislike the town, although he had published there a Latin translation of the *Aurea Verba Pythagoræ*, as well as a collection of maxims of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, which he had dedicated to the Rector Peter Rynck, or Rink (, Oct. 9, 1484 - June 28, 1485), D. V. J., professor of laws from 1459 until his death 1501 <sup>1)</sup>, as well as to the deans of the four Faculties <sup>2)</sup>. He left about Easter (April 3) 1485, and went straight to Heidelberg, where he knew that Agricola was, and handed him an introductory letter from one of his friends, a leading citizen of Cologne. Agricola greatly admired the erudition and qualifications of the linguist, and described him 'unus in omnibus et omnia in uno', and he actually rejoiced in meeting him; still he could not further his request: which was, to be allowed to go to Rome, *adire urbem*, in the train of his master Bishop Dalberg, who had to refuse 'propter conditionem rerum suarum' <sup>3)</sup>. He did, however, all that he could, and as Raimundo was going by the Rhine to Strassburg, he introduced him by a letter of April 13, 1485 to his friend the bookseller Adolphus Rusch, of that town, asking to help and find him some travelling companions to Italy, that he might have a more secure and comfortable journey <sup>4)</sup>. It is not recorded in how far Agricola's recommendation made things easier for William Raimundo; but certain it is that he reached Italy and prospered there: Leo X created him Cardinal on July 1, 1517, and appointed him Bishop, first of Cefalu, 1518, and then of Barcelona, 1521. Raimundo took part in the election of Adrian VI, but he is not mentioned for that of his successor: he died in 1525, leaving some works in manuscript about religion and philosophy, about astrology and astronomy <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *UniKöln*, 393, 454.

<sup>2)</sup> *UniKöln*, 190.

<sup>3)</sup> AgricE, 32: probably the Bishop had other plans and other companions for his journey *ad limina*, which he made later in the year, and which proved fatal to Agricola: on August 4 following, the latter wrote from his bed in Trent a touching letter, wishing that he might live to die a better death, and to see once again his beloved Master: AgricE, 32-33.

<sup>4)</sup> AgricE, 31-32, 9-10.

<sup>5)</sup> Pastor, IV, i, 138, 607, ii, 5, 12, 770; Rupprich, 26; Keussen, II, pp 158-59, and sources quoted.

## 5. — THE LECTURE OF POETICA

### A. THE FOUNDATION

The interest in refined Latin literature and in the great authors of the Golden Era of Rome had been kindled and certainly fostered in many a member of the University by men like Marliano, and must have found a powerful incentive in the enthusiastical *poetæ laureati* and other visitors in Louvain. That interest, further enhanced by the growing connections with Italy, did not limit itself any longer to drudging linguists and scholars, but had spread amongst the upper classes of the nation, chiefly providing students for the Faculties of Law. Amongst that more aristocratic part of the academic population the want of a systematic introduction to the great intellectual development grew very acute in the latter half of the seventies, in so far that the Faculty of Civil Law insisted on the foundation of a genuine professorship of Latin, independent as well of petty intrigues as of perplexing debates <sup>1)</sup>. As that want grew in extent and in intensity, and as it was understood that the reigning Princes were sympathetic and ready to help, a scheme shaped itself by the middle of 1477 into a regular lecture of Literature, for which the old student Rudolph Agricola, whose fame rang throughout Italy, seemed as the ideal professor.

The new situation was actually offered to that great erudite, residing at the time in Ferrara ; inaccessible, however, as he was both to ambition and to covetousness, he declined the Louvain proposal because, as he explained afterwards to his friend Dietrich von Plenningen, he could not break off a study on Greek in which he was then completely absorbed <sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> The promoters of the new lecture did not want a renewal of the rash appointments like those for the lesson of Eloquence, nor of the immixture into another controversy on an impertinent subject.

<sup>2)</sup> When Agricola, who had been invited to come and lecture in Heidelberg, was returning to Friesland from his visit to Bishop Dalberg, he discussed, on Oct. 25, 1482, the advantages and the objections, in his letter written from Coblenz to Dietrich von Plenningen, especially since, that same day, he had received at Bacharach the letter of Barbirianus, announcing him the offer of the position in Antwerp : Agricola, II, 206-7 ; *Agricola*, 159 ; he expresses the wish to hear his friends' advice before taking a decision, but adds that he is afraid that the

Fortunately there was about that time in Louvain an Italian *poeta laureatus*, Lodovico Bruni, who had matriculated on July 31, 1477, and had gained the favour of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy by some welcome poems. His evident qualifiedness for the post, the friendly regard of the Princes, and the happy circumstance of his being at hand had a most suitable influence on the speedy realization of the scheme. In answer to the requests made, Duchess Mary and Archduke Maximilian brought the town authorities of Louvain to institute a second lecture of literary Latin on January 19, 1478, for which an annual fee of 'xl peters', 50 crowns, was decreed; the lessons were to be given in the School of Civil Law every afternoon, even on Sun- and feastdays, at three p. m. or thereabouts, by master Lodovico Bruni, who had been engaged for one year <sup>1</sup>). In order to distinguish the new lecture from the old lesson of '*Rhetorica*' dependent on the Faculty of Arts, it was called '*Poetica*', 'poeterien' <sup>2</sup>),

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studies of Hebrew, which he then contemplated, might prevent him accepting the Heidelberg professorate, like the studies of Greek had prevented him accepting that of Louvain: 'quemadmodum Græcæ litteræ mihi conditionem eam, que Louanij oblata fuit, abstulerunt, sic nunc Hebraice hanc fortunam intercipiant'; he concludes with a characteristic remark: I fear that 'litteræ, que locupletare solent alios, eæ perpetuo pauperem me et fatiant et servant. Cogito tamen subinde: Quorsum litteræ, quis usum studiorum, si hic est exitus eorum, ut mendicem et semper de alieno pendeam? Quid enim uelocis gloria plantæ prestat et esuriens pisææ ramus oliuæ?' Agricola, 28: the last sentence is quoted from Juvenal, *Satur.* XIII, 98-99.

<sup>1</sup>) The text of the report of the meeting in which the decision was taken, is as follows: 'Ter konstigen beden ende berigten onser genedigen heren ende Vrouwen hertoghe ende hertoginne van Brabant ende oic ouermids dat gheen exercitie noch lesse inder Uniuersiteit van Loeuenen onderhouden en wordt van den *sciencien van poeterien*, nochtan dat vele notabele suppositen sijn die deselue lesse ende exercitien in dien begheren, soe es bijden Raide vander Stadt... Meester Lodewic Bruyn... aengenomen deselue lesse te lesene dagelijcx leeselijcke en onleeselijcke dagen achternoene te drien wren oft dair omtrent inder scholen van den weerliken Rechte een jair lanck opden salarijs ende stipendien van vijftich cronen siaers... te xxiiii stueuers loepende muntten, hem van weken te weken te betalene beginnende tselue jaer prima januarii Lxxvii<sup>o</sup>, secundum stilum nostrum. Geschiede bij den vollen Raide van der stadt, xix januarii xiiii C Lxxvii: *LouvArch.*, II, 3983: 78.

<sup>2</sup>) The decree of the town authorities of January 19, 1478, describes the lecture as being about 'den sciencien van poeterien'; whereas it is

possibly on account of the titles of the two first professors, although the instruction was in no way connected with any particular form of literature.

## B. LODOVICO BRUNI

The spirit of the new foundation shows unmistakably in the choice of the first professor. Lodovico Bruni, born at Acqui about October 31, 1434 <sup>1)</sup>, proclaimed Doctor of Laws and crowned as poet, had celebrated Maximilian of Austria's entry into the Burgundian provinces, as well as his marriage in Ghent, August 19, 1477, by *Gratulationes* which were published already in November of that year by John of Westphalia in Louvain <sup>2)</sup>. Those poems, which were followed by others at Maximilian's victory at Guinegate, August 7, 1479 <sup>3)</sup>, and at his coronation as King of the Romans, 1486 <sup>4)</sup>, had brought him to the notice of the Princes: no doubt in their wish to secure an able professor for the University, they encouraged the foundation of a lecture which had since long proved indispensable.

His appointment caused great pleasure in Louvain, where

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referred to as 'lesse van rhetoriken ende poeterien' in a report of February 3, 1488: *LouvArch.*, II, 3983: 78<sup>bis</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> His epitaph mentions his age, 73 years, 3 months and 7 days at his death February 6, 1508.

<sup>2)</sup> *Carmina Gratulatoria in Adventu et Coniugii Maximiliani*: Louvain, John of Westphalia: November 1477: Lambinet, 223-25; VAnd., 167. Those and other poems by Bruni were long kept in manuscript in Tournai Cathedral: *BibBelgMan.*, I, 212.

<sup>3)</sup> *Gratulatio ad Maximilianum de Victoria Morinensi Triumphantem*: Louvain, John of Westphalia, August 1479 (7 pp).

<sup>4)</sup> *De Maximiliani Coronatione Gratulatio*: Louvain, John of Paderborn, April 1489 (9 pp). The poem was reproduced in *Oratio hermoly barbari laureati poete ad federicum et maximilianum principes cum Gratulatione Ludouici bruni laureati poete de regis romanorum coronatione*: ff 8, v to 14, v: Sancta per eternum petra fundata tonantem... The *Oratio* pronounced at Bruges on August 1, 1486 by the ambassador of Venice Hermolaus Barbarus, was edited by Peter Danhüszer of Nuremberg on April 2, 1490, with Bruni's poem; having neither name of printer nor date, it is ascribed to Peter Wagner, Nuremberg: *CatSél.*, 29; Polain, I, 493. — Hermolaus Barbarus (cp. Sandys, II, 83; *BeitKlette*, III, 172) writing to John Carondelet, Maximilian's secretary, on August 4, 1486, refers to his *Oratio* as 'nudius quartus habitam': Polain, I, 494.

he had lived for nearly half a year : that honour bestowed on the Brabant *Studium Generale* by his stay <sup>1)</sup>, and, besides, his quality of Italian, his evident aptitude shown by his literary accomplishments, no doubt also the connection of his name with that of the great humanist Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369-1444) who had rendered a wealth of Greek masterpieces intelligible to the Latin Scholars of Europe <sup>2)</sup>, made him a highly welcome acquisition, a new lustre to the University. He started his lectures in the same month of January 1478, and from the very first gave full satisfaction to his numerous auditors, in so far that after a year's activity the town authorities saw fit to increase his fees on February 3, 1479, which would allow him, they resolved, to keep a footman, due to the dignity of his person. That dignity became greater even, when, in 1483, he was appointed Bishop of his native town Acqui ; still he continued teaching regularly, as results from the payment of his salary which is uniformly recorded up to June 11, 1486 <sup>3)</sup>.

It even seems as if notwithstanding his appointment as Bishop, Bruni wished to settle in the University, for on December 22, 1485 he requested to be incorporated and to be admitted to the Academic Senate — which would have been equivalent to being allowed to teach jurisprudence and accept a professorate. He materialized his request by referring to a 'Collatio' which he had just held 'in conspectu Universitatis', — no doubt an oration or a discussion which was part of the recent *Quodlibetæ* <sup>4)</sup> ; he intended proving by it that he did not fall under the stipulations of the decree of August 19, 1457 about the admission to, or the exclusion from, the University Council of those who had not promoted in Louvain <sup>5)</sup>. Still he

<sup>1)</sup> He matriculated on July 31, 1477 as : Mgr. Ludouicus brunis aquensis dyoc. poeta Laureatus : *LibIntII*, 128, r.

<sup>2)</sup> Sandys, II, 45-47, &c ; *BeitSchlecht*, 126, 202 ; *BeitKlette*, II, i-v, 1-105, III, 37-40, 55, 132 ; Tiraboschi, III, 100, b-103, a ; Fr. Beck, *Studien zu Leonardo Bruni* : Berlin, 1912 ; Polain, I, 913-16, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> *LouvArch.*, II, 3983 : 78, r to 83, r.

<sup>4)</sup> The *Quodlibetæ* were held every year on St. Lucia's feast, December 13, and the following days : VAnd., 249-50 ; *ULDoc.*, II, 238-44 ; Mol., 1100-1101 ; de Jongh, 57, 78 ; Kaufmann, II, 381-387.

<sup>5)</sup> Dispositions were taken to exclude from promoting, teaching and from the membership of the University Council, all those who had not promoted in Louvain unless they had obtained their degrees in a well

was not granted his request <sup>1)</sup>, and probably on that account he decided to abandon the career of professor for that of prince of the Church. He took his final leave of Louvain on June 17, 1486 <sup>2)</sup>, and entered upon his duties as Bishop, — one of which was to take care that his priests and fathers-confessors should zealously study <sup>3)</sup>. He was sent very often as ambassador or orator by Maximilian and proved faithful to him, although he could, when necessary, safeguard the interests of the Church and of the Pope <sup>4)</sup>. He died in Rome on February 6, 1508 <sup>5)</sup>.

### C. CORNELIO VITELLI

The place which Lodovico Bruni left empty in June 1486, was not filled at once, as neither the town authorities nor the Faculty of Civil Law wanted to appoint any one except an Italian literator. An offer came from Cornelio Vitelli who had been teaching Greek in New College, Oxford, since a few years. He was a native of Cortona, between Arezzo and

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known University after a severe examination, and after having studied there during a time equivalent to that which was required in Louvain. Those dispositions were voted by the University on August 19, and 31, 1457, the four higher Faculties accepting them and the Arts rejecting them; they were especially directed against the *bullatos*, who received a title or a degree by privilege granted by the Roman Curia or a Papal Legate, without even having passed any proof; also against the *promotos per saltum*, who passed the higher proofs, without having submitted to the first and the intermediate examinations; and, finally, against all *discurrentes*, who went from one University to another without serious motive. Those dispositions were inserted in the *Statuta* in 1459: *LibActIII*, 30, v-31, v; *ULStat.*, 66-67.

<sup>1)</sup> VAnd., 167.

<sup>2)</sup> Meester Lodewijck Bruyn heeft oirloff genomen jn junio anno lxxxvj : *LouvArch.*, II, 3983 : 83, r .

<sup>3)</sup> Pastor, III, 29.

<sup>4)</sup> Pastor, III, 912-16; *Savonarola*, I, 356; H. Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, auf urkundlicher Grundlage dargestellt : Stuttgart, 1884-91 : I, 411; F. Ughello, *Italia Sacra* : Venice, 1719 : IV, 330; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* : Ratisbon, 1914 : II, 91.

<sup>5)</sup> VAnd., 167; Tiraboschi, III, 215, b; FernE, [c 6], r, v; *MonHL.*, 304-305; E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus et les Débuts de l'Humanisme Belge* (in *Bull. de l'Institut. Hist. Belge à Rome*, xv) : Rome, 1935 : 104-105, with the text of the epitaph on his funeral monument in St. Augustine's Church, erected by his *affinis* 'Henricus Brunus', apostolic secretary and treasurer, Archbishop of Trani. Cp. also Trit., 399-400.



Perugia, which made him take the name of *Corythius*; he had had a training in Latin as the Italian *Quattrocento* alone could afford about that time: his writings are either imitations and adaptations of the poetry of the great masters, or comments which testify to an acquaintance with over fifty authors of antiquity, some of them Greek, as well as to his evident preference for the works of post-classical compilers, commentators and grammarians, from Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticæ* to Diomedes' *Ars Grammatica*<sup>1)</sup>). Besides that erudition, his bent for poetry made him as an ideal professor of Renaissance literature. By a cleverly turned epigram in the style of Martial and Ovid<sup>2)</sup>, he gained about 1472 the favour, and possibly a few years' patronage, of Frederic de Montrefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who gathered about him a group of artists and literators<sup>3)</sup>. By 1481 he was at the same time tutor to some young patricians in Venice, and reader in Padua University: here he explained the general introduction to, and parts of, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, testing the corrections and the notes of Nicolas Perotti<sup>4)</sup>, Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi<sup>5)</sup> and Raffaello Regio<sup>6)</sup>, as he explains in his dedicatory letter to Partenio Lacisio, professor of Verona<sup>7)</sup>, of his *In Plinii Primum Enarratiuncula*<sup>8)</sup>. To the young Venetians he explained Martial, and as he wanted to make use of the notes on that poet by George Merula<sup>9)</sup>, he found that the latter had only

<sup>1)</sup> E. Daxhelet, *Notes sur l'Humaniste Italien Cornelio Vitelli*, in *Bull. de l'Institut. Hist. Belge*: xv: Rome, 1935: 94-97.

<sup>2)</sup> *Bb Vat.*, MS. Urb. Lat., 1193: 117, v-118, r.

<sup>3)</sup> Tiraboschi, II, 511-12.

<sup>4)</sup> Sandys, II, 71.

<sup>5)</sup> Sandys, II, 54.

<sup>6)</sup> Tiraboschi, III, 249-50.

<sup>7)</sup> Tiraboschi, III, 269; *CatSél.*, 171.

<sup>8)</sup> It was edited in *Marini Becichemi... Elegans ac Docta in C. Plinium Prælectio*, together with *Nicolai Perotti... commentariolus* on the same author published in Paris, 1519. The *Commentariolus in Proemium C. Plinii* by Nicolas Perottus (printed in Italy, without any name or date: Hain, 12708; Polain, III, 3048), has also Vitelli's notes: *cum observationibus Cornelli Vitelli in eundem commentariolum*.

<sup>9)</sup> George Merula was one of the most conspicuous personages of the *Quattrocento*: he had published the *editio princeps* of Martial: Venice, 1471, as well as that of the *Scriptores de Re Rustica*: Venice, 1472, in collaboration with Colucia: Sandys, II, 103. He was known for his quarrelsome temper even in the quarrelsome Italy of that period, having fallen out with Poliziano (at Milan), with Beroaldo, and with several

criticized a serious scholar Domizio Calderini <sup>1)</sup>, and had himself corrupted the text which he did not understand in many places, no more than he did that of Pliny the Elder, as resulted from most inexact comments. Although Merula had been teaching in Venice for more than sixteen years as Public Professor of Eloquence, Vitelli attacked his explanations, not only in his own lessons, or in conversations with that Rhetor's pupils, but even contradicted him whilst he was delivering his lectures. It led to a disagreeable conflict with a man of a difficult character, who was in a safe position and made the further teaching of his younger rival in Venice an impossibility.

Vitelli may have worked at least for a time at Padua, and no doubt wrote down his criticisms on Merula's interpretation of Martial and Pliny, in the form of a letter to Hermolaus Barbarus <sup>2)</sup>: *Cornelii Vitellii Corythii in Defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam Alexandrinum ad Hermolaum Barbarum omnium Disciplinarum scientia præditum Epistola*, to which he added a *De Dierum Mensium Annorumque Observatione... Præfatio*, which was inscribed to Boccardo Pilade Bresciano <sup>3)</sup>, providing a clear and complete treatise of the time, its divisions and the explanations of its names in antiquity. That double work, printed without date or name of printer <sup>4)</sup>, may have called on the author and his plight, the attention of Thomas Chaundler <sup>5)</sup>, who had been Warden of New College and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and who was eagerly looking out for a means to bring the erudition of the Italian Renaissance to England. At any rate Vitellius was requested

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others of the great erudites : Sandys, II, 35, 85, 86, 103 ; Tiraboschi, II, 641, sq, III, 120-21 ; CeltE, 365 ; MutE, 153, &c ; *Questenberg*, 36-37.

<sup>1)</sup> Tiraboschi, III, 147.

<sup>2)</sup> Sandys, II, 83.

<sup>3)</sup> Gianfrancesco Pilade, Græci Romanique sermonis doctissimus : Tiraboschi, III, 254.

<sup>4)</sup> It has as signatures a<sup>8</sup>-f<sup>8</sup> : the *Epistola* ends on f 1 r, where the *De Dierum* begins : cp. Panzer, *Annales Typographici* : Nuremberg, 1793-1803 : IV, 209, 1287.

<sup>5)</sup> Thomas Chaundler (1418-1490), dean of Hereford since 1482, was Warden of New College, Oxford, from 1455 to 1475, and Chancellor of the University from 1457 to 1461 and from 1472 to 1479. He seems to have had some knowledge of Greek, which explains how it was under his auspices that Vitelli came to England : *DNB* ; *ErAge*, 127.

to come and teach Greek in New College <sup>1)</sup>, and as his outlook was not very brilliant in his own country, he realized the truth of the old proverb and accepted. He knew Greek, and as he had only to teach the rudiments, the task was not too difficult : he thus had the honour of becoming the first systematic teacher of the language of Homer in Modern England <sup>2)</sup> : Chaundler attended his first lesson <sup>3)</sup>, pronouncing an oration in reply.

Still it is only natural that Vitelli preferred by far lecturing on Latin literature, to which all his efforts and studies had been directed, and that, when he heard of the vacancy in

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<sup>1)</sup> It is generally believed that Vitelli came to England in 1475 : against that early date, which is not substantiated by any document, pleads the vast erudition which could not be acquired except by a long stay in Italy, and for which the stretch from 1472 to 1475 would be hardly sufficient. Moreover the presence of Vitelli at Venice and Padua about 1481 is abundantly certified : it would imply that he should have taught a few years in Oxford and then returned for a good while to Italy and gone back again to England. It is far more probable that after his failure in Venice, 1481, Vitelli staid long enough in Padua to compose and publish his three works, and that he reached England by 1482 or 1483 at the earliest. The only details which apparently suggest 1475 as date of arrival, are Chaundler's connection with New College and the term of his office. Still the title of Chancellor is likely to have clung to his name, and solicitude for his College will not have stopped with his Wardenship. Even if he had left the University, it was easy for him to return there, and to attend the first lesson of the Italian erudite whom, thanks to his many connections, he detected and secured for Oxford.

<sup>2)</sup> Vitelli is accounted as the first teacher of Greek in Oxford by Polydorus Vergilius, in his *Historia Anglica* : end of *Lib. xxvi* (ed. Leyden, 1651 : 782) ; that statement is repeated and commented on by Warton, III, 250, mentioning the first oration about that language in William Wykeham's New College, and by Hallam, I, 236 ; cp. Allen, II, 540, 56-57, referring to *Oxford Hist. Soc. Publications*, xvi, 339-40 ; Schirmer, 79 ; *DNB*. It does not mean that nobody 'tutored' in Greek before him, as seems only natural that a Greek scribe like Emmanuel of Constantinople staying in England, 1468-70, will have done : Schirmer, 79-80. Nor that the teaching of the mere beginnings of grammar and the explaining of some extracts, should cast any doubt about William Grocyn being the first scientifically trained Greek professor of England, as Thomas Stapleton stated : *Recens enim tunc ex Italia venerat Grocynus, qui primus ea ætate Græcas literas in Angliam inuexerat, Oxoniique publice professus fuerat* : Stapleton, 12 ; Schirmer, 170.

<sup>3)</sup> Chaundler's *Oratio* was still in existence at the time of John Leland, the antiquary (c 1506-1552) : Schirmer, 79.

Louvain, he was not slow in offering his services, which were accepted on February 1, 1487 <sup>1)</sup>. He started his teaching at once, and seems to have been much appreciated, which was, no doubt, due to his being well versed in literature and philology. At any rate when, on November 24 of that same year, he requested to be paid his wages in advance, they gave him satisfaction, and Nicolas Viruli, of the Lily, gladly accepted to give security, promising to indemnify the town in case he should die or leave before the stipend should be earned <sup>2)</sup>, — which testifies to the esteem that the professor enjoyed amongst his audience.

In the summer of 1489 Vitelli left Louvain for Paris, where Italian professors also were requested, especially since Girolamo Balbi <sup>3)</sup>, who had arrived there about the middle of 1485, had caused a disagreeable controversy by criticizing William Tardif's *Grammatica* <sup>4)</sup>. At the same time as Vitelli another poet, Fausto Andrelini <sup>5)</sup>, a pupil of Filelfo, reached Paris. On

<sup>1)</sup> Item jnde stat van meester Lodewyke es nv gestelt een ander poete vvt peedemont geboiren geheten Cornelius Vitellius ende wint siaers xxx. ass; gulden ende sinen termyn ghinc jnne prima februarij anno lxxxvj stilo brab. : *LouvArch.*, II, 3983 : 83, r.

<sup>2)</sup> To the note of the advance, at least of part of the stipend, Nov. 24, 1487, is added : Ende oft de voirs. (Cornelius Vitelleus) eer afliuich worde oft elders vertoeghe eer tvoirs. Stipendie geuallen ende verschenen ware, soe heeft geloeft ende daar voor gesprouen meester claes virilj jnde lielye dat te restitueren : eodem die et a<sup>o</sup> : *LouvArch.*, II, 3983 : 83, r.

<sup>3)</sup> Jerome Balbi (c 1460-c 1535), of Venice, arrived in Paris in the summer of 1485; he had published some epigrams, and edited with Charles Fernand, of Bruges, the tragedies of Seneca when he started a quarrel with William Tardif, whose *Grammatica* he condemned for mistakes which he could not materialize. He had another quarrel with Andrelini, who proved more than a match and made him leave Paris in the beginning of 1492. He afterwards taught — and quarrelled — in Vienna and in Prague, became councillor and ambassador of Louis of Hungary, and of Ferdinand of Austria, and Bishop of Gurk. Cp. Allen, I, 23, 47, 25, 2; *Balbus*; *Budé*, 22-23; Renaudet, 121-23, &c; CeltE, 188-89; *AdriBurm.*, 71, 132; *AdriHöf.*, 371-75; *CatSél.*, 27, 232.

<sup>4)</sup> Renaudet, 121-123; *Balbus*, 418-424.

<sup>5)</sup> Fausto Andrelini (1460-1518), of Forli, pupil of Filelfo at Bologna, was crowned poet in Rome in 1483 for his *Livia* or *Amores*; he arrived in Paris by 1588, and soon got into a quarrel with Balbi, which made his position rather precarious, even after Balbi had been compelled to leave. He tried to be appointed in England like Vitelli, and courted Thomas Ward's favour by some *Elegie* on April 3, 1494, until by his poem *De Neapolitana Victoria* he gained Charles VIII's protection, and

September 5, 1489, the University generously allowed the three poets to read one hour in public in the afternoon, but peace was soon broken. Balbi readily made of Vitelli an ally against his dangerous rival Andrelini, who was accused in a pamphlet of having contemplated publishing eclogues by Calpurnius as if they were his own, if Vitelli had not prevented him by declaring the real author who, up to then, was unknown in France <sup>1</sup>). The move succeeded, and Balbi was at least for a time safe from Andrelini's attacks, which were levelled at the weaker adversary, accused of using corrupt Latin in his writings<sup>2</sup>). The sharp and unrelenting criticism of the brilliant professor was more than Vitelli could stand, as he was abandoned by Balbi : before the end of 1489 he left Paris, where the quarrel directly began in dead earnest <sup>3</sup>). Nor is it likely that he returned to Louvain, as it would soon have been known that he had been worsted for the language he should have had to teach.

In all probability Vitelli returned to England, where, by 1491, he was teaching Greek again at Oxford, this time in Exeter College <sup>4</sup>). No doubt he prepared his students for further development, as he did the great Grocyn : *Ipse Grocynus*, Erasmus wrote to Latimer in February 1517, *nonne primum in Anglia Græcæ linguæ rudimenta didicit ?* <sup>5</sup>) It is

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the post of Royal poet in 1496. He was a brilliant professor, although not very scrupulous for morals; he was one of Erasmus' first friends in Paris : Allen, I, 84, *pr*; *Balbus*, 424, *sq*; Renaudet, 122, *sq*; *Budé*, 22-23; *CatSél.*, 6-8, 208-212.

<sup>1</sup>) That accusation, which appears to be sheer calumny, was brought out in a pamphlet by 'I. M.', a disciple of Balbi's, who thus harmed both his adversary and his ally : I<acobus> M<erlin>, *Aduersus Faus-tum ... pro Hieronymo Balbo Defensio* : *Balbus*, 426; Polain, II, 2043; *CatSél.*, 442.

<sup>2</sup>) Renaudet, 122; *GagE*, I, 84, *sq*, 92, 339; *Balbus*, 426, *sq*; *Budé*, 22-23.

<sup>3</sup>) Renaudet, 122-124; *Balbus*, 424-28; Polain, I, 197, II, 2043.

<sup>4</sup>) Boase, *Register of the Rectors, Fellows and other members on the Foundation of Exeter College, Oxford* : Oxford, 1894 : lxxi; *UniEngl.*, 10-11; Schirmer, 163, 170, 173.

<sup>5</sup>) Allen, II, 540, 56-57. Grocyn, who was Fellow of New College since 1467, and divinity reader at Magdalen College from 1481, may have had every opportunity to attend Vitelli's lessons at New College, or at least to study under him : Allen, I, 118, 22. Possibly also Linacre had some lessons from Vitelli after 1480, before he left for Italy in 1485 : Schirmer, 163.

evident that on this great scholar's return from Italy <sup>1)</sup>, Vitelli was soon on the wane, and disappeared like the morning star at sunrise : nor do there seem to be any details about his further life <sup>2)</sup>. Erasmus refers to him thirty years later in his *Ciceronianus*, in which Nosoponus remarks, when Bulephorus names a series of Italian authors : *Ut tu farragine quadam confundis diversos* : Mancinellos <sup>3)</sup>, Vitellios ac Marsos <sup>4)</sup> *sile, quum agitur de eloquentia* <sup>5)</sup>. The disparagement in that passage does evidently not go further than 'eloquentia' : Vitelli although neither a literary genius, nor a transcendent erudite, was a patient, painstaking scholar, who, as clearly results from the appreciation given to his criticisms <sup>6)</sup>, did his share in the shaping and correcting of the legacy that the *Quattrocento* was to leave to subsequent generations ; and rather than adulating a favourite of the moment like Merula, he stood by truth, even though it entailed for him the loss of a peaceful life in his native country.

<sup>1)</sup> Grocyn was in Italy from about 1488 to 1490, and studied under the famous Demetrius Chalcondyles ; on his return he had rooms from 1491 to 1493 in Exeter College, and started the effective Greek teaching, which was as a revelation, at least to a few clear-sighted men : Colet, 27, 46 ; Sandys, II, 228 ; Stapleton, 12 ; PolEfr., 52 ; Schirmer, 170-173 ; ErAge, 127 ; UniEngl., 11 ; Hallam, I, 236.

<sup>2)</sup> Tiraboschi, II, 269, a, b ; MonHL, 305-6 ; E. Daxhelet, *Notes sur l'Humaniste Italien Cornelio Vitelli* (in Bull. de l'Institut. Hist. Belge : xv) : Rome, 1935, 83-97.

<sup>3)</sup> Antonio Mancinelli, of Velletri, became professor in Venice and wrote several works on Grammar and on the History of the Language ; Vives recommends him in his *De Tradendis Disciplinis* : VOO, VI, 327, 330 ; Tiraboschi, III, 249, b. Several of his writings were printed before 1500 : Polain, III, 2578-79, IV, 3904-7, besides his editions of Horace and Juvenal, Virgil and Herodotus ; cp. CatSél., 116-7, 444 ; Trit., 434.

<sup>4)</sup> Pietro Marsus (c 1430-after 1509), of Pescina, wrote commentaries on Cicero and on Silius Italicus : Polain, I, 1079-85, III, 3537 ; Tiraboschi, III, 201, a ; Erasmus met him in Rome in 1509, and admired rather his industry than his learning : Allen, I, 152, 19, v, 1347, 258-263 : Romæ vidi ... longæuū potius quam celebrem. — His brother Paolo, wrote only an occasional dedicatory letter or poem : Polain, III, 2951-52.

<sup>5)</sup> EOO, I, 1010, c.

<sup>6)</sup> On August 13, 1511 Josse Badius printed, in Paris, *Annotationes Doctorum Virorum in Grammaticos, Oratores, Poetas, Philosophos, Theologos & Leges*. — In that folio were 'annotationes Cornelii Vitellii', along with some by Angelo Poliziano, Filippo Beroaldo, Joan. Bapt. Egnatius, and others : CatSél., 213, a copy marked '1512' by Beatus Rhénanus.

## D. FRANCESCO DI CREMA

Vitelli's successor in Louvain was Francesco di Crema, a poet-laureate and jurispudent who had published already in 1472 (Bologna, U. de Rugeriis) *Singularia et Solemnia Dicta*<sup>1)</sup>. He accepted the situation in December 1492, and, matriculating on January 11, 1493<sup>2)</sup>, he started a very successful teaching. When in June 1498 Erasmus passed through Louvain, he was most heartily welcomed, and offered hospitality, by 'Francisco Cremensi, viro egregie litterato': he stayed a day and a night with him, and was introduced to all his friends, as he wrote from Brussels to a Gouda physician, probably in July 1498<sup>3)</sup>. Crema is mentioned regularly in the yearly accounts of the town<sup>4)</sup> until February 1499, when he resigned<sup>5)</sup>. In 1498 he received a subsidy from Philip the Fair<sup>6)</sup>, which suggests that he had some connection with the Prince's Court, where he may have accepted some employ that was more remunerative than the University lecture. It would explain how he was offered later on the preceptorship of Archduke Charles<sup>7)</sup>, which he does not seem to have accepted<sup>8)</sup>. He returned to his native country and spent the last years of his life at Cividale del Friuli where he died<sup>9)</sup>: he left an *Assedio di*

<sup>1)</sup> It was reprinted in 1475: Hain, 5818; Proctor, 6534.

<sup>2)</sup> *Excerpts*, 91.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, I, 76, 30-32.

<sup>4)</sup> E. g., 'Meesteren Francisco Cremensis van te lesen de lesse jn poeterien die jn stypendyen heeft .xl. peters siaers': *LouvArch.*, II, 3984: 160, r, v.

<sup>5)</sup> 'Vander lesse te lesen jn poeterien want dese lese in poeteria leedich staet ende aldus nijet en wert geexcerceert daerom hier nijet: *Accounts of 1499-1500*: 56, r, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> 1498 'maitre François de Crémone, poète lisant en l'Université de Louvain', marked for subsidy paid by Philip the Fair: *Inventaire des Archives départementales du Nord*: Lille, 1877: IV, 290; Pirenne, III, 303.

<sup>7)</sup> That results, it seems, from a reference in his *Assedio di Cividale dell' anno 1509*, probably during the war of the Liga against Venice; it implies that Francesco had already returned by then to Italy; he certainly cannot then have been a preceptor with Adrian of Utrecht, who only entered on that duty at the earliest in the last months of 1509: *Busl.*, 315-317.

<sup>8)</sup> He is nowhere named as having actually tutored Prince Charles: Moeller, 42-43, 53; Gossart, 165.

<sup>9)</sup> Tiraboschi, IV, 4; *MonHL*, 306; E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus et les débuts de l'Humanisme Belge* (in *Bull. de l'Institut. Hist. Belge*: xv):

*Civiale dell' anno 1509*, which was edited three centuries and a half later, in Venice, 1859.

#### E. INFLUENCE ON LESSONS AND STUDENTS

The institution of the lecture on Language and Literature and the appointment of a qualified professor from Italy contributed from the very first to the lustre of Louvain. Foreign students were far more numerous about that time : amongst them there were several Scotchmen : one of them, ' Joannes Maccollo [Makculloch] de Tain Rossens. dyoc.', as he matriculated on August 29, 1477 <sup>1)</sup>, followed the lessons in the Faculty of Arts, and his note-book, rubricated and adorned with large initials, is still in existence <sup>2)</sup> ; unfortunately the *legentes* he names : Peter de Mera, van der Meeren, Andrew van Alkmaar and Thierry Meyssach, for 1477, can hardly be identified on account of the gaps in the history of the Pedagogies in the second half of the fifteenth century. Still it is more than likely that he revelled much more in a lecture of poetry than in those of logic, for every vacant space in his book is filled up with Scotch poems, so that his manuscript is one of the ' Minor Collections of Middle Scots ' <sup>3)</sup>. There were also several English priests, five being inscribed *in decretis* on June 3 and June 5, 1479 : of the names which are not taken down or copied exactly <sup>4)</sup>, one stands out as clearly in

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Rome, 1935 : 105, who quotes Denisius, *Specimen Historico-Criticum Editionum Italicarum Sæculi XV* : Rome, 1794 : 324 ; Fr. di Manzano, *Annali di Friuli* : Udine, 1865 : v, 461. — Henne, v, 42, ascribes to him *De Arte Scribendorum Versuum*.

<sup>1)</sup> *LibIntII*, 129, r ; on the same day was inscribed ' Thomas logan de glasgo, glascoen. dyoc.' : both were students of the Porc. Cp. Baxter, 334 : to that list may be added : Thomas Gordon, St. Andree dyoc. ; Lucas de aberdonia, dioc. aberd., in artibus, Aug. 30, 1473 ; Patrissius Wintre, dioc. S. Andree, ex falcone, inscribed on Aug. 30, 1476 ; and Johannes blackatar de scotia, November 25, 1482 (*LibIntII*, 100, r, 123, r, 169, r).

<sup>2)</sup> It is described by G. Gregory Smith, *Spectmens of Middle Scots* : Edinburgh, 1902 : lxxvii-lxix.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *CHEL*, II, 478.

<sup>4)</sup> They are : Dnus Mgr Joannes holerer, dyoc. Sar. — Dns. Wilhelm. chapman presbyt. norwic. dyoc. angliæ nat., on June 3, 1479 ; — Mgr. ethmundus mact salisbur. dioc. in decretis ; — Thomas deyman eborac. dioc. in decretis, — and Ricardus Fox, on June 5, 1479 : *LibIntII*, 142, v.



the list as its owner stood out amongst his contemporaries : 'Mgr. Ricardus Fox lincolnens. dyoc. in decretis' : June 5, 1479 : he became Henry VII's great minister, and was successively Bishop of Exeter, of Bath and Wells, of Durham and of Winchester ; about his education and instruction hardly anything is known <sup>1)</sup>. Judging from his later life, his stay in Louvain and the experience he had of the renovated teaching of languages, must have made a deep impression : he was the one to found the first English 'Trilingue', his *Corpus Christi College* in Oxford <sup>2)</sup>.

As can be expected the successful new lecture gave great satisfaction to the town authorities, in so much that they looked out for an occasion to introduce another Italian as professor into the University. On November 18, 1480, when the first lecture of Canon Law was vacant at Robert a Lacu's resignation <sup>3)</sup>, they appointed the Lombard Simon de la Valle, of Montferrat, J. V. D., who had matriculated on May 20, 1480. Unfortunately the University, on November 29, refused to admit him. To end the controversy, the town nominated him in 1484 to a morning lecture on Civil Law, and even then he was admitted only conditionally by the Faculty on April 11, and by the University on October 15, 1484. Finally on November 29, 1486, he entered the Academic Council, and that made him be recognized as professor. In 1488-89 he was retained for nine months as a prisoner at Turnhout, and was replaced by Peter de Thenis <sup>4)</sup> for his lectures, which he resumed on being set free. In 1491 he was elected Rector of the University <sup>5)</sup>.

Robert Viruli <sup>6)</sup> who had studied in Pavia also wished to secure one of his former masters, the great jurisprudent Jaso a Mayno, of Milan <sup>7)</sup>, and made overtures. Still as the professor

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. FoxE, xi : Until he is forty hardly anything is known of him.

<sup>2)</sup> FoxE, xiv ; *ErAllen*, 145-154.

<sup>3)</sup> Robert van de(n) Poel, a Lacu, of Ghent, J. V. D., was appointed, as successor of Raym. de Marliano, Professor of Canon Law in Louvain in 1463 ; he died on June 26, 1483 : VAnd., 165-68, 155, 295-7, 344 ; Mol., 473-74, 536, 629 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 102, sq ; and before pp 91, 125, 137.

<sup>4)</sup> VAnd., 175-76.

<sup>5)</sup> Mol., 475, 539 ; VAnd., 40, 152, 167-68, 173 ; Paquot, xvi, 190 ; *Louv-Arch.*, II, 3983 : 60, sq, 3984 : 96-100.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 93-4, 97.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. Trit., 371, praises his erudition and his juridical writings.

enjoyed a brilliant situation, it became a question of out-bidding, so that the matter was dropped <sup>1)</sup>).

Meanwhile especially the students of the higher faculties were enthusiastic about the novelty, and those of divinity, made envious of the great favour by which the Laws were marked, insisted in their turn on having new lectures, namely on Duns Scot and on St. Augustine, by an Italian *Minorita*, Antonius Gratia Dei, a native of Venice, doctor of divinity of Paris, who happened to be in Louvain, where he had matriculated on October 13, 1478 <sup>2)</sup>). The town authorities, finding him on inquiry '*wel ydoen*', properly qualified, decided on October 1, 1479 to grant the iterated request by instituting a daily lecture by Gratia Dei in the School of Theology at an hour that was free in the Faculty. On workdays the professor was to explain Duns Scot, and on feast- and Sundays, either St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, or his *De Civitate Dei*, or any other of his works, at the choice of the auditors : that lecture was started at once <sup>3)</sup>).

The choice of the two subjects shows the desire of hearing something different from the matter explained in the ordinary lectures, of which the teaching was exclusively based on the philosophy of St. Thomas. The predilection for St. Augustine is certainly a sign of the coming time <sup>4)</sup> : for this great convert had accepted the doctrine of the Church only after his mind had been saturated for years by the culture of antiquity and by the dreams of Manicheism ; his works express the efforts of human reason to penetrate into the dogmas, and to nourish itself with them, — which was considered as part of the science of theology. He moreover is eminently personal : in God's presence he tries to see himself as he is ; he depicts the strife of thoughts and feelings in his soul, — thus introducing into

<sup>1)</sup> Mol., 558.

<sup>2)</sup> *LibIntII*, 137, v : Mgr. anthonius gracia Dei ordinis Sti. francisci minorum Venetus, Sacre theologie professor.

<sup>3)</sup> Master Anthony was to be paid yearly 50 peters, each at 54 'plecken' in quarterly accounts, with faculty for the town to resiliate the contract every three months : the text of the decree is quoted by de Jongh, 73, and partly by BaxH, II, 164 ; Paquot, VII, 129.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Schwane, IV, 39, sq ; J. Paquier, *Le Jansénisme* : Paris, 1909 : 37, sq ; A. de Meyer, *Les Premières Controverses Jansénistes* : Louvain, 1919 : 4-15, &c.

study the psychological element, which is one of the characteristics of humanism; in fact the *Confessiones* are as the source of modern psychological literature, investigating the human heart with its longings and its activity, in all its kinds and forms, be they memoirs or diaries, letters or autobiographies, dramas or novels. The request for lectures on those writings, which were the favourite reading in the new movement, was as a protestation against the authors still in supreme honour in the Faculty, St. Thomas and Peter Lombardus' *Liber Sententiarum*. The move did not pass off without reaction on the part of the professors.

Meanwhile Antony Gratia Dei <sup>1)</sup> enjoyed a frank success from the very first: he was a man as imposing in appearance as in erudition and eloquence <sup>2)</sup>. Still in his ambition he aimed higher than at the composing of erudite works <sup>3)</sup> or at delivering eloquent lectures. He had served Frederic III as preceptor of his son, and he ingratiated himself still further into the imperial favour by writing a treatise to exhort the subjects of Archduke Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy to defend their Princes and their country against the enemy <sup>4)</sup>. He was rewarded with the Abbey of St. Peter's at Admont, in Styria, of which he became the 39<sup>th</sup> Abbot. As he probably wanted to take possession of his opulent Abbey, he asked the town authorities the permission to entrust the recently accepted lecture to Anselm Woelmont from January 1, 1480 <sup>5)</sup>. Abbot Gratia Dei returned to our provinces, no doubt in the train of Emperor Frederic III, for when on August 1, 1489, the

<sup>1)</sup> VAnd., 84; BaxH, II, 146; PF, I, 23, II, 161; Paquot, VII, 129-131.

<sup>2)</sup> His stipend is mentioned in *LouvArch.*, II, 3983: 27.

<sup>3)</sup> He had written a *Commentarius in Porphyrii Isagogen*, a *Commentarius in Aristotelis Categorias*, and a *Commentarius in [A.'s] Librum Sex Principiorum*, which, with an unfinished *Anonymi Tractatus de Logica*, formed a manuscript in the collection of the Kings of France.

<sup>4)</sup> *Subtilis Exhortatio ad subditos Maximiliani Mariæque Principum, in suis tutandis finibus, hostibusque propulsandis desides atque torpentes*. It was printed, as it is recorded by M. F. A. G. Campbell, *Annales*, 40, and existed in manuscript in the Library of Tournai Cathedral: *BibBelgMan.*, I, 211. An xviii<sup>th</sup> century copy of that now lost manuscript is preserved in the Royal Library Brussels, MS 17320-30, ff 41, v-46.

<sup>5)</sup> VAnd., 78, 95: he promoted Doctor of Divinity on Oct. 14, 1483.

Venetian ambassador Hermolaus Barbarus pronounced at Bruges an oration to the Emperor and his son Maximilian, he replied <sup>1)</sup>, and his speech was printed with that of Hermolaus Barbarus by Thierry Martens in 1486 <sup>2)</sup> and reproduced in 1490 <sup>3)</sup>. His Abbey proved a disaster for the new Abbot who treated his Cistercian monks most sternly, refusing them anything that was not strictly necessary, whilst he kept everything to himself, notwithstanding all remonstrations. The opposition became so threatening, that, rather than mitigating his tyranny, he left Admont in secret with its treasure ; unfortunately he was overtaken near Arlstein in Carinthia and imprisoned in the Castle of Gallenstein where he died from vexation and misery in 1491 <sup>4)</sup>.

With all that, he had become estranged to the Louvain professors of Divinity, one of whom, Giles of Bailleul <sup>5)</sup>, who lectured from 1457 to 1482, had written a reply to a short treatise by Gratia Dei : it was edited long after it was written <sup>6)</sup>, possibly even after the Abbot's miserable death, by Nicolas

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 164.

<sup>2)</sup> Iseghem, 193-194 ; Gand, 49 ; Polain, I, 494 ; on the *recto* of the last leaf of this pamphlet, which is printed with the type of Martens, and probably dates from the last months of 1486, a note mentions that at his father's command Maximilian created Hermolaus Barbarus and his colleague Dominico Trivisano Golden Knights, and conferred on them the golden dress.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably by Peter Wagner in Nuremberg : Polain, I, 493 ; *CatSél.*, 29-30.

<sup>4)</sup> Bucelinus, *Germania Sacra*, II, 2, sq ; Paquot, VII, 129-139 ; Mol., 819 ; *PF*, I, 23 ; *VAnd.*, 84 ; de Jongh, 73, 79. — John de Candida, a famous medallist, who worked at Maximilian and Mary's Court, made Gratia Dei's medal : Simonis, 21, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Giles of Bailleul, de Balliolo, of Lille, was one the first of the promotion for masters of arts in 1411 ; he became Doctor of Divinity in 1456, and was during twenty-five years professor of that branch ; he died on May 18, 1482. Cp. de Jongh, 73, 77, 79 ; *VAnd.*, 89, &c ; Paquot, IX, 261-63 ; *ULDoc.*, II, 153.

<sup>6)</sup> *Conclusio cuiusdam doctoris parisiensis de ordine fratrum minorum de signo crucis lapidibus subiectis impresso, leuando. / Crux cristi in altum debet collocari & missa in solum debet leuari ne pedibus hominum possit conculcari... / Sequitur epistola celeberrimi viri magistri Egidii bailluel doctoris sacre theologie Louaniensis ad predictum minorem super materia conclusionis predictae.* The pamphlet, counting 8 leaves, was printed by John of Westphalia in Louvain, but no date is added : Polain, II, 1672 ; Campbell, 157 ; Paquot, IX, 262-63 ; de Jongh, 79.

Pannetier, of Binche <sup>1)</sup>). Nor did the lecture which he had started, long survive his departure : for Anselm Woelmont, his successor, became professor of Theology on June 28, 1480 in the place of James Schelwaert, and consequently canon of St. Peter's, of St. Andrew's altar. He therefore prepared himself to promote Doctor of Divinity, — which he became on October 14, 1483 <sup>2)</sup>). Being thus provided with other work, he most probably showed little interest for the teaching which must have been unpleasant to his colleagues of the Faculty : no wonder that on July 21, 1481, the town authorities cancelled the agreement about the subsidiary lecture of Divinity which was given for the last time on July 23, 1481 <sup>3)</sup>).

#### F. INFLUENCE ON PRINTING AND TEACHING

If the subsidiary lessons of de la Valle or Gratia Dei were not very prosperous, the lectures of *Poetica* were so much the more successful. They compare most advantageously with the instruction given by Italian professors in Paris. For their work met little encouragement, and they did not stay very long. Gregorio de Città di Castello, named Tifernas after his native place, who in 1457 was allowed to teach Greek, left after a year and a half <sup>4)</sup> ; Filippo Beroaldo, who came in 1479 to lecture on Latin, did not stay much longer <sup>5)</sup> ; Girolamo Balbi, arriving in 1484, soon roused the larger part of the University population against him by his outrageous attack on William Tardif, and fled in disgrace in January 1491 <sup>6)</sup> ;

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<sup>1)</sup> The colophon mentions that it was printed 'pro zelo fidei ad instantiam magistri Nicolai le panetier de binchio regentis pedagogii falconis'. — Nicolas le Pannetier, of Binche (cp. VAnd., 39-40, 264-65) was only *regens* of the Falcon after John Rant, of Wemeldinghe, who himself succeeded Gaspar de Kinschot, managing the Falcon up to his death, January 1, 1488. The year of Rant's resigning or decease is not known, but Pannetier is recorded as *Regens* in 1492 : *ULDoc.*, iv, 311-313. It follows that the pamphlet of 8 leaves by Bailleul was not printed amongst the early issues of John of Westphalia, as the oldish gothic type seems to suggest, but rather in the last years that he printed in Louvain.

<sup>2)</sup> VAnd., 95, 72 : he was succeeded by Adrian of Utrecht.

<sup>3)</sup> Paquot, vii, 129 ; BaxH, ii, 164 ; de Jongh, 73.

<sup>4)</sup> Renaudet, 82 ; Sandys, 66, 168.

<sup>5)</sup> Renaudet, 116 ; Sandys, ii, 86, *sq* ; *CatSél.*, 36-37, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Renaudet, 121-23 ; cp. before, pp 170-71.

whilst Fausto Andrelini, who had to go and teach several months at Poitiers and Toulouse to try his fortune, returned unsuccessful to the capital, where his situation remained unsatisfactory until he was made Royal Poet by Charles VIII in 1496 <sup>1</sup>). In fact the favourers of Renaissance, called opprobriously *Fichetists* <sup>2</sup>), had as leading men only the venerable General of the Trinitarians, Robert Gaguin (1433-1501), a native of Calonne, then in the County of Flanders <sup>3</sup>), with the brothers Charles and John Fernand, of Bruges <sup>4</sup>). Another Flanders man, Arnold de Bost, of Vaernewyck, Carmelite at Ghent <sup>5</sup>), incited in a way the movement by suggesting to those countrymen of his in Paris in 1479 to defend the Immaculate Conception against the attacks of the Dominicans and the Scholastics <sup>6</sup>); whereas, a few years later, one more native of the Lower Countries, Judocus Badius *Gandavensis* or *Ascensius*, brought to bear an admirable choice of admirable editions <sup>7</sup>). It thus

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<sup>1</sup>) Renaudet, 122-23; Allen, I, 84, *pr*; Imbart, II, 351-55, &c; cp. before, pp 170-71.

<sup>2</sup>) William Fichet, born in Savoy in 1433, was an enthusiastic admirer of Petrarch; he entered the Sorbonne and became doctor; he read on philosophy and, besides, on authors of antiquity. By 1470 he caused a printing press to be established in his College, and published a treatise on Rhetoric. By that time he became a protagonist of Plato and Cardinal Bessarion, although he stuck to the old traditions of the Thomists and even of the Scotists. He left Paris for Rome where he entered the *Curia*, and died after 1490: Renaudet, 83-89, &c; Imbart, II, 348, *sq*.

<sup>3</sup>) Gage; *BB*, G, 252, *sq*; *BN*; L. de Backer, *Les Flamands de France*: Ghent, 1850: 141, *sq*; Polain, II, 1531-39; Allen, I, 43, *pr*; Renaudet, 114-120, &c; Imbart, II, 349-59, &c; CeltE, 217; *WimpfLeb.*, 55, 69-72, &c.

<sup>4</sup>) FernE; Charles Fernand, born about 1450 in Bruges, was a poet and a musician; his brother John, five years younger, was blind, but famous as teacher; they entered convents about 1492, and worked there at religious humanistic literature: Renaudet, 119, *sq*, 133, 564, 696, &c; *BrugErVir.*, 23-24, 50; *FlandOHR*, I, 146-49, III, 201-2; *Busl.*, 131; Trit., 391-92; *CatSél.*, 97, 346.

<sup>5</sup>) Arnold de Bost, Bostius, of Vaernewyck (c 1540-April 4, 1499), was a Carmelite, poet and devotional writer, who resided at Ghent or Bruges, from where he corresponded with several great contemporaries, Gaguin, the Fernands, Abbot Trithem, Judocus von Beissel, Hermolaus Barbarus and Erasmus amongst them. Cp. BostE; Allen, I, 53, *pr*; Gage, *passim*; Budé, 20; Trit., 389; *GandErVir.*, 22; CeltE, 217-20, 245-48.

<sup>6</sup>) Imbart, II, 378; Budé, 19-20.

<sup>7</sup>) Josse Bade (1462-1535), of Assche, studied under the Brothers of Common Life at Ghent, and in Italy under Guarino the younger; he

seems as if in a large part the humanistic activity there, was as an overflow of that which characterized Louvain in the last years of the xv<sup>th</sup> century.

Indeed the lectures of the Italian professors continued there with strength and vigour, and spread an irresistible desire to get more intimately acquainted with the ancient literature and the works of the great erudites of the Renaissance. That desire explains the splendid activity of the printers, which coincides with the institution of the new literary course.

Judging from some entries in the Louvain town accounts from August 1, 1473 to July 30, 1475, a certain number of measures of beer were allowed free from taxes to John of Westphalia and his companions, who were preparing a printing office <sup>1)</sup>. It has been said and often repeated that they had come on the invitation of the University <sup>2)</sup>, and that rooms were placed at their disposal <sup>3)</sup>, — which is not substantiated otherwise than by the mention in their colophons that they printed *in alma et florentissima Universitate Lovaniensi*, which means nothing more than that they were exercising their art in that little independent Republic of general studies, as every university was then indeed <sup>4)</sup>. On the other hand, it is a fact that John of Westphalia <sup>5)</sup> had so little encouragement in his trade in Louvain in the first years

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printed at Lyons, and from 1499 at his *Prelum Ascensianum* in Paris : Trit., 393 ; BN ; Allen, I, 183, *pr* ; Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* : Paris, 1908.

<sup>1)</sup> E. van Even, in the *Bibliophile Belge*, I, 47, *sq.*, quoted in *HolMart.*, 25-26.

<sup>2)</sup> If they had been effectively members of the University, John of Westphalia 'cum sociis' were *ipso facto* exempt from taxes on beer and wine : VAnd., 15 ; FUL, 5357-62, 5381, 5389-92, 5432, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Lambinet, 211, 233, 238, 267-68 ; *HolMart.*, 25 ; *RamCons.*, 44-45.

<sup>4)</sup> To that special indication is even joined at times 'in domo magistri Johannis de Westphalia' : *RamCons.*, 45. The only connection which they had with the University was the immatriculation, which they shared with all students, and, besides, the official admission as *Librarius Universitatis* which they had to obtain if they sold books to the students : de Jongh, \*32-\*37. The title *Magister artis impressoriæ* does not seem to have any more sense than the description of a man's business, as *impressor* was not yet accepted generally in the first years that the *ars* was exercised.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HuMunst.*, 130, 131 ; his portrait used as printer's mark is reproduced in Lambinet, 216.

that he went and printed at Alost, whereas some of his companions, like John Veldener and Conrad of Westphalia, remained in the University town, where he hastened to return, probably when hearing of the schemed innovation, and where after a few years there were at work beside him Conrad Braem, Rudolph Loeffs of Driel, Herman of Nassau, Giles van der Heerstraeten and Louis of Ravescot. They published from 1477 to about 1493 an admirable amount of books of literature: not only Aristotle's *Secreta Secretorum*, and his *Ethica* translated by Leonardo Bruni Aretino, and Plato's *Axiochus* in Rudolph Agricola's rendering (1483)<sup>1</sup>, but Cicero's *Epistolæ Familiares*, *De Officiis*, *Paradoxa*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, some of them with Peter Marsus' commentaries. The list includes besides a *Vocabularius conflatus* and Perottus' *Rudimenta Grammaticæ*, a series of writings by St. Augustine: *De Trinitate*, *Consensus Evangelistarum*, *De Virtute Psalmorum*, *De Civitate Dei*, *De Salute*; and a fine choice of works by the great men of the Italian Renaissance: Petrarch's *Rerum Memorandarum Libri V* (Rod. Loeffs, c 1485: Polain, III, 3065); Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (van der Heerstraeten, 1487: Polain, I, 711); the *Epistolæ Familiares* of Leonardo Bruni Aretino (Loeffs, 1485: Polain, I, 914) and of Æneas Sylvius (Veldener, 1477; John of Westphalia, 1483: Polain, III, 3165, 3167); Lorenzo Valla's *De Vero Bono*, *De Libero Arbitrio*, *Apologia contra Poggium* (Loeffs & Nassau, 1483: Polain, IV, 3908); Francesco Filelfo's *Novum Epistolarium* (v. d. Heerstraeten, 1486: Polain, III, 3141); Gasparino de Barzizza's *Epistolæ*<sup>2</sup>; Poggio Bracciolini's *De Infelicitate Principum*<sup>3</sup>; Bartolomeo de' Sacchi Platina's *De Honesta Voluptate* (John of Westphalia, n. d.: Polain, III, 3182).

That survey of editions from 1477 to 1492, which is by far<sup>4</sup>) not complete, testifies, no doubt, to a wonderful efflorescence, considering that as late as April 30, 1476, John Veldener found fit to repeat an announcement made two years earlier, appealing to the Louvain population by the novelty of texts, which instead of being written by hand, one by one, and line

<sup>1</sup>) John of Westphalia, c 1483: Polain, III, 3192.

<sup>2</sup>) [John of Westphalia:] n. d.: Polain, I, 542.

<sup>3</sup>) [John of Paderborn:] n. d.: Polain, III, 3229.

<sup>4</sup>) It is only based on M. L. Polain's *Catalogue* of 1932.



by line, are produced in a large number at once, *globo, sub placidis atramenti lituris, spreto calamo*, — which announcement his competitor, Conrad of Westphalia, most unfairly copied on December 1, 1476 <sup>1)</sup>. Those editions, as good as they are plentiful, provide an apodictic proof of the earnest interest taken in sound literary studies <sup>2)</sup>, which had made the lectures of *Poetica* a necessity, and was, in its turn, intensified by the example of a Lodovico Bruni, whose poems became as part of the international literature of those days <sup>3)</sup>. Yet, that fine result would only have been like a straw fire, a whim of fashion, if the men who were to form and model the generations of youths flocking to the University, had been left indifferent. True to the spirit of the *Alma Mater*, the teachers of language and literature, instead of continuing an easy tradition, grasped at truth in all its sincerity and completeness to communicate it with generosity and efficiency to their hearers, even though it implied the avowal of past errors. An admirable instance of that spirit was given by Nicolas Viruli who constituted himself guarantee for the regular teaching of Cornelio Vitelli <sup>4)</sup>, although that professor had to expose as barbarian the language and style taught so many years by his own father. Considered in that light Charles Viruli largely redeems the dishonour of the *Carolinæ Epistolæ*, since he

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 86-8; Campbell, 339-342; *ULDoc.*, iv, 171; Polain, III, 2593. — Rich collectors of manuscripts and their providers treated mechanically produced books with great contempt: the famous Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498), who with his dozens of copyists formed several of the famous libraries of Italy, says of that of Frederic, Duke of Urbino, that his books were ‘tutti iscritti a penna, e non v’è ignuno a stampa, che se ne sarebbe vergognato’. Still Francesco Filelfo wrote on July 25, 1470, to Nicodemo Tranchetino: ‘I have made up my mind to buy some of those codices they are now making without any trouble, and without the pen, but with certain so-called types, and which seem to be the work of a skilled and exact scribe.’ — Less than four years later Veldener made the Louvain erudites and scholars attentive to the new art. Cp. Symonds, 94-99, 304-306, 370, sq; Sandys, II, 96.

<sup>2)</sup> Publications like that of *De Duobus Amantibus Eurialo et Lucretia*, by John of Paderborn and Th. Martens, at Alost, 1473 (Iseghem, 180; Gand, 34-35; Polain, III, 3158), which may appeal to other kinds of interest than the intellectual, have been omitted on purpose.

<sup>3)</sup> They were published along with their own works by the best of the Italian literators, like Hermolaus Barbarus: cp. before, pp 164-65.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 170.

could infuse the self-sacrificing love of truth, — still unknown to him, — not only into his son, but in all the inmates of his Pedagogy : the staff of that institute — for the others all information is lacking — set to work at the Herculean task to innovate language teaching <sup>1)</sup> ; whereas the students, no doubt, under the lead of their masters, gave a fresh impulse to their activity in practising elocution and oration, so as to realize Eloquence. They even arranged a solemn act on February 23, feast of St. Peter Damianus, 1481, when, in the great School of Arts, *clarissimis coram doctissimisque viris prelati nobilibus doctoribus aliisque compluribus*, two students of law, in *Lilio tutelares*, one a senior or *monitor*, the other a junior, held a *Declamatio* on study and college life, which afterwards was continued by two substitutes after the evening meal. The text was printed so as to form a pamphlet of 16 leaves, probably by John of Westphalia, in 1481 <sup>2)</sup>).

#### G. PALUDANUS AND HOCKEMA

Amongst the most striking examples of the complete revulsion caused in a pedagogue by the lecturing of Bruni and Vitelli, not one had as salutary results as that of John des Marais, *de Palude*, *Paludanus*, a native of Cassel. He taught Latin for several years in the Falcon, and was admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts in 1483. His work was highly appreciated, and when on June 25, 1490, Henry Deulin became professor of Canon Law and resigned the lecture of Eloquence <sup>3)</sup>, he was appointed as his successor to that lesson and, consequently, to a prebend in St. Peter's <sup>4)</sup>. Instead of going the trodden way of his predecessors he had availed himself since long of the advantage offered by the qualified men to whom the lecture of *Poetica* had been entrusted, with the result that he became one of the cleverest Latinists in the country. Far from keeping an abyss between the two public lessons of Latin, as had been done in the recent past, he brought up that of *Rhetorica* to the height of that of *Poetica*,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. paragraphs A-E of next section 6.

<sup>2)</sup> Polain, II, 1248 ; and further, sect. 6, D.

<sup>4)</sup> Vern., 125 ; VAnd., 247.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 128.

so that there did not seem to be any longer a necessity of keeping the two separate. They were ultimately united, — thanks to a move of Erasmus, whose intimate friendship was one of the chief glories of Paludanus.

When in September 1502 the pest drove Erasmus out of Paris, and frightened him away from Cologne, he came to Brabant for a short while, so at least he thought, as a last resource. He lost about that time the patronage of Lady Ann of Veere <sup>1)</sup>, and death took away his protectors Henry de Berghes <sup>2)</sup> and Francis de Busleyden <sup>3)</sup>, as well as his trusty friend James Batt <sup>4)</sup>. Destitute of all help and all means <sup>5)</sup>, he hoped to find in Louvain some young men wanting tutoring, so as to gain his living <sup>6)</sup>; but he hoped in vain. On the contrary he found here a most generous host in Paludanus, who installed him comfortably in St. Donatian's College, of which he was the President <sup>7)</sup>, and introduced him to the group of eager humanists at work in the Lily, most of whom became his patrons and his friends for life <sup>8)</sup>. Erasmus was moreover given ample occasion to study <sup>9)</sup>, encouraged if necessary by the example and genial company of Paludanus, whom he

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<sup>1)</sup> Ann of Borsselen, Lady of Veere, had married Louis Viscount Montfort by 1502, on which she ceased patronizing Erasmus: Allen, I, 80, *pr*.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus' first patron, Henry de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, who made him leave Stein, died October 7, 1502: Allen, I, 49, *pr*.

<sup>3)</sup> Francis de Busleyden, Archbishop of Besançon, from whom Erasmus expected much help, died on August 22, 1502: *Busl.*, 7, *sq*, 75; Allen, I, 157, 59, 178, 13-15.

<sup>4)</sup> James Batt, of Bergen-op-Zoom, born about 1464, after having taught in his native place, became tutor to Ann of Borsselen's son Adolphus; he helped, and often gave hospitality to, Erasmus at Tournehem: he died in the summer of 1502: Allen, I, 35, *pr*.

<sup>5)</sup> In his letter to William Herman of Gouda, of the last weeks of 1502, he enumerates his recent misfortunes: 'hoc anno magnifice sæviit in nos fortuna': Allen, I, 172, 1-2.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, I, 171, *pr*, 10, *sq*, 172, *pr*, 1-3, VI, p xxiv.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 15, 92, and further, pp 188, *sq*.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. further, section 6.

<sup>9)</sup> He applied himself most earnestly to the study of Greek with a view to investigate the original text of the New Testament, for which he found a precious help in the library of the Abbey of Parc, where there was a codex of the notes of comparative studies on the Vulgate and the Greek by Lorenzo Valla: cp. before, p 110; *Erasme*, 12-13; *EraLouv.*, 92-94; *EraVocht*, 56.

admired immensely for his thorough scholarship <sup>1)</sup> and his experience of life : he had spent some time at Court, to which Erasmus alluded when he dedicated to him his translation of *Luciani De Mercede Conductis* : Paludanus often referred to it, comparing it to a shipwreck from which he got saved <sup>2)</sup> ; still he kept some friends there, such as the Bishop of Cambrai, James of Croy <sup>3)</sup>, at whose death, at his request, Erasmus composed an epitaph <sup>4)</sup>.

Amongst the friends to whom he was introduced was his countryman Adrian of Utrecht, chief professor of Divinity and dean of St. Peter's, who in profound esteem for his ability considered Erasmus as the ideal professor of Latin language and Literature. As there had not yet been appointed a successor to Francesco de Crema, he lost no time to induce the town authorities to make to him the offer of that vacancy ; still it was not accepted, partly on account of the Humanist's dislike of any fixed appointment, but chiefly because he was convinced that the professorship was due to his friend the academic Rhetor <sup>5)</sup>.

The town authorities — or the professors of Law — far from acting on that suggestion, appointed, in February 1505,

<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus added a letter to his *Panægyricus ad Philippum Archiducem*, 1504, to Paludanus about the criticism passed by some on the first pages : Allen, I, 180 ; Iseghem, 114, 222 ; he often referred to him to clear some doubt, or to communicate his friendly greetings : Allen, II, 546, 5, v, 1347, 390, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> In the *Opuscula*, edited probably in Paris by the middle of 1506 : Allen, I, 197, 6-9.

<sup>3)</sup> He was the son of John of Croy, count of Chimay († 1473) and Mary of Lalaing ; he succeeded Henry de Berghes († October 7, 1502), and was created Duke of Cambrai by Maximilian of Austria ; he died at the castle of Dilbeek, August 15, 1516 : *BelgChron.*, 353 ; cp. p 51.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, II, 497.

<sup>5)</sup> In his letters to Nicolas Werner, September 1502, and to William Herman of Gouda, in the last months of 1502, Erasmus proudly relates that to him *nec ambienti nec expectanti magistratus oppidi publice legendi munus obtulere, idque commendatione spontanea domini Adriani de Traiecto* ; and in the first he added one of the reasons of his declining : *quod tam prope absum ab Hollandicis linguis, quæ plurimum nocere norunt, nulli autem prodesse didicerunt* : he knew too little Dutch and Flemish and Frisian, which he did not want to learn as they are both useless and even harmful to a Latinist : Allen, I, 171, 10-15, 172, 9.

Baltasar Hockma, or Hockema <sup>1)</sup>, about whom hardly any information has been preserved, which implies that he failed rousing any attention either to the good or to the bad <sup>2)</sup>. He left in the summer of 1510, — probably at the close of the accounts, July 31. About that time Martin van Dorp <sup>3)</sup> was at the zenith of renown for his teaching of Latin in the Lily. In the year 1508 he had explained in his lessons Plautus' *Aulularia* with such thoroughness that he had it played publicly at Louvain Fair, September 3, 1508, by his students, the *Grex Lillianus*, in the Pedagogy, after he had enriched it with a *Prologus* and completed it by a *Tomus*, which, if less finely worded than that of the Italian professor Antony Urceo Codrus <sup>4)</sup>, is far better for being in keeping with the metre, the spirit and the characters of Plautus' work <sup>5)</sup>. Five months afterwards, on Shrove Tuesday, February 20, 1509, he produced Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, and before half a year elapsed it was followed up by a more Christian play, a *Dialogus* representing Hercules placed between Venus and Virtus, which also was acted in the Lily *coram doctissimorum corona* <sup>6)</sup>. A teacher like he was, whose example was imitated throughout the country by the most able of the *ludimagistri*, was sure to bring lustre to the lecture of *Poetica*: consequently

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<sup>1)</sup> In the account of 1503-1504, the lesson is mentioned for not having been given; in that of (Aug. 1) 1504-(July 31) 1505 is mentioned that *Hockma* had lectured six months: Vander voirscreuen lesse in poeterye te lesen die *Balthazar Hockma* leest die siaers daeraf in stypendien heeft, daeraf binnen desen jare betaelt mits sijn recepisse gedateert xx februarij anno xv C viue stilo Leod. als van vj maenden tijt die hij gedient heeft binnen den tijde van desen rekening vj livres (*LouvArch.*, II, 5129: 60, r, sq. — Items about the same payment occur in the accounts from 1505-6 to 1509-10. — *Anal.*, xxxix, 285.

<sup>2)</sup> Judging by the name, he may have been a Frisian, possibly trained by Rudolph Agricola, or having studied in Italy: nothing seems to be known of him, except his name.

<sup>3)</sup> He was a native of Naaldwijk, who matriculated in Louvain as a student of the Lily on December 4, 1501 (*Excerpts*, 93); having promoted Master of Arts, on which occasion he was classed the fifth (*ULPromRs.*, 67), he was entrusted with the teaching of Latin, and afterwards of philosophy in his Pedagogy: cp. *Cran.*, 24, a, b; *MonHL*, 63-408; *Busl.*, 412-20; and further, sect. 6, D.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 444, and sources quoted.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 329-331; Creizenach, I, 571-73, II, 55-56; *Busl.*, 444-45.

<sup>6)</sup> *MonHL*, 128-29, 307, 326-35, 402-3; *Busl.*, 441-49.

the town authorities offered him Hockema's succession, and even proposed much higher wages than had been paid up to then.

Unfortunately for that lecture, Dorp had started most successfully his studies of theology, the professors of which science, seconded by the more conservative members of the Faculty of Arts, did their utmost best to secure such a brilliant supporter for their views. They elected him member of the Academic Senate on February 28, 1510, and managed to make him take a decisive stand, by entrusting to him an oration to vindicate the traditional Aristotle against the attacks of Lorenzo Valla and other Italian humanists: the *Oratio* was held on December 3, 1510 <sup>1)</sup>, and constitutes one of the many veerings <sup>2)</sup> of the man about whom Erasmus said afterwards: *utinam haberet tantum constantie quantum ingenii* <sup>3)</sup>. As could be expected the offer of the town authorities, which is known especially by an allusion in a letter to Beatus Rhenanus of September 22, 1519 <sup>4)</sup>, was declined: yet that professorate might have developed him into a most influential leader of the New Movement, of which he had shown himself already an enthusiastic and successful adept <sup>5)</sup>.

On account of Dorp's refusal, which may have been made some time before Hockema actually left <sup>6)</sup>, the traditional opposition between the lectures of *Rhetorica* and *Poetica* was overlooked and John Paludanus was requested to fill the vacancy <sup>7)</sup>: he accepted, and started lecturing in the School

<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 129-135, 317-18; *Busl.*, 452-54.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Ingenium felix', Erasmus judged him in his *Ciceronians*, 'sed alienis judiciis quam suo duci maluit': *EOO*, I, 1013, F; cp. *MonHL*, 139-243.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cran.*, 140, 35; *MonHL*, 188, sq, 253-54.

<sup>4)</sup> <Literas bonas>, Dorp wrote 'Louanij multos annos docui, atque ita docui, ut publica professio mihi ne cogitanti quidem tale quicquam, fuerit annos abhinc decem ultro a magistratibus Louaniensibus oblata, neque sine iusto stipendio, certe aliquanto maiori quam unquam antea quisquam perceperit': *DorPaul*, 3; *RhenE*, 175; *MonHL*, 307.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 133.

<sup>6)</sup> Probably the offer was made in 1510 after July 31 when Hockema left, although he may have announced his intended leaving, so that the town authorities proposed the succession before.

<sup>7)</sup> The long delay in Paludanus' appointment, — which only happened in the beginning of November 1510, — seems to imply that the 'opposition' against a non-Italian as professor of *Poetica* was not easily overcome.

of Laws from the beginning of November 1510 <sup>1)</sup>; thus the two lessons, of which one was conceived as the corrective of the other, were given by one and the same man with great success : he was praised by his disciples Adrian Barlandus <sup>2)</sup> and Gerard Geldenhouwer <sup>3)</sup>, and his name became connected with two of the most famous writings of his days, the *Laus Stultitiæ*, through his old student Gerard Lister's dedication of his commentary <sup>4)</sup>; and the *Utopia*, which was sent into the world with a commendatory poem and a letter by him to Peter Gillis. That letter evokes the enthusiastic professor, exciting his listeners to study, to work and to the emulation of the great models <sup>5)</sup> : *Nos stupidos ac plusquam plumbeos : si ne tam vicinis quidem exemplis ad eam laudem capessendam expergefieri possumus αἰσχρόν σιωπᾶν inquit Aristoteles loquente Isocrate*. He particularly warns his auditors against the dangerous habits of our country : whereas other nations praise and imitate their eminent men, '*soli nobis sat beati videmur, si probe prospectum sit cuticulæ & arcæ ! Quin ipsi quoque excusso veterno ad hoc pulcherrimum certamen accingimur, in quo nec vinci turpe sit & vincere pulcherrimum*' <sup>6)</sup>.

Thus from November 1510, John Paludanus was entrusted with all the public Latin lectures of the Louvain *Academia*, which soon took the lead of all the Universities on this side the Alps, in so far that John Louis Vives, one of the famous Humanistic Trilogy, owes his formation and vast erudition to the Brabant *Alma Mater* <sup>7)</sup>. There was not any longer a reason to keep the double series of lectures : still Paludanus is mentioned in the yearly accounts of the town for the stipend due for the *Poetica*, at least as late as 1522 <sup>8)</sup>. At his death

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<sup>1)</sup> On April 3, 1511, he was paid 40 pounds by the town for reading (from the preceding November, five months) the lecture abandoned at the absence and leave of Hockema : *Analectes*, xxxix, 285-286.

<sup>2)</sup> VAnd., 247 ; *ULD*oc., i, 314-15.

<sup>3)</sup> *GeldColl.*, 73 ; Geldenhouwer dedicated to Paludanus his *Epistola de Triumphali Ingressu Philippi de Burgundia* : Louvain, Martens 1517 : *GeldColl.*, 218-22 ; Iseghem, 276.

<sup>4)</sup> Edition of Basle, John Froben [1515] : *BB*, E, 846, 1-3 ; *CatSél.*, 338, 528.

<sup>5)</sup> *MoreUt.*, 340-342.

<sup>6)</sup> *MoreUt.*, 341.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. further, section 6, a.

<sup>8)</sup> *Anal.*, xxxix, 286-293 ; *MonHL*, 307, sq.

on February 20, 1526 <sup>1</sup>), Adrian Barlandus was appointed his successor, already on the day following, as professor of Eloquence <sup>2</sup>), but no further mention is made of the lecture of *Poetica*, which had become utterly superfluous by the then most flourishing *Collegium Trilingue*.

## 6. — LATIN IN THE BEGINNING OF THE XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### A. RENOVATION OF METHODS

As their most remarkable result the lessons of *Poetica* brought about the putting into value again of literary texts, and the reducing of the teaching of grammar to its due proportions, adapting it to its right aim, namely, the better understanding, and the more perfect imitation of the great authors. Up to a good way in the Middle Ages, the works of the Golden Era of Rome were studied and explained in the schools with the help of grammar <sup>3</sup>), and thus Latin, which, from the first had been the language of the Western Church, had naturally assumed and digested the vast amount of religious concepts which the language of Cicero ignored, and assimilated them in all purity and regularity of form and expression. Thus were added to the treasure of literature and human culture many gems amongst the liturgical prayers, such as the *Exultet*, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and the *Dies Iræ*. Latin was also the natural and living language of the

<sup>1</sup>) VAnd., 247; ActArtVI, 311; AcArtExc., 67, 122 (Febr. 20, 1526: P. deceased); ActArtInd., 24-5 (P. moritur 1526); Paludanus' signature is found on ActArtV, 121, r, and 124, r, as he was acting as dean of the Faculty from Sept. 30, 1524 to February 1, 1525; he had done so before from June 1 to Sept. 19, 1519. Cp. Allen, I, 180, pr; Gran., xxxv, liii, 1, c, & c; LibNomI, 179, v, 182, v, 184, r; ExTest., 79; and further, Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup>) Gran., 1, c, 62, a. In his *Enarrationes in Primos quatuor libros Aeneidos* (Antwerp, 1529), f E 4 r, Barlandus writes, mentioning *de lactis virtute disputatio Phauorini apud Aulam Gellium* (: XII, i, referring to *Æneis*, IV, 367): *De re eadem iuuenis olim circiter .xx. natus, in Scholis audiui disserentem Ioannem Paludanum, virum mehercule magni iudicij & Latinarum literarum eximie peritum, cui Louanij, cum hominem exuisset, nos in Rhetoricæ publica professione successimus.* Cp. VAnd., 247.

<sup>3</sup>) Sandys, I, 629, sq.



growing and multiplying Universities, where men of all ranks and of all nations congregated : it shaped itself there into the stately exposition of the professors, as well as into the sprightly, roguish and lilting songs of the *Vagantes* <sup>1)</sup>).

As the number of students largely increased year by year and the authentic texts of authors thus grew proportionally scarcer, they were replaced by extracts and *florilegia*, which, in their turn, gave way to practical encyclopaedic compilations <sup>2)</sup>, composed without the least concern in the regularity and beauty of expression, through which the knowledge of the pure and literary Latin became rarer and rarer. Yet as Latin was used to communicate all thoughts and refer to all actions of daily life, it necessarily felt the influence of the native idioms of the various scholars and pupils. At that time, moreover, the rapidly increasing development of the study of philosophy introduced new words for concepts, which grew and multiplied as the analysis of the ideas was made more and more infinitesimal, and dialectics required new special terms for each element of the nicest distinctions. The thorough knowledge of the literary language used to be a beneficent safeguard : if with Seneca <sup>3)</sup>, one might complain that one could not translate τὸ ὅν except by *quod est*, one knew from Quintilian how the word *ens* could be adapted to that use, and how terms like *essentia*, *essentialitas* and *essentialiter* could be built <sup>4)</sup>. That was before the study of the authors was abandoned, and before the textbooks used in teaching were made up chiefly of quotations from the Vulgate and from authors of very dubious Latinity. Consequently, the new words and wordings introduced in the exposition of the various parts of philosophy, as well as the language used, showed empirism and linguistic anarchy, which were readily excused by a series of slogans : from the singular adaptation

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. M. Manutius, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* : Munich, 1913 ; K. Breul, *The Cambridge Songs* : Cambridge, 1915 ; A. Hilka & O. Schumann, *Carmina Burana, mit Benützung der Vorarbeiten Wilh. Meyers* : Heidelberg, 1930-1941.

<sup>2)</sup> E. g., Isidore of Seville's *Origines*, Vincent of Beauvais' *Specula* and Bartholomew Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* : Sandys, I, 456, sq, 664, sq ; HutOS, II, 367, 371-2, 376-7, 411-12.

<sup>3)</sup> *Epist.*, VI, 58, 7 ; Sandys, I, 669.

<sup>4)</sup> *Orat. Instit.*, VIII, 3, 33.

of Psalm LXX, 15-16 : *Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam introibo in potentias Domini*<sup>1)</sup>, attributed to Isidore of Seville, to the adage which, nine centuries later, John Dullaert, of Ghent, repeated to his students in Paris : *Quanto eris melior Grammaticus, tanto pejor Dialecticus et Theologus*<sup>2)</sup>.

That very Grammar might have saved, after all, the purity and regularity of the language if real classic texts had not been abandoned ; but Donatus necessarily had to be adapted<sup>3)</sup> to the extracts and quotations from the Vulgate and from some post-classic authors which made up the only textbooks that then were used<sup>4)</sup>. It gave rise to the famous *Doctrinale* by a native of Normandy, Alexander of Villedieu († c 1240)<sup>5)</sup>, which, in hexameters, represented the language as it had formed itself at the Universities in the beginning of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century. Its lexicography, its rules of versification, and its history of words and wordings, being largely based on the texts of the only handbooks that were known, differ from those of classic Latin. Its syntax, being grounded on logic, is sound ; as, however, the rules are simply juxtaposed, it does not help to discriminate the important facts from such as are hardly ever met with except in grammars. Moreover the verses are so cramped and contorted that a commentary is indispensable ; it necessitated glosses which turned *grammar* into a *meta-grammar*, into a new field for speculative science, and even

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<sup>1)</sup> The Hebrew text separates the two sentences, and gives a quite different sense. Cp. J. K. Zenner & H. Wiesmann, *Die Psalmen nach dem Urtext* : Münster i. W., 1906 : 174.

<sup>2)</sup> J. L. Vives, *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, II : VOO, VI, 86 ; *Viv-Vita*, 25-26 ; Thomas More, in his *Apologia pro Moria Erasmi*, rightly discusses the meaning of *Grammaticus* compared with *Dialecticus* and *Theologus* : *MoreLuc.*, 371-79.

<sup>3)</sup> Specht, 88-89.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 80-83 ; Sandys, I, 554, sq, 666-670 ; MurmO, v, xv-xvi ; and, especially for quotations from the Bible, Berger, 17-28.

<sup>5)</sup> It was begun for the nephew of the Bishop of Dol whom he tutored, and the metrical form was devised to help the memory : *Auxilioque metri levius poterit retineri* ; unfortunately it counts 2645 lines. When the boy recited to the Bishop the few verses composed at first, the preceptor was requested to complete the whole grammar. It became so popular that it still exists in 250 manuscript copies (1259-1526) and about 300 editions (1470-1588) : cp. Reichling ; *CatSél.*, 4 ; Polain, I, 120-31 ; Sandys, I, 607, 667, sq ; Paulssen, I, 47-50 ; HutOS, II, 297-300 ; MurmO, v, vi-xii ; *WimPäd.*, 137 ; Delprat, 154-55.

matter for dialectic debates, instead of a means to acquire a practical knowledge of Latin. It became as the bane of school-life as it kept some youths for years and years at trying to learn the endless verses by heart <sup>1)</sup>, and to assimilate the quibbling comments, of which the best, like those of Synthen and Hegius, seem a sad waste of time and efforts <sup>2)</sup>.

It was the miserable state of the Latin resulting from all those depraving circumstances, which struck Petrarch when, at the removal of the Papal Curia to Avignon, he came into contact with the schools and Universities of France <sup>3)</sup>; it made him into the Father of the Renaissance, namely the re-birth, in a certain way, of the language of Rome, not only in its former purity and old splendour, but also in its ever-young vitality, for he wanted to adapt it to the needs of modern life and thought. It was the lecture of *Poetica* which revealed to the conscientious listeners the degenerated state of the instruction that was then given to boys <sup>4)</sup>, even when

<sup>1)</sup> Wimpfeling recommending his own method declares : sicque haud necesse erit, duo lustra in declinationum duntaxat studio consummare : Zarncke, 352, quoting a similar statement by Luther in his address : *An die Ratsherren aller Städte Deutsches Lands*, 1524 (Grisar, III, 940). In his *De Ratione Studii*, the Louvain Rhetor Adrian Barlandus advises his friend William Zagarus, of Zierikzee, not to keep boys too long in his school, as is often done for the sake of the *lucellum* : Quo quibusdam hodie ludimagistris nihil est antiquius : vt qui huius gratia solius complures annos iuuenes natu etiam grandes apud se detinent ad nominum & verborum declinationes, puerilia meditamenta consenescentes : BarlHist., 281. Cp. *WimpPäd.*, 88.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 80-82 ; Polain, I, 129-30, III, 3645-50 ; *CatSél.*, 4 ; Zarncke, 346-355 ; *ErAge*, 41-42 ; MurmO, v, x-xi ; *MünstSchule*, 16-18 ; Woodward, 148.

<sup>3)</sup> *SanHarLec.*, 9, sq ; Sandys, II, 4, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> In his dedicatory letter of *Elegantiarum Medulla* (1493) to Thierry Gresemund, his patron (Matz, 25-6 ; *CatSél.*, 88, 372), Wimpfeling highly praises his father for having sent him to study in Italy, although being a German ; he compares some of the advantages of the teaching there with the slow, inefficient and time-taking methods of their own schoolmasters, whom he charges with ruining their nation as they try ' tantum fructum litterarum humanitatis a Germania delere, iuuentutem inficere, tempus perdere, nobilissima puerorum ingenia fame perire, optimas litteras cassare, antiquam barbariem propagare '. Even allowing for the explosiveness of Wimpfeling's character, the accusation is grave, and gives an idea of the desperate state of studies at that time : *CatSél.*, 566-68 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 73, sq ; Zarncke, 353-354 ; Geiler, 455-459.

it was not made inhuman by the tyrannical and cruel methods of some masters <sup>1)</sup>).

## B. THE WORK DONE IN THE LILY

The teaching of Bruni and Vitelli had caused a complete revulsion in the pedagogic and linguistic opinions of those who were the leading masters of language and literature, namely the group of readers at work in the Lily, the by far most prosperous of the Pedagogies. They fully understood the indispensability of a reform, and by an unerring judgment they decided on the teaching of grammar as the only means that had any chance of success : it was comparatively easy to introduce gradually literary texts ; but as up to then the larger part of the instruction had been based on the *Doctrinale*, it was there that lay the chief, the apparently unsurmountable, difficulty. It was of course possible to imitate <sup>2)</sup>, or simply to

<sup>1)</sup> The use and abuse of bodily punishment as a means to further the intellectual perception of boys, is suggestively evoked by the call *exuimini*, which, according to Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli*, of the tenth century, had a terrifying meaning for the boys, and by the title which Ratherius of Verona († 974) gave to his abridged grammar : *Spara* (or *Parce*) *Dorsum* : Specht, 202-215. That the method had not died out by 1500, is abundantly implied by John Butzbach's personal experience : Butzbach, 10-14 ; and by the satirical sketch of the *Laus Stultitiæ*, describing the *Grammatici* in their *φροντιστηρίοις*, vel *pistrinis* potius ac *carnificinis*... *dum ferulis, virgis lorisque conscindunt miseros* : EOO, IV, 457, B ; cp. Paulsen, I, 24-26.

<sup>2)</sup> That was done, e. g., by Matthew Herben *Bethasius, Trajectensis, Rector Scholarum* of St. Servatius, Maastricht, who made a *De Constructione Substantivorum* with the help of the grammar by Guarino of Verona (1374-1460 : *CatSél.*, 88-89), and that of 1468 by Niccolò Perotti (1430-1480 : Sandys, II, 50, 71) ; his book of 24 leaves, printed without name or date, is ascribed to Richard Pafraet, Deventer, about 1500 : Campbell, 495 ; Polain, II, 1881. Herben was a *poeta laureatus*, probably trained in Spanheim Abbey, where he wrote verses for Peter Dorlandus' *Viola Animæ* (Cologne, H. Quentell, May 29, 1499 : *CatSél.*, 69 ; Polain, II, 1349), for John Oudwater, *Palæonydorus Batavus*' *De Principio et Processu ordinis Carmelitici* (Mayence, P. de Friedberg, 1497 : Polain, III, 2961, with a letter to Gotfried Candelarius, prior of Aix), for John Trithemius' *Catalogus Virorum illustrorum Germaniæ* (Mayence, P. de Friedberg, August 1495 : Polain, IV, 3807, with a letter to Judocus von Beyssel, August 14, 1495), and *De Duodecim Exciidiis Observantiæ Regularis* (Mayence, P. de Friedberg, Aug.-Sept. 1496 : Polain, IV, 3817, with a letter dated Spanheim, Aug. 24, 1496, to John of Diest, prior of St. James's Benedictine Convent, Liège).

introduce an Italian manual, such as the small grammar by Ognibene da Lonigo, *Lonicenus* <sup>1)</sup>, which was masterly enlarged by Niccolò Perotti in 1468 into the *Rudimenta Grammatices* <sup>2)</sup>, the first modern Grammar; or Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* <sup>3)</sup>, corrected and, in a way, completed by John Sulpitius Verulanus <sup>4)</sup>, Antonio Mancinelli <sup>5)</sup>, and by others. Efforts were even made at that time to simplify Grammar by Robert Gaguin <sup>6)</sup> and William Tardif <sup>7)</sup> in France, by Henry Bebel <sup>8)</sup> in Germany, and several more <sup>9)</sup>. Still those manuals based on classic Latin, besides rousing for certain some resistance amongst the teachers, would necessarily cause the loss and rejection of so many words introduced into the language, which had become indispensable to science and study, and even to social life.

On the other hand the readers of the Lily were sure that under the amount of useless, injudicious, and often incorrect

<sup>1)</sup> Sandys, II, 54 : he was an able teacher at Vicenza.

<sup>2)</sup> Niccolò Perotti (1430-1480) : Sandys, II, 71 ; *CatSél.*, 133-34.

<sup>3)</sup> Lorenzo della Valle (1407-1457) : Sandys, II, 66-70 : the *Elegantiae*, issued first at Venice in 1471, had been reprinted 59 times in 1536 ; cp. Allen, I, 20, 102, 23, 106, 24, 26-37.

<sup>4)</sup> John Sulpizio da Veroli wrote a *De Componendis et Ornandis Epistolis* (n. d.) and a *Commentarius in Quintilianum* : Rome, 1487 (*CatSél.*, 162); also a *Brevis Emendatio de Quantitate Syllabarum* added to the *Vocabularius* of Dionysius Nestor, printed at Venice, by Phil. Pinzi, in 1496 : Polain, I, 446. He further edited the *Scriptores Rei Militaris* : Rome, 1487 : Polain, III, 3476-77, and wrote poems : *CatSél.*, 111-12, 430 ; HutOS, II, 481-82.

<sup>5)</sup> Antonio Mancinelli (cp. before, p 172) wrote *Laurentii Vallensis Lima*, dedicated to Nicolas Rubeus, canon at Venice, January 31, 1492, added to the *Elegantiae*, Venice, Ph. Pinzi, 1493, and other editions : Polain, IV, 3904, 3906-7 ; *CatSél.*, 56, 179, 307, 555 ; Tiraboschi, III, 249.

<sup>6)</sup> Robert Gaguin (cp. before, p. 180), professor of Rhetoric in the Convent of the Mathurins, published about 1473 his *De Arte Metrificandi*, which was corrected a few years later as *Ars Versificatoria* (n. d.) : BB, G, 252, sq, 257, sq. Cp. *CatSél.*, 80, 81, 351 ; Opmeer, I, 438, a ; Lomeier, 393.

<sup>7)</sup> William Tardif, born at Puy in 1440, taught Rhetoric in Paris, and published *Rhetorice Artis... Compendium*, and *De Basi Grammaticæ*, both without printer's name or date : Jerome Balbi caused no end of trouble to him in 1485 (cp. before, p 170) : *CatSél.*, 163 ; Renaudet, 115-16, 122, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Henry Bebel (1472-1518) : cp. before, pp 95-96 ; Trit., 459 ; *CatSél.*, 30-32, 237-38 ; Sandys, II, 261 ; HutOS, II, 306-7 ; Rupprich, 37-39 ; Matz, 32.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. BB, D, 247, 2.

prescriptions, distinctions and arguments of the *Doctrinale*, there lay the sound, genuine rules of the language : if they could be lifted out of the entanglement, and proposed clearly and simply, that language would be taught in all its purity ; grammar, moreover, would again become a help towards the right understanding of texts and towards the building up of judicious compositions ; and, above all, the masters in the various schools would at once recognize the secular manual, but rendered clear, easy and efficient. That transformation of the old *Doctrinale* into a new practical and reliable handbook was an Herculean labour. It was not sufficient to cross off lines and passages at will : each change had to be based on a conscientious comparison of the *Doctrinale* with the actual language, as known from authentic texts, the only way that could indicate what was to be kept, or what had to be eliminated. The staff of the Lily, to be true, could not rely on an intimate knowledge of their own, such as natives only acquire after a most careful and severe training ; still they decided on starting the work, not as a personal, individual venture, which would want far more than a lifetime ; but as a joint undertaking. Maybe they knew of the splendid example given by the master of that 'Pearl of Alsatia', Schlettstadt School <sup>1)</sup>, Ludwig Dringenberg <sup>2)</sup>, who in his long career, from 1441 to 1477, had practically simplified the too abundant, injudicious complex of the rules of the *Doctrinale*, and created at least a critic spirit which he transmitted to the choice pupils he had trained : such as John Geiler von Kaisersberg <sup>3)</sup>, John of

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<sup>1)</sup> The old Schlettstadt Church- and Town-School, to which a new life was given by the generosity and the collection of books of the parish priest of St. George's, John of Westhausen, Westhusen, in 1442, and which was changed into a proper Latin Grammar School, had been entrusted in 1441 to Louis Dringenberg, who introduced an instruction quite different from that of the two existing convent schools : *CatSél.*, x.

<sup>2)</sup> Ludwig Dringenberg, who had been trained at Deventer and had studied at Heidelberg, brought the spirit of the Brothers of the Common Life to his school ; his pupils praise him especially for the judiciousness by which he gave to each element, as well of grammar as of instruction and education, its due proportion. He bequeathed his books to the School-Library at his death in 1477 : *WimPäd.*, 19-20 ; *CatSél.*, x, xi ; Rupprich, 16.

<sup>3)</sup> John Geiler, born on March 16, 1445 at Schaffhausen, lost his father in his early childhood and was educated by his great-grandfather near

Dalberg <sup>1)</sup>, James Wimpfeling <sup>2)</sup>, and, mediately, Beatus Rhenanus <sup>3)</sup>. Dringenberg's work was continued and completed by James Wimpfeling <sup>4)</sup>. Still that work of simplification,

Kaisersberg. He was trained at Schlettstadt, and studied from June 28, 1460 in Freiburg, where he became doctor of divinity in 1475; he taught theology there about 1476 : *MatriFreib.*, 7; but was from 1476 to his death, on March 10, 1510, preacher in Strassburg. He worked for a sound reform and was a great promoter of humanism, helping men like Sebastian Brant (1458-1521), the author of the *Narrenschiff*, 1494, to a high office in the great town : Trit., 382; Geiler; Schmidt, I, 335-457; ADB; Rupprich, 11; CeltE, 168, 618; *CatSél.*, 190, 346, 391, 570, 572; F. X. Zacher, *Geiler von Kaisersberg als Pädagog* : Burchhausen, 1913-14; K. Fischer, *Verhältnis Zweiter Lateinischer Texte Geilers v. K. zu ihren... Deutschen Bearbeitungen* : Metz, 1908.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 151, 153; Matz, 4-40; *Questenberg*, 8-9, 25-35, 43, sq; Polain, I, 681, III, 2486, IV, 3820.

<sup>2)</sup> James Wimpfeling, born at Schlettstadt, July 25, 1450, was trained by Dringenberg; he studied in Freiburg from Oct. 31, 1464 to 1469 : *MatriFreib.*, 29; then in Erfurt, and from Dec. 2, 1469 in Heidelberg, where he promoted Master of Arts, and lectured. He was preacher in the Dome-church of Spire from 1486 to 1498; from 1498 to 1515 he tutored or lectured on literature and pedagogy in Basle, Heidelberg, and Freiburg, so as to gain an experience in pedagogy that was unequalled in his time. He wrote poetry and a drama, *Stylpho*, 1480 : Bahlmann, II, 7-9, educational, controversial and historical treatises, as well as works and tracts on reform, keeping in intimate connection with John Geiler and Sebastian Brant. He retired to rest at Schlettstadt in 1515, but was the animator of more than one literary society until his death, November 17, 1528. His sister's son, James Spiegel, afterwards imperial secretary, published an autobiography, *Expurgatio contra Detractores* : Vienna, 1514. Cp. *WimpfLeb.*; *WimpPäd.*; ADB; Trit., 387; Schmidt, I, 1-188, II, 317-40; HutOS, II, 503-8; CeltE, 168, sq, &c; Allen, I, 224, pr; Matz, 29; Rupprich, 12-13; *CatSél.*, 32, 41, 90, 94, 113, 156, 182-190, 566-578, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. V.

<sup>4)</sup> Wimpfeling wrote *Elegantiarum Medulla*, 1493 (Geiler, 458-59; *CatSél.*, 182), and later on, *Isidoneus Germanicus*, 1497 (*CatSél.*, 184, sq), dedicated to George of Gemmingen, Provost of Spire. In that guide for the youth of Germany, he criticizes the *Doctrinale* in the XVI<sup>th</sup> chapter : some parts he would not change, others he would either shorten, or leave out; as it is, the book is too entangled for schools, and there should be no philosophical or metaphysical comments : *WimpPäd.*, 46, 48, 96-111; Geiler, 455-461. Unfortunately Wimpfeling had no thorough knowledge of ancient authors; he relied on Lorenzo Valla, but had only Aulus Gellius and Nonius Marcellus to compare and collate with the *Doctrinale* : his mastery of the subject, consequently, is only superficial, which defect he shows in many of his writings. Moreover

grounded on good sense and judiciousness, depended too largely on the qualifications and the judgment of the individual. The staff of the Lily decided on a quite unobjectionable basis : namely, the systematic checking of every rule, every prescription of the *Doctrinale* by the comparison with the Latin classics, so as to eliminate whatever is not substantiated, and to stress the important rules : clearing up all doubtful prescriptions by a reciprocal collation of texts of various authors, and reducing to the rank of exceptions whatever shows to be of rare occurrence : saving all that proves good and sound, and correcting or cancelling merely after due consideration and only on the strength of the ascertained usage, custom and practice of the standard ancient Latin authors. Thus the happy *media via* was followed between the glosses of Synthen <sup>1)</sup> and of Alexander Hegius <sup>2)</sup>, on the one hand, and, on the other, the too ruthless severity exercised by Herman Torrentinus, head of Zwolle School <sup>3)</sup>, on the text of

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he advocated Christian authors for the sake of morality, which involved him in 1510 in one of his famous controversies, that against the humanist James Locher, *Philomusus* (1471-1528), translator of the *Narrenschiff*, 1497, about the use of pagan authors in schools : Schmidt, I, 147 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 74 ; *WimpPäd.*, 33-48, 107-11, 163 ; Geiler, 458.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 80-82 ; HutOS, II, 472-73, 514 ; the *Doctrinale* with his and Hegius' Commentary, '*Dicta Sinthii*', was often reprinted : *ErAge*, 41-42 ; *NijKron.*, I, 70, 2276-78 ; *BibBelg.*, 563 ; Polain, I, 129-30, III, 3650.

<sup>2)</sup> Alexander of Heek, near Horstmar, Westphalia, *Hegius*, born about 1433, was at the head of the school of Wesel from 1469, and of that of Emmerich from 1474. He was an able teacher and eager scholar, whom Agricola gave instruction and a hearty friendship. He took the direction of Deventer School in 1483, Erasmus' last year there, and formed many pupils, like James Faber, who published his writings, and Herman von den Busche, who dedicated to him his *Carmina*. He died on Dec. 27, 1498 : *HuNieWe.*, I, 7, 22, sq, 30-34, &c, II, 1-14, &c ; Allen, I, p 48, 36, ep. 23, 56 ; *AgriCorr.*, 303-315 ; *CeltE*, 90, 614 ; *MutE*, II ; *CatSél.*, 380 ; *NijKron.*, I, 1041-44, II, 2673, 3143.

<sup>3)</sup> Herman van Beek (van der Beke), *Torrentinus*, born at Zwolle, taught at Groningen, and afterwards was placed at the head of the School of Zwolle, where he came under Wessel's influence ; he wrote several small books, with texts from Virgil and Sabellicus, to be used in the classes ; at Wessel's suggestion he also emended and pruned the *Doctrinale* ; but the work which had the largest diffusion and the longest life is his *Elucidarius Poeticus*, of 1498, which explains proper and foreign (even Turkish) names used in poems ; it was still reprinted in 1787 (Utrecht). By 1508 his eyesight failed ; he was succeeded by



the first part of the *Doctrinale* <sup>1)</sup>), cutting away so many lines that the moderate many were alarmed, and that there was added to a later edition an *Apologia*, printed at the end of the commentary <sup>2)</sup>); after a few years the second part was published by his friend Kempo of Texel, *Thessaliensis*, who taught several years at Zwolle <sup>3)</sup>).

Like for many fine or beneficent things, — the opening of a rose, or the ripening of the wheat in the ear, — no noise was made when the great work of the adapting of the *Doctrinale* was being achieved in the Lily, and no meter accused proudly its progress. Only from occasional references the very agents are known. Amongst the first was John Maerschallck, of Racour, Raetshoven, who having promoted Master of Arts, started teaching in 1484 <sup>4)</sup>); he applied the simplifying of the metrical grammar in his lectures, and thus formed to that work choice students, like Leo Outers, of Hondschoote <sup>5)</sup>), who, becoming M. A. in 1485, started teaching himself. Other

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Gerard Listrius, and died about 1520 : *HuNieWe.*, II, 30, 38-40 ; Allen, v, 1362, 53 ; *HutOS*, II, 484-85 ; *CatSél.*, 550 ; *NijKron.*, I, 2050-67, &c, II, 3966-73, 4175, &c.

<sup>1)</sup> The oldest issue known dates from 1504 : it mentions two older ones, and describes the teaching of the (unemended) *Doctrinale* as similar to the shutting up of the boys in the Labyrinth with the Minotaurus : *WimPäd.*, 110 ; *BB*, D, 247, 2, 249, 3. Cp. *NijKron.*, I, 73, 75, 83, 85-87, 93-4, 96-8, II, 2280-92, 4112.

<sup>2)</sup> March 10, 1510 : it was addressed to his brother John, prior of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Haarlem : *NijKron.*, I, 86.

<sup>3)</sup> Kempo of Texel had studied and promoted in Paris, when, in 1505, he edited the Commentaries on the second part of the *Doctrinale*, issued by Henry Quentell in Cologne on July 1, 1505. He taught at Zwolle, where he had been first trained, and where, after directing for a few years from 1517, the Alkmaar School, he succeeded Gerard Listrius : Gelder, 109-113, 133-35. He wrote a *Carmen Scholare*, the first work printed at Alkmaar ; other books are enumerated in *NijKron.*, I, 87-95, II, 2282-91, 4110-11 (commented *Doctrinale* II, with several *Carmina*), 4152 (explanation of the *Hore diue Crucis*, Zwolle, 1516, by John Fernand, whom, with his brother, he had known and had had as master of literature in Paris). Allen, v, 1362, 53, VI, p xxii, mentions, besides, his *Carmina et Epigrammata* (Zwolle, P. van Os, c 1500), referring to some of his Paris masters.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *ULDoc.*, IV, 244 ; *ActArtV*, 13, v-103, r, 162, r ; *MonHL*, 127 ; in his books, de Spouter refers with gratitude to John of Raetshoven ; on May 7, 1511, he regrets having heard of his recent decease : *BB*, D, 214, 7, 294, 3-5.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 92-94, 96.

helpers in the great enterprise were John de Neve, also of Hondschoote <sup>1)</sup>, and Gerard Cannyf <sup>2)</sup>: they finished their study of the *Artes* in 1494, and, although beginning that of theology, could devote more time to the grammatical work, as they were entrusted with the teaching of Latin, whereas Outers had taken upon his shoulders the direction of the Pedagogy. Neve and Cannyf systematized the checking of the rules and prescriptions by means of the close collation with the text of the great authors. Two years later they acquired an eminent collaborator in John de Coster, Ceusters, *Custos*, of Brecht, who was classed the first when he promoted Master of Arts, on April 16, 1496 <sup>3)</sup>. He proved a very clever teacher, helping

<sup>1)</sup> John de Neve, *Nævius*, promoted M. A. on April 12, 1494, being classed the third; whilst studying theology, he taught languages, and from 1498 logic and physics in the Lily. He became virtually *Regens* of that Pedagogy in 1509, although he had some difficulties until he was left uncontested master on Aug. 26, 1517. Cp. *Cran.*, 26, a-f; *MélMoell.*, II, 82-86; *MonHL*, 125, sq, 179, sq, 354, 366-67; *Busl.*, 31, 164, &c; and before, pp 92-94, 96.

<sup>2)</sup> Gerard Cannyf, who died as Liège canon, was the first of those promoted M. A. in 1494: *ULPromRs.*, 63: there he is designed as: 'Gerardus de Meeuwen, Buscoducensis', which latter name is, no doubt, the one by which he is generally known, having been at the head of the Hertogenbosch Latin School for long years: the list of those *Promotions* is for certain not contemporary; it often describes the newly promoted *magister* by some striking detail of his after life (e. g., for John Nicolai de Palude: *ULPromRs.*, 61; *Mol.*, 698). He founded two scholarships in the Lily on May 14, 1543 (of which only the ghost subsists: *Tarlier*, 154-155): they were intended for relatives or natives of Bree, a village in the neighbourhood of Meuwen, whose parish priest had the right of collation with the one of the neighbouring Bocholt: it suggests an intimate connection of the founder with that region, which is nearly sixty kms. distant from Liège, and more than seventy from Hertogenbosch. When the act of foundation was passed, Gerard gave to his executors the choice of realizing it either in the Lily, Louvain, or in the *Bursa Laurentiana*, Cologne: that choice suggests that the 'Gerard de Mewen, cler. Leod. d.; art.', who matriculated in Cologne on Aug. 25, 1462: *Keussen*, I, 294, 30, was an uncle, who by his generosity allowed his nephew to be trained, and bound him in gratitude to the University where he himself had studied. Cp. before, p 96; *MonHL*, 126; *Cran.*, 288, c, d; *FUL*, 1226; *Mol.*, 632; *VAnd.*, 262; *ULDoc.*, IV, 244-45.

<sup>3)</sup> John Ceusters, or de Coster, matriculated on November 2, 1493: *Johannes de hoichstraten alias de brecht dictus custodis cameracensis dioces.*: *Excerpts*, 91; Brecht is about 10 kms S-W of Hoogstraeten; *ULPromRs.*, 64: *Joannes Custodis, vulgo Ceusters, Brechtanus*: it places him by mistake in the Pedagogy of the Castle.

his colleagues to form scholars like John Becker, of Borselen, who finished his philosophical training in 1498 <sup>1)</sup>, and like the most famous of the group, John de Spouter, *Despauterius*, of Ninove <sup>2)</sup>, who got his degree in 1501, being proclaimed the fourth of his year on April 29, and promoted 'birretatus' already on the following day <sup>3)</sup>.

### C. JOHN DE SPOUTER & GRAMMAR

The new co-operator, who started teaching without delay, thus had the benefit of a most careful training and of the experience which had been gained by several years of careful and conscientious work <sup>4)</sup>. In his writings he gratefully records his former masters, extolling John of Raetshoven, theologian and philosopher, for his precious lessons, and regretting his untimely decease in 1511 <sup>5)</sup>; also writing the eulogy of the eloquent and erudite John de Neve, a man whose subtle perspicacity and mature judgment was greatly admired by

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<sup>1)</sup> John Becker, of Borselen, promoted M. A. on December 4, 1498, and was classed the 23<sup>rd</sup> : *ActArtV*, 162, *r*; he had matriculated in 1495 as rich student, and remained as teacher in the Lily, being admitted to the Council of Arts on Dec. 22, 1502. He tutored Jerome de Busleyden's nephews, and was a close friend of Erasmus : cp. *Cran.*, 12, *e*; *MonHL*, 135-38; *Busl.*, 341-44, 353-55, 393-95, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> John de Spouter, or de Spouter, *Despauterius*, matriculated in Louvain on August 31, 1498, as inmate of the Lily : *Johannes despaultre de Niniuis pauper* : *Excerpts*, 92, — which makes it most improbable that his parents' portraits should adorn the town hall of his native place : *BB*, *v*, 214, 15.

<sup>3)</sup> 'Jo. de spouter de nineuis', he is marked for the 'birretatio' which took place in the Lily under the *legens* Thomas Pauli, of Biervliet (*ULDoc.*, *iv*, 245) 'in forma pauperis', — probably so as to allow him to start teaching without any delay : *ActArtV*, 175, *r* (B. A. on April 12, 1500), 183, *r*, 184, *r* (Promotion and Birretatio); and *ULPromRs.*, 66, where, as already stated, the Pedagogy is wrongly marked; *Cran.*, 288, *c*, *d*.

<sup>4)</sup> He first taught languages, but became *legens*, professor of philosophy, in which quality he presided the *actus determinantiæ* on March 3, 1502, and the *actus birretationis* on January 18 and May 8, 1503 : *ActArtV*, 192, *v*, 200, *r*, 206, *r*; on June 1, 1503, he was admitted to the Council of the Faculty : *ActArtV*, 206, *v*.

<sup>5)</sup> *BB*, *v*, 294, 3, 4 : letters of Dec. 23, 1510 and May 7, 1511, in *Ars Versificatoria*.

all who knew him<sup>1)</sup>), and whose linguistic and literary abilities were highly appreciated by Erasmus<sup>2)</sup>. De Spouter also speaks with great praise of Gerard Cannyf, Cannifius<sup>3)</sup>, who, however, soon left the Lily ; for the renown of the value of the teachers in that Pedagogy had spread throughout the country and most remunerative offices were offered to them : he had accepted the direction of the Latin School of Hertogenbosch, and already in 1503, he had a small handbook printed, explaining the structure of the parts of speech in order to correct the '*lingue barbariem*' which he had found, and teach '*recte ac eleganter loquendi formulam*'. That first fruit of his studies in the Lily was printed in Antwerp by G(ovaert) B(ack) in 1503<sup>4)</sup> as : *Compendium de regimine parcium oracionis / Gerardi canniffi Carmen heroicum ad lectores*, on the title page<sup>5)</sup> ; it has, on its reverse, *Prologus ad litterarie militiæ tirones placidos*, in which he explains most pompously his desire to be helpful by that handbook, published to answer the request of his pupils and of the Hertogenbosch bookseller Laurent Hayen. A few years later, probably about 1510, the same printer issued a second edition : *Partium orationis regimen summa diligentia emendatum*, and the author '*Gerard canniffus*' is styled *Scolasticorum in buscoducis præfectus*. Of that second issue only eight fragmentary leaves subsist, which allow to conclude that the text was enlarged and augmented<sup>6)</sup>. In October 1512, when de Spouter published his *Grammaticæ Prima Pars*, printed in Paris by Jud. Badius, he mentioned in his letter to Baudouin Braets, of Bergues, Aug. 16, 1512, amongst the examples of correcting

<sup>1)</sup> BB, v, 294, 3 (letter to John de Neve, Dec. 23, 1510, in *Ars Versificationis*).

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus admired his erudition and ability, and submitted to his correction and his care the printing of the *Catonis Præcepta*, which were dedicated to him on Aug. 1, 1514, with the other *Opuscula aliquot* (Louvain, Th. Martens, September 1514 : Iseghem, 254-55), an edition which was meant as a reader for a class of Latin in the Lily : Allen, II, 298, pr, 36-45.

<sup>3)</sup> Dedicatory letter of Aug. 16, 1512 to the *Grammaticæ Prima Pars* : BB, v, 247, 2, 249, 3.

<sup>4)</sup> NijKron., II, 2588 : the volume in-4° counts 40 leaves.

<sup>5)</sup> The poem, of seven lines, starts : *Accipe canniffi pubes monumenta laboris / Ut sint nota tibi lingue precepta latine...*

<sup>6)</sup> NijKron., II, 2589.

the *Doctrinale* <sup>1)</sup>), that by Cannyf : *Item præceptor meus litteratissimus Gerardus Cannifus eloquentissimus sacræ theologie baccalaureus nunc archididascalus Buscoducensis* <sup>2)</sup>).

To Cannyf's name is always coupled that of John Custos in de Spouter's gratitude <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt it was caused by the excellence of his teaching <sup>4)</sup>; perhaps also by the practical solution which he gave to his and his colleagues' researches : there seems to have been used in the Lily a *Grammatica Latina*, which was ascribed to him <sup>5)</sup>; it may have been

<sup>1)</sup> BB, D, 247, 2, 249, 3; Paquot, IX, 170-71.

<sup>2)</sup> Gerard Cannyf directed the Hertogenbosch School until he went to enjoy a canonry in St. Lambertus', Liège, which he had acquired, no doubt in consideration of the many years of devoted work amongst the youth of one of the four chief Brabant towns. By May 14, 1513, when he made a codicil to his will and founded the two scholarships already mentioned (before, p 200), he had been invested with the dignity of Vice-Dean of the Cathedral Chapter : cp. *Cran.*, 288, c, d; *MonHL*, 126; *BB*, D, 214, 7; *Busl.*, 31, 342.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *BB*, D, 214, 7, 247, 2, 249, 3.

<sup>4)</sup> John de Coster, Custos, Ceusters, passed the test of B. A. in April 1495, and being classed the first amongst the licenciates on April 16, 1496, he promoted M. A. on June 22, 1496. He started work as teacher, and afterwards as *legens*, and was admitted to the Council of the Faculty on August 31, 1498 : *ActArtV*, 126, v, 136, v, 139, v, 160, r. In *BibBelg.*, 488, and *ULDoc.*, IV, 31, Custos is mistakenly counted amongst the professors of the Castle, because his pupil de Spouter is wrongly marked as a student of that pedagogy : cp. before, p 200, n 3.

<sup>5)</sup> It is mentioned in *BibBelg.*, 488 (although no copies are known to exist : *Custos*, xxiii) as having served as basis to de Spouter's treatises, and as being distinct from the altering of the *Doctrinale*. It is said there also that it was still reprinted in octavo-size by Plantin after being emended by Martin Lipsius, no doubt to be used in the classes of St. Martin's Priory School (cp. before, pp 67-68). For certain de Coster had published before May 1510 a *Syntaxis succincta* to which Peter Gillis refers : cp. p 204. It may have been reprinted also at Deventer by James of Breda, on July 20, 1515, under the title *Secunda pars grammatices siue synthactica : mira quadam facilitate/ac breuitate quam plurima grammatices precepta complectens : non triuiali quidem illa barbarie corrupta/sed ex maximis latinæ lingue auctoribus/collecta* : *CatSél.*, 367; *NijKron.*, II, 3120, describing that quarto of 30 leaves, mentions that it offers much likeness, but also many differences with the *Syntaxis Brechtana* (of which no edition is known before 1515). Judging by the title, the Deventer book realizes the aim which the teachers of the Lily pursued : clearness and brevity, completeness and reliability, and especially, the being based on a comparison of the Latin authors. It seems quite acceptable that de Coster afterwards altered and, as he

printed for the account of the Faculty of Arts to be retailed to the students, such as the textbooks which 'Theodricus Martinj de Alusto' provided in 1509 and 1510<sup>1)</sup>: it would have been most irrational that the great work of the correcting of the *Doctrinale* should have been carried on for years, and not the least pamphlet should have been issued to help the students for whom it had been undertaken.

John de Coster did not stay long in the Pedagogy, as he appears to have been headmaster of Groningen School until he was entrusted with the direction of Our Lady School, in Antwerp, where he developed all his activity; he was hailed on his arrival by the group of humanists: Peter Gillis inscribed to him his edition of Poliziano's *Epistolæ Lepidissimæ*, May 4, 1510<sup>2)</sup>, and in the dedicatory letter of that class book, he greatly rejoices that the Antwerp youth had got him as preceptor; he dwells on the influence of the first instruction on a man's formation, and further states that Custos had arrived in Antwerp some time before May 1510, and that he then already had brought out '*Syntaxin quamdam... succinctam quidem, verum puerulis nimis quam conducibilem, quandoquidem nihil docet dediscendum*': most likely the *Grammatica* composed for the Lily<sup>3)</sup>, which he may have used at Groningen. At any rate Custos published in Antwerp in 1515, *In Etymologiam Collectaneus*<sup>4)</sup>, which was reprinted as *Etymologia*<sup>5)</sup>;

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mentions in the *Syntaxis Brechtana*, augmented an older manual, viz., that which he had made for the Lily and the other Pedagogies.

<sup>1)</sup> On July 28, 1509, and again on June 14, 1510 'Theodricus Martinj de Alusto' was entrusted with the printing of textbooks to be delivered to the Faculty of Arts: *ActArtV*, 280, v, 298, r, sq; he appeared several times before the Faculty to discuss the execution of those orders: there may have been much earlier ones passed to other printers, — such as the *Declamatio*, printed by John of Westphalia for the Lily in 1481: cp. before p 184; — and, after all, the Pedagogies could have handbooks issued for their exclusive use, of which neither record nor copies have survived. Cp. *Cran.*, 135, 14.

<sup>2)</sup> *CatSél.*, 497; *NijKron.*, I, 1745; Iseghem, 229.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 203.

<sup>4)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen van Hoochstraten, 1515 (*NijKron.*, II, 2733; *Custos*, xxxviii, sq): with 8 verses by Gualerandus Nevius, and a letter from Custos to Dorp: *Antuerpiæ, ex gymnasio nostro*, Nov. 5, 1512 (not reproduced in later issues).

<sup>5)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, Oct. 27, 1525: *NijKron.*, II, 2734; reprinted by Hillen in 1539: *NijKron.*, I, 668; *Custos*, xli, sq.

and probably in the same year the celebrated *Syntaxis Brechtana in metra sane quam facilia nuper coacta* appeared <sup>1)</sup>, with an *in artem metricam Introductorium*, which book was frequently reprinted <sup>2)</sup>. He worked there to the great satisfaction of a numerous group of humanists, who at that time swore by the device *Barbaros (ceu viperas) Explode*; he was helped by men like Nicolas Broeckhoven, of Hertogenbosch <sup>3)</sup>, and he probably formed Adrian Lucas <sup>4)</sup>, possibly even Judocus Huyghens, *Velareus*, of Verrebroek <sup>5)</sup>. By 1515 his health seems to have failed, for he left Antwerp and retired to his native place Brecht, where he started a smaller Latin School <sup>6)</sup>, and, according to the title of the edition of the *Etymologia*, Antwerp, Michel Hillen, 1539 <sup>7)</sup>, died as a *pious vir*, on October 20, 1525 <sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Antwerp, Michel Hillen, about 1515: NijKron., II, 2735, 2737; *Custos*, xlii-xlviii.

<sup>2)</sup> Deventer, Jac. de Breda, Febr. 1, 1516: NijKron., II, 2736; Antwerp, Michel Hillen, June 2, 1518, March 10, 1519, Sept. 6-20, 1519, May 31, 1521, 1528, Aug. 1531, and 1540: NijKron., II, 2738, I, 669, 670, II, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742; *Custos*, xlviii-lv; the editions of 1521 and 1540 have verses by Adrian Lucas, who in the latter year is styled *Ludimagister* of St. James's School in Antwerp: cp. *AntvDiercx*, III, 343-46, IV, 51.

<sup>3)</sup> He had been a student in the Lily, and for some time taught at Antwerp: cp. further, Ch. XI, and *AntvDiercx*, III, 342.

<sup>4)</sup> Antwerp *ludimagister*, entrusted with the direction of St. James's School, before 1540: cp. before, n 2, and Ch. XXII.

<sup>5)</sup> He was at least a mediate successor of John Custos: cp. Ch. IX; *AntvDiercx*, IV, 19.

<sup>6)</sup> That School is described with its students (some of them being girls), its rules and customs in *Custos*, xix-xxviii. Lists of pupils from May 1516, with accounts of their books, paper, and other expenses, noted down in a small book by the assistant master Hubert Vorsselmans, are also edited in *Custos*, 92-122.

<sup>7)</sup> *Custos*, xxxi, xliii; NijKron., I, 668: Io. Custodis Brechtani Etymologia, quam ipsemet avthor sub extremum suum iam diem, extrema apposita manu, diligentius castigavit, locupletavitque. Decessit autem hic pius vir. XX. die Octobris. Anno domini M. D. XXV.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. J. A. U. Ernalsteen, *De Humanist Joannes Custos Brechtanus*: Brecht, 1925 (= *Custos*); Mol., 601; *AcArtExc.*, 5, 190; *BibBelg.*, 488; *Gran.*, 288, c; *MonHL*, 126-27; Allen, II, 573, 14 (recommending an acquaintance of Erasmus, Cornelius Batt, to the Groningen authorities), III, p xxvi; BN. — Custos left a widow, Barbara's Hertogen, and several children: one, a son John, after being tutored by a priest at Herenthals, went to Louvain by the end of June 1532, and matriculated on February 27, 1533 amongst the rich students of the Porc: 'Joannes Custos de

Meanwhile the great disciple of those two grammarians John de Spouter continued his work of teaching and research in the Lily : with John de Neve and John van Raetshoven, his masters, and his colleague John Becker, he formed the excellent linguists Martin van Dorp <sup>1)</sup> and Josse Vroeye <sup>2)</sup>, who, in their turn, became instructors and *legentes* when their professors left the Pedagogy for a more lucrative situation. Conditions of life there, were satisfactory enough for those who, being appointed in the University, entered orders, as, through the Privilege of Nomination <sup>3)</sup>, they could secure some prebends, which helped them as long as they were in Louvain, and provided a good living for when they left. Those, however, who did not want to become priests, could not stand the chance of waiting for a vacancy that would allow them to meet the requirements of a growing family, especially in the Faculty of Arts, in which they were very rare. They therefore did not let any occasion pass that provided them with a better salary and with a safer outlook on the future. Those occasions must have been very tempting in the beginning of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, when in several towns expert *ludi-magistri* were required, such as those who were active in the Lily : the loss which the University thus suffered, was compensated in a way by the spreading of the right science and methods throughout the country, which could not but greatly improve the development of the culture for which she had been founded, and even send her tens and dozens of eager students in return for the one master she lost.

De Spouter also left the Lily : most probably he had gained such a renown by his teaching and his erudition that he was requested to tutor more young men than his lectures, scantily paid by the Pedagogy, allowed. He consequently left it, and took lodgings in the thinly populated Beghard College, the Louvain Convent of the Third Rule of St. Francis, in Castle

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Brecht' : *Custos*, xv, sq, xviii ; *LibIntIV*, 52 ; Gabriel van der Muyden, of Brecht, a nephew or cousin, was instructed by John de Coster and directed by him to Louvain, where he became one of the greatest jurists of the century : cp. Ch. IX ; *Custos*, xxiii.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, sect. 6, d.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, sect. 6, e.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. VAnd., 21, sq ; *ULPriv.*, 65, 73 ; *ULPrivCon.*, II, 117-592 ; *Cran.*, 141, pr ; *MarckConfl.*, 56, sq ; A. Ziegler, *Die Nominations- und Präsentationsrechte der Universität München* : Munich, 1829.



Street <sup>1)</sup>. He there could tutor and study at leisure, for he probably did not like lecturing on philosophy and preferred his Latin, and, occasionnally, a game of chess <sup>2)</sup> with some congenial friend like Francis de Cranevelt, of the Falcon, the future Mechlin councillor <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt de Spouter made there the acquaintance of the Laurents and the other friends who became his protectors and patrons, and, evidently, solicited him to write down his greatly admired, instructive lessons. He thus dated from his *cellula* in the convent on September 21, 1506, at least part of a small treatise on *Orthographia*, dedicated to Bartholomew Nicolas, '*bybliographo*', of Ypres; it was afterwards augmented and, if not printed at once, was issued with the *Ars Epistolica* on July 1, 1515 by Badius in Paris <sup>4)</sup>. He there formed the plan of working over again the whole *Doctrinale* to make it into a clear and concise, yet complete, handbook. By 1507 he had thus renewed the *Ars Versificatoria*, and submitted it to the great promoter of study and literature, George of Halewyn <sup>5)</sup> whose friendship and

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *ULDoc.*, v, 583, sq; *Mol.*, 294; *FUL*, 2464; *LouvEven*, 478.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, 288, 4, 154, 20-25, 155.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 11-12, and further, Ch. VII.

<sup>4)</sup> The *Isagoge Orthographiæ*, dedicated to the Ypres *bybliographus*, — probably a copyist, — '*Barptolomæus Nicolaus*', was added for the first time to the *Ars Epistolica*, printed by Badius in Paris on July 1, 1515: it extends from f 18, r to f 24, r of the quarto: *BB*, D, 338. Still there may have been an older and separate issue; it was reprinted by itself, a quarto of 8 pages, as *Orthographiæ Præcepta* — with the dating from his *cubiculum* in the Convent of St. Francis, Sept. 21, 1506, — by Michel Hillen, Antwerp, Sept. 1, 1521: *BB*, D, 350; *NijKron.*, II, 2766.

<sup>5)</sup> George of Halewyn, Halluin, *Haloïnus*, Lord of Comines, Rolleghem and Ronquette, Viscount of Nieuport, whose mother Jane de la Clyte, Lady of Comines († 1512), was a cousin to the famous historian Philip of Comines (Moeller, 12; Bruchet, 22, 25, 317), was connected with the Court, and sent on several embassies. He was greatly interested in literature and erudites: he wrote a *Restauratio Linguae Latinæ*, which on Oct. 24, 1508 was dedicated to de Spouter, although only an issue of Antwerp, 1533, is recorded (*NèveMém.*, 330; Foppens, I, 338; *TypMus.*, 13). He proved a protector to Dorp and Barlandus, to Remacle d'Ardenne and Josse Badius, who mention him and even inscribe their works or issues to him. He was several times Vives' host in his castle of Comines, where he had gathered, probably with de Spouter's help, a collection of books described in Guicc., 249. He died in September 1536, and was buried in the Church of Comines: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 220; *Cran.*, 56, d, and sources quoted; *Busl.*, 220, 441, 445; Bruchet, 165, 94, 126, 342.

protection he had gained about that time, and who had induced him to take the direction of the Latin School at Comines <sup>1)</sup>, of which he was the Lord. Indeed the *Prologus* and the *Tomus* of the *Aulularia*, which, in Sept. 1508, Martin van Dorp sent to his former master, were shown by him to Halewyn, who wrote to Dorp <sup>2)</sup> : *Quum superioribus diebus in solo meo natali Flandria, in oppido meo Cominiensi moram traherem, Despauteriumque Ludi Litterarii nostri magistrum convenirem... is mihi chartulam ostendit Martini cuiusdam Dorpii manibus scriptam, in qua Plautinæ Aululariæ prologum offendi...*

From Comines de Spouter was requested to take the direction of the Latin School of Bergues-St. Winock at most advantageous conditions, and from that town he signed on October 1, 1509, the dedicatory letter prefixed to his *Syntaxis* addressed to the *studiosæ cultioris literaturæ & Cominiensi & Bergensi apud diuum Guinnocum pubi*. The friends of the Lily brought their most hearty recommendations : Nicolas Broeckhoven, of Hertogenbosch, wrote a laudatory letter dated from the Pedagogy, March 27, 1509 ; Josse Vroeve, *Lætus*, contributed a *Carmen* of 14 lines beginning :

Scire palemonias quicunque fideliter artes  
and Martin van Dorp wrote a letter to the author on March 28, 1509 <sup>3)</sup>, expressing his joy at hearing that Halewyn approved of his *Prologus*, and added an *Epigramma Phaleucium* of 57 lines on the most welcome *Syntax* <sup>4)</sup> :

Heus tu bybliopola lucrio heus tu

Of the first edition, which probably dated from the last weeks of 1509, no copy remains, but a reprint was made at Strassburg in 1515 <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> The biographers of de Spouter (Coppens, II, 219; *BibBelg.*, 492; *BB*, D, 214, 8 ; &c) make him teach for some time before 1510 at the Hertogenbosch *Ludus*, under his former master Gerard Cannyf (cp. before pp 202-203) : still there does not seem to be any trace in his books or letters of a reference to a connection with that institute ; nor has any evidence to that effect been found by M. A. Nauwelaerts, author of an unpublished History of the Latin School and Teaching at Hertogenbosch up to 1629 (Louvain, 1946). <sup>2)</sup> NelisSyll., 87-88 ; *MonHL*, 354.

<sup>3)</sup> *MonHL*, 355-56. The *Syntaxis* is also praised, f 3 v, in a letter by Jodocus Ghisius, *Philomusus*, no doubt one of de Spouter's disciples.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 395.

<sup>5)</sup> *BB*, D, 267, 1-5 : it has on ff 118, v-119, r, the judgment on the Caroline Letters : cp. before, pp 96-98.

In the following year, 1510, de Spouter worked at the *Ars Versificatoria*, which he had shown three years before to Halewyn, and which he inscribed to that literary patron by a preface of December 14, 1510 : he gave in it a most interesting history of Latin and a fine exposition of the aim of the Renaissance grammarians. Each of the five parts of that treatise starts with a dedicatory letter : the first, Bergues, December 16, 1510, to John Laurentius, of Hazebroeck, a noble musician ; the second, Dec. 23, 1510, to his excellent master John de Neve ; the third, January 11, 1511, to his printer Josse Badius ; the fourth, May 1, 1511, to James Buenus and Eustachius Scotus, both of Hazebroeck and Pascasius Valcravius of Hondshoote, a priest and musician ; the fifth, of May 7, 1511, to his old pupil Martin van Dorp, Bachelor of Divinity, and James de Pape, *ludimagister* of Lille, mentioning some of the friends of the Lily and the recent decease of John Maerschallck <sup>1)</sup>. That treatise was published by Badius on November 23, 1511 <sup>2)</sup>. A few weeks before, de Spouter had made ready a *Rudimenta... iuuenum introductori[um]*, which on October 27, 1511, he dedicated to his students : it had a poem addressed to them by Herman Tulichus ; the original issue, which is lost, seems to have been reproduced in Leipzig in 1518 <sup>3)</sup>, whereas a second edition, that of Antwerp, by Adrian van Bergen, March 1515, dedicated on February 10, 1514, 'Joanni Vineano... peritissimo amico et compatri charissimo', shows some alterations in the text and brings a choice of prayers and religious exercises in Latin <sup>4)</sup> ; the title *Introductorium Juuenum in grammaticam* was often replaced by *Rudimenta* in later editions <sup>5)</sup>.

In the following year de Spouter published his *Grammaticæ*

<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 357-58.

<sup>2)</sup> *BB*, D, 294, 1-4 ; it was reprinted in Antwerp by Mich. Hillen in March 1530, and in 1538 : *NijKron.*, I, 704, II, 2772.

<sup>3)</sup> Leipzig, Valentine Schumann, 1518 (a quarto of 12 leaves) : *BB*, D, 216, 1-3.

<sup>4)</sup> A quarto of 14 leaves : *BB*, D, 214, 1-4 ; *NijKron.*, I, 701.

<sup>5)</sup> *Introductorium* &c : Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1516, and Aug. 16, 1520 ; *NijKron.*, II, 2764, 2765 ; *Rudimenta* : Antwerp, Will. Vorsterman, c 1520, Deventer, A. Pafraet, July 1521, and Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, March 1, 1568 : *NijKron.*, II, 2768, 2769 ; *CatSél.*, 307. — *CatHalle*, 128, records the edition of the *Rudimenta*, printed at Wittenberg by George Rhaw, in 1533 ; cp. *BB*, D, 230.

*Prima Pars*, printed by Badius in October 1512 <sup>1)</sup>, with a dedicatory letter to Baudouin Braets, a priest, doctor in canon law, of Bergues, in which he mentions those who, from Perotti to James Heinrichmann, had tried to help the study and the teaching of grammar, referring to his own masters Cannyf and Custos : he regrets that there is no uniformity, as each school has its own manual, and he therefore issues his completely altered text of part of the *Doctrinale*, which, as he states on the title, is *quadringentis versibus breuior prima parte Alexandri*, although complete, and provided with comments. His former work had been criticized by a detractor of Dixmude <sup>2)</sup> and by the *ludimagister* of Cassel, Stephen de Grave, *Comes*, of Bailleul <sup>3)</sup> : he consequently adds a letter dated from Bergues, September 17, 1512, to the Austin canon Giles Clavardus, of Vormezeele, and John Langemerck, of Plasschendaële, thanking them for having taken his defense.

<sup>1)</sup> Quarto, of 126 leaves : *BB*, D, 247, 1-5. — It was reprinted, e. g., in Antwerp, by Symon Cock and Ger. Nicolaus, on Febr. 28, 1525 : *NijKron.*, II, 2763 ; *BB*, D, 248-266, 407.

<sup>2)</sup> The Dixmude contradictor is not known, but there was one at Cambrai, Christian Masseeuw, *Massæus*, born at Warneton, May 13, 1469, who had been teaching at Ghent as Brother of the Common Life, until Bishop James of Croy made him come and work at Cambrai in 1509, where he died on Sept. 25, 1546. He wrote a *Grammatistice*, printed by Badius, which de Spouter criticized : Massæus replied in his *Ars Versificatoria* : Paquot, VI, 208-9 ; *FlandScript.*, 39-40 ; Torfs, II, 41, 368. — Peter van de[r] Brugge, *de Ponte*, or *Pontanus*, a native of Bruges, who, although blind, taught and wrote books in Paris, also attacked de Spouter, who had blamed him for mistaking the quantity of a word, in his *Grammaticæ Artis Isagoge* (Paris, D. Roscius, 1514) and in his *Liber Figurarum* (Paris, A. Gyrault, 1529) : Paquot, VI, 36-37. Cp. *CatHalle*, 136 : Nic. Nancel, Ἀποσγέδια in *Joan. Despauterii Quantitatem Syllabarum* : Paris, 1579 ; *BrugErVir.*, 68 ; *CatSél.*, 498-99.

<sup>3)</sup> Stephen de Grave, or le Comte, *Comes*, born at Belle, near Cassel, *Bellocassius*, taught at Cassel, and published at Ghent two libels attacking de Spouter ; probably in consideration of his services to the Abbot of the Downs Peter of Onderbergh, *Submontanus* (*FlandIll.*, II, 97), in the shape of orations about Maximilian's death to his daughter Margaret of Austria in 1519 ; also of a *Carmen* in honour of Charles V, 1520, he was appointed as secretary to St. Donatian's Chapter, which left him ample time to write a *Sylvula Carminum* about Flanders Saints, and witty epigrams on Mark Laurin, Vives and on himself : *BibBelg.*, 817 ; Paquot, I, 383 ; *Cran.*, 39, b, and sources quoted there ; *NijKron.*, I, 268, II, 2391.

In a revised reprint of his *Syntaxis* <sup>1)</sup>, in which the letter to his pupils is altered and addressed to Dorp, Broeckhoven and Vroeye, from Bergues, July 10, 1513 <sup>2)</sup>, he inserts two other letters to thank his friends for siding with him against his malevolent critics, one dated Bergues, August 9, 1513, to John Langemerck, the other dated from Comines, December 9, 1514, to John Laurentius. In 1513 de Spouter had issued an *Ars Epistolica*, taken largely from Erasmus' *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, dedicated to John Sauvage, bachelor of Canon law, of Wervicq, Bergues, 7 June 1513, printed by Badius on June 24, 1513 <sup>3)</sup>. In the next year he took leave from Bergues-St. Winock, probably before October, and settled at Comines, where he had a house built facing the Bridge. From there he dated a letter on November 7, 1514, to his detractor Stephen Comes, taken up in the edition of *Ars Versificatoria* by Badius, in February 1515, and reproduced in later issues, but without the name <sup>4)</sup>. In the peaceful little town on the Lys, near his protector George of Halewyn, venerated by all humanists <sup>5)</sup>, the great Grammarian could take some repose after his years of

<sup>1)</sup> Judging by Badius' letter to the Senate and the people of Bergues, Dec. 1, 1513, to state that a new edition of the *Syntaxis* was issued by him, although no copy is known. It was reprinted c 1516-17 by Claude Chevallon, in Paris : BB, D, 268, 1-3, and 268bis-293 ; also Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, Sept. 3, 1518, June 1528, 1538 ; Simon Cock, March 1535 : NijKron., I, 702, 703, II, 2770, 2771.

<sup>2)</sup> MonHL, 365.

<sup>3)</sup> BB, D, 337 ; it was often reprinted : 338-359 ; Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1529 and 1537 : NijKron., II, 2759, 2760.

<sup>4)</sup> BB, D, 297, 1-3.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *GandErVir.*, 45-46, for a book by George of Halewyn, inscribed to de Spouter. Dorp dedicated to him, as well as to John Leupe, of Audenarde, and James Pape, of Ypres, his edition of *Fabule of Æsopus and Avianus*, printed in Louvain by Th. Martens, Oct. 22, 1513 (MonHL, 361-364) and often reprinted with that dedication : NijKron., I, 27, 32, 34, 36, II, 2243, 2245-46, 4108. Barlandus inscribed to him his *Versuum ex Bucolicis Vergilii Prouerbialium Collectanea* : Louvain, Th. Martens, March 1514, by a letter dated the 15<sup>th</sup> of that month (Daxhelet, 252-54) ; it was also used for the second edition by the same printer, which was reproduced by Giles de Gourmont, Paris, 1516/17 : Daxhelet, 39-46 ; NijKron., I, 222, II, 2359. To the editions of Erasmus' *De Constructione Octo Partium Orationis Libellus*, by Will. Vorsterman, Nov. 1525, Mich. Hillen, Febr. 1531 and 1538, and the Widow of Mart. de Keyser, 1536, some passages were added from de Spouter's writings : NijKron., I, 801, II, 2903, 2905-6.

relentless labour. Still at Badius' request, he wrote a treatise *De Figuris*, dedicated *E musæo nostro Cominiensi*, February 2, 1519, to John Molinus, Canon of Tournai, printed at the *Prelum Ascensianum* on May 7, 1519<sup>1</sup>). Unfortunately he did not enjoy very long his quiet retreat, for he died in 1520, and was buried in St. Peter's under a monument which was destroyed in the fire of 1584. It has been replaced by an epitaph referring to a bodily defect, with which Stephen Comes had unfairly reproached him :

Hic iacet unoculus, visu præstantior Argo,  
Flandrica quem Ninive protulit, ac caruit<sup>2</sup>).

Different from some of the other humanists, de Spouter shared the sound idea that there were many good elements in the *Doctrinale*<sup>3</sup>), which it would be senseless to despise ; he therefore kept what could be kept, and excused Alexander's mistakes and shortcomings as being due to the time and the conditions that were prevailing. His deleting and his altering are most judicious : his fit clearness, his precision and his completeness, unequalled. He added explanations and examples, quoting even Flemish parallel expressions, or equivalent terms and wordings, which greatly facilitate the sometimes abstruse rules. His *Rudimenta* are most felicitously chosen to introduce the young minds to the foreign language. The teaching of the grammar itself is based on the sound principle : *Grammatici sermonis latini custodes sunt, non authores*<sup>4</sup>) ; they are judges, though, of what is pure and good Latin, and

<sup>1</sup>) BB, D, 320, 1-3, reproduced 321-336 ; also Ghent, Peter de Keysere, 1520, Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, April 1521 : NijKron., II, 2761, 2762 ; Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, July 1568 : CatSél., 307.

<sup>2</sup>) BB, D, 214, 8-9. Cp. Trit., 466 ; BibBelg., 492 ; Mol., 602 ; FlandScript., 93 ; Cran., 288, c, d ; Busl., 31, 342 ; BB, D, 214, 4-15 ; SaxOnom., 39 ; Sandys, II, 212 ; Dolet, 259 (calling him *Cocles Ninivita*). — On August 28, 1533, a 'lambertus despautere de Armenteria' matriculated in Louvain as *dives liliensis* : LibIntIV, 59.

<sup>3</sup>) At the request of the Antwerp printers Adrian van Bergen and Michael Hillen, de Spouter composed some *Annotationes* on Alexander *Theopagita* (viz., de Villa Dei) and Herman Torrentinus, which were inscribed to William de Zagere, *ludimagister* of Zierikzee : they were printed with the editions of the *Doctrinale* by Torrentinus : Deventer, Alb. Pafraet, 1520, Aug. 1521, Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1524, Will. Vorsterman, 1535 : NijKron., I, 98, II, 2289, 2290, 2292.

<sup>4</sup>) Seneca, *Epist.* 95, 65.

what is not ; an essential quality of a good grammarian is, he says, a thorough knowledge of all the classic authors. Of that quality, which makes good grammarians as rare as good poets, de Spouter gave a magnificent example ; in answer to the objection that he proposed as only models the writings of Rome's golden period, and waived the less perfectly worded Vulgate and the Christian authors, although *sanctos viros imitandos*, he made the distinction : ' si de vita loqueris, concedo ; si de sermone, abnuo, quia memoriæ mandatum est hoc distichon :

Grammaticæ leges plerunque Ecclesia spreuit :

Tu vivendo bonos, scribendo sequere peritos ' <sup>1)</sup>).

The excellence of de Spouter's manuals was recognized at once throughout Western Europe : his books were reprinted as soon as they were published ; in December 1529 a general edition, with some unprinted matter, was brought out in Antwerp <sup>2)</sup> by the care of the famous pedagogue of Boeschepe, Livinus Crucius <sup>3)</sup>. They were abbreviated or adapted to the particular conditions and necessities by John Pellisson de Conchieu <sup>4)</sup>, Joan. Enerveldis Monhemius <sup>5)</sup>, Sebastian Novimola, of Duisburg <sup>6)</sup>, Simon Verepæus, and others <sup>7)</sup>, in so

<sup>1)</sup> John de Spouter develops those ideas in his *Syntax* : *BB*, D, 267 and 268 : 214, 10, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Antwerp, John Grapheus for Francis Byrckman : *NijKron.*, II, 2767 ; *BB*, D, 361 : it was beautifully reprinted in Paris by Robert Estienne, 1537-38, and also at Lyons by James Faure : *BB*, D, 362-63.

<sup>3)</sup> Livinus van den Cruyce, *Cructus*, of Eename, a pupil of an old student of Louvain, Baldwin Lamsanus, became *ludimagister* of Bailleul ; by 1520, he left teaching for tutoring, having been entrusted with the parish of Boeschepe, near Poperinghe, from where he incited Princes and contemporaries by his poems to join in a war against Luther and the Turk : he died in 1548 : *BibBelg.*, 607 ; *SweABelg.*, 505 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 399 ; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 55 ; *BB*, C, 267-69, 317 ; *Cran.*, 288, a, b, and sources quoted.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *BB*, D, 369-70, 372-79.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ars Versificatoria* : Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1568 : *CatSél.*, 306.

<sup>6)</sup> *CatSél.*, 306, ; *BB*, D, 380-95.

<sup>7)</sup> Simon Verepæus of Dommelen, Hertogenbosch canon and pedagogue, an old student of the *Collegium Trilingue* (cp. Ch. XXV), made summaries and shorter editions of de Spouter's treatises, which were printed by Christ. Plantin and his successors : *BibBelg.*, 814, states that they ' hodie [viz., in 1643] in Scholis Belgicis principem fere locum obtinent '. More than a century later, in 1763, Paquot testified that, with the grammar by Em. Alvarez, used by the Jesuits, that of de Spouter ar-

far that, notwithstanding the objections of Port-Royal to the uncouth verses and the entangled representation <sup>1)</sup>, de Spouter's *Commentarii Grammatici* were used, either in the original text or in some adaptation <sup>2)</sup>, throughout the civilized world as long as the teaching was done in Latin; their excellence, thus proved, is also testified to by the authoritative historian of Latin Grammar in the Middle Ages, J. J. Baebler, who showed by numerous and characteristic quotations, the superiority, for example, of the rules of the *Prima Pars Grammaticæ* on those formulated by Alexander and all his commentators <sup>3)</sup>.

#### D. MARTIN VAN DORP & LITERATURE

The study of Grammar, by which several members of the staff of the Lily made themselves famous, would only have been like a frame without picture, if the second result of the Lectures on *Poetica*, the putting again into value of Literature, had not been realized <sup>4)</sup>. That was brought about by one of

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ranged by Verepæus was the only one used in the Catholic Netherlands : Paquot, II, 66 ; PlantE, v, 5-6, VII, 152, VIII, 205, 326. — In the beginning, de Spouter's books were adopted in the Jesuit Schools : *JesRheinA.*, 221, 240, 304, 355, &c ; Bianco, I, 316 ; Duhr, I, 48, 242, 243, 246, 248, 252. When in 1559 the Jesuits contemplated founding a college in Würzburg, the Chapter objected, amongst other things, to their using the too difficult and too detailed *Despauterius* : Duhr, I, 840. Yet when for uniformity's sake the grammar by their Emm. Alvarez was imposed everywhere, the Rhine Province made such opposition that the order was revoked, and leave given to introduce there again de Spouter's books : Duhr, I, 256. — *BibBelg.*, 492, mentions the 'anonymous' arrangements of Plantin's editions by Adolphus Meetkerke and Francis Nans, of Bruges (cp. Chs. XVII and XXV), and those by Gabriel Prateolus (Paris, 1562).

<sup>1)</sup> BB, D, 214, 12-13.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. e. g., the handbook printed in Cologne by the heirs of G. A. Schauberg as late as 1773 : *Grammatica Latina Joannis Despauterii opere Emmanuëlis Alvari S. J. illustrata, nunc auctior edita ad usum Gymnasiorum Coloniensium* : Bianco, I, 316.

<sup>3)</sup> J. J. Baebler, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter* : Halle, 1885 : 140-169 ; BB, D, 247, 4, 267, 4, and authorities quoted on 214, 14-15.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 190. Thomas More wrote in his *Apologia pro Moria Erasmi*, against Dorp, that Gospel of Humanism : ...in Grammatica sufficit] eas observationes didicisse, quibus possis & ipse Latine loqui, & quæ ab alijs Latine scripta sunt intelligere, non autem anxie innumeras loquendi regulas aucupari, literasque inter ac syllabas consenescere : MoreLuc., 378.



the disciples of Neve and Cannyf, of de Coster and de Spouter, Martin van Dorp, *Dorpius*. He was a native of Naaldwijk, who matriculated on December 4, 1501 : 'Martinus filius bertholomei de naeldwyck' <sup>1)</sup>, and was placed the fifth at the promotion of 1504, as student of the Pedagogy of the Lily <sup>2)</sup>. He must have been conspicuous for his cleverness, for not only did he find a protector in the venerable Abbot Meinard Man, of Egmond <sup>3)</sup>, but had become intimately acquainted with Erasmus before he promoted Master of Arts <sup>4)</sup>. He started studying theology, although only perfunctorily, for all his efforts were directed on his teaching of Latin, to which after a few years was added that of philosophy <sup>5)</sup> : he thus helped to form some most distinguished men, such as the theologian Peter de Corte, *Curtius* <sup>6)</sup>, the canonist Michael Drieux, *Driutius* <sup>7)</sup>, and the physician James van Castere, of Hazebroeck <sup>8)</sup>.

In his lessons of Latin Dorp struck into a new track : instead of devoting all attention to Grammar and to the way of constructing sentences and verses, he worked on the models, and explained literary texts. Unfortunately he was severely handicapped by the scarcity of authors' writings, mostly available only in bulky complete editions. The teacher necessarily had to resort to extracts, which could be dictated or copied, or to dramas, which recommended themselves for liveliness and practical utility as examples of every day conversation. He explained so thoroughly Plautus' *Aulularia* that his students, the *Grex Lilianus*, gave a public performance

<sup>1)</sup> *Excerpts*, 93 ; *LibIntIII*, 93, r.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 67.

<sup>3)</sup> *MonHL*, 64-120, 132, sq, 365-69, 384, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> In Sept. 1514 Dorp wrote to Erasmus : Cave... credas vllum esse... qui te synceriores complectatur amore quam ego, primum olim tibi familiarissimus, deinde nuper qum hic esses [the short stay of August 1, 1514, on his way to Basle : Allen, II, 298, *pr*], humanissime abs te iussus accersi pene solus ; postremo, quod non in extremis habendum puto, conterraneus eciam tuus, vt ne dicam tantus admirator ingenii præcoque gloriæ tuæ quantus nemo alius : Allen, II, 304, 5-10, 337, 6-7.

<sup>5)</sup> Thus, e. g., on December 7, 1508, Joh. de Haesbroeck, *logicus*, and Georgius of Ghent, *logicus*, 'determinauerunt sub M<sup>o</sup> Dorpio in Lilio : *ActArtV*, 268, r.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Chs. VIII, XV and XX.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. Chs. XII and XIX.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. Ch. VIII.

of it in the Lily on September 3, 1508 <sup>1)</sup>, the Sunday of Louvain Fair; that it was not merely a praise-worthy attempt, is amply materialized by the fact that not only a *Prologus* fitting the circumstances was added, but also the *catastrophe* which is missing in the original. The *Tomus*, as Dorp called the part supplying that deficiency, is in the same style and metre as the play, and strictly works out the plan sketched by the *Argumentum*; in so far that Thomas More judged that: 'seu sermonis elegantia spectetur, siue sales, sales vere Plautini, nulla parte totius comoediæ uidetur inferior' <sup>2)</sup>. If Dorp's verses have not the clever finish of those of the *Complementum* added by Antony Urceo Codrus, an Italian professor of Literature, yet the *Tomus* is superior as tragic element: for Urceo's six-foot iambic metre is not found in Plautus, and of his three changes in the characters by which he reaches his *Plaudite*, those of Lyconides and Euclio break the law of the Classic Drama, and that of the protagonist of liberty, Strobilus, is an anachronism <sup>3)</sup>.

The favourable reception of the audacious attempt incited Dorp to undertake also the explanation of the *Miles Gloriosus* or *Pyrgopolinices*, which he provided with an apt Plautinian *Prologus* <sup>4)</sup> to have it acted in the Lily on a *Bacchico die*, either on Quinquagesima Sunday, February 18, or, more likely, on Shrove Tuesday, Febr. 20, 1509 <sup>5)</sup>. That second performance was quite as successfull as the first: not only in Louvain, where the lecture of *Poetica* had made a deep impression, and

<sup>1)</sup> Pomponius Lætus had the same play acted in his Academy in Rome: *MonHL*, 308; Sandys, II, 92; Dittrich, 8.

<sup>2)</sup> *MoreLuc.*, 423; *NèveMém.*, 118-19; *MonHL*, 326-331.

<sup>3)</sup> Creizenach, II, 55-56; *Busl.*, 444-45. — Codrus' *complementum* was added to the edition of the *Aulularia* printed on December 3, 1512, by Alb. Pafraet, at Deventer; it is found in subsequent editions of Plautus' play: *NijKron.*, I, 1731-33, once in that of Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1531, together with Dorp's: *Aulularia: a Codro Vrceo, & Martino Dorpio... perfecta*: *NijKron.*, II, 3740. In the *Plauti Comædiæ*, edited by Janus Gruterus and Fred. Taubmann: Wittenberg, 1621, the *Fabula* is left fragmentary, as the part added by Codrus and other attempts made in Italy, were not found 'satis Plautina': 166, 231. Afterwards the reconstruction by Philip Paré was more felicitous: *NèveMém.*, 119. — Cp. for Urceo, Prowe, I, 249, sq, 316, 399; Polain, II, 1416.

<sup>4)</sup> Thomas More reproduced 16 verses of it in his *Apologia* of Erasmus' *Moriæ Encomium*: *MoreLuc.*, 423-24.

<sup>5)</sup> *NelisSyll.*, 89-93.

where there had been several Italian professors in the last decennia <sup>1)</sup>, but also throughout the country, 'vt & crebris litteris & in celeberrimis etiam oppidis actionis calculo comprobauerint', as Dorp could announce to Jerome de Busleyden in the first half of November 1513 <sup>2)</sup>, when he dedicated to him the edition of the *Tomus Aululariæ Plautinæ adjectus*, with the two *Prologi*, with laudatory letters from John de Neve, John Becker and George Lord of Halewyn, as well as two poems by Judocus Sasbout Delphus, J. V. D. <sup>3)</sup>. An evident proof is the great number of editions of the *Aulularia* from 1512 to 1540 in our countries <sup>4)</sup>, and, for certain, the dramatic activity of a friend and colleague of Dorp, Adrian Barlandus, Latin teacher in the Porc. On Quinquagesima Sunday, Febr. 26, 1514, he produced with his students the *Aulularia* with Dorp's additions, but with a *Prologus* by himself, in a room of Arras College; in September of that year his pupils acted in the Porc *Hecuba* of Euripides in Erasmus' translation, with a dialogue as introduction; and soon after, a '*Vergillianam Didonem*'; about that time were also acted the *Andria*, the *Eunuchus* and the *Adelphos* of Terence, and, in 1524, the

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<sup>1)</sup> Viz., Raymond de Marliano, Simon de la Valle and Antonio Gratia Dei (cp. before, pp 135, sq, 175, 176, sq), to whom may be joined the 'Stephen de Luignania' of the Vercelli diocese, who matriculated on December 23, 1473 (cp. p 160): he probably studied, although a I. V. D. when he arrived, in so far that he was admitted to the Faculty of Laws and to the Academic Council on Aug. 30, 1477, as the town authorities had granted him on July 1, 1477, the succession of John Papenhoven as ordinary professor of Civil Law, with a canonry of the second foundation: he was replaced on February 25, 1483, by Louis Roelants: his name, which causes confusion, is written by 1477 as 'luinano' and 'de Lignana', whereas he himself signs 'Stephanus de Lignina': *Louv-Arch.*, II, 3383: 45, r to 49; *VAnd.*, 155, 157, 167.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 445.

<sup>3)</sup> That *Tomus* with the *Prologi*, the letters and the verses added, was printed in the first half of November 1513, and reproduced from a copy, now lost, in *NelisSyll.*, 67-94; with Dorp's *Dialogus: in quo Venus &c.* it was reprinted in the last days of February or the first of March 1514: *Busl.*, 441-46; *NijKron.*, I, 737.

<sup>4)</sup> In Antwerp Mich. Hillen published it on May 4, 1514 and in 1531, William Vorsterman in 1535 and John Grapheus in 1537: *NijKron.*, II, 3737, 3740-42; at Deventer A. Pafraet issued it on Dec. 3, 1512, c 1517, and July 1527, and James van Breda, March 27, 1518: *NijKron.*, I, 1731-33, II, 3738, 3739.

*Hecyra* of that same dramatist. For several of those plays Barlandus composed introductions or final dialogues <sup>1)</sup>, and the impression which they made on the boys is instanced by Nicolas Clenardus who, on April 12, 1541, at Fez, recalls in a letter to Abbot Streysters of Tongerlo, how they had played parts in *Andria* and *Eunuchus* <sup>2)</sup>. The example given by Louvain was imitated everywhere, especially by *ludimagistri* who had seen the performances in the Lily or the Porc : the recently appointed *Magister Scholarum* Gerard Bachusius thus represented the *Adelphos* in 1524, and in 1525, the *Aulularia*, in the refectory of the Chapter of St. Donatian's at Bruges, where his successor Adrian Chilius had his Latin translation of Aristophanes' *Plutus* performed in 1533, as well as Lucian's *Auctio* <sup>3)</sup>.

The only blot on that glorious innovation was the unappropriateness of the lewd plays as means of education. Their study and acting may have seemed less offensive in those days than at present ; still a few years later <sup>4)</sup>, More found fit to inquire from Dorp why he objected to Erasmus' criticism and to Terence : ' nec interea tamen abstinuisse a legendo Plauto, nec a legendo tantum, sed nec a docendo, exhibendo, agendoque publice, Poeta nihil quam Terentius castiore, imo ne tam casto quidem ? ' Several years before, Dorp himself had felt that insuitability, and had looked out for a frankly moralizing subject. Most probably the tradition of his Pedagogy had made him acquainted with the *Declamatio* that had been acted there on Friday, February 23, 1481, in the shape of a debate about the strictness of the regulations which a group of students of law in the Lily had assumed to observe, so as to form a 'cetus tutelar'is', with a senate as authority <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Daxhelet, 208-220 ; Massebieau 131-57 ; Bömer, II, 113-27 ; Dittrich, 13.

<sup>2)</sup> ClenE, 60-61 ; ClenCorr., I, 182, II, 137.

<sup>3)</sup> Schrevel, I, 134-35.

<sup>4)</sup> In his *Apologia* for Erasmus and his *Moriæ Encomium*, October 21, 1515 : MoreLuc., 422-23.

<sup>5)</sup> The text begins on f a 2 r (f a 1 being blank) with this title : ¶ Per studiosos legum duos in Lilio tutelares clarissimis coram doctissimisque viris / prelati nobilibus doctoribus aliisque compluribus / anno a natali christiano ad Millesimumquadringsesimum/octogesimoprimum / septimo Kl Martias / Louanii in magnis scolis artium / acta declamatio. — The text extends to f b 7, v : ¶ Finit feliciter. — f b 8 being blank. — Cp. Polain, II, 1248.

Speaking in the name of his companions, a *junior* member accuses the *Fiscalis*, no doubt the prosecutor, of being too severe and too inquisitive <sup>1)</sup>. The various complaints of the younger students are set forth and discussed : one of them is the obligation to attend every day, even on feasts and Sundays the recently founded lecture on *Poetica* <sup>2)</sup>, of which they do not see the use for lawyers. The *Fiscalis* replies that the work of a jurisprudent could not be done ' si desit eloquentia quam poesis inescat et alit diuino nutrimento repleta ' <sup>3)</sup>. In the same way is discussed at length the use of the debates as exercises, of the lectures, as well as that of the prohibition of sharing feasts and dances, and of playing for money ; they further argue about the obligation of staying within the Pedagogy, about the modesty to be observed in dress and behaviour, and even about the utility of laws and of authority, whereas the *Fiscalis* concludes that if regulations seem disagreeable to newcomers, they are merely devised for their benefit ' quo... bene studeant, bene viuant, literis se dedant virtutibus et bone menti <sup>4)</sup>.

That *Declamatio*, which gives, in its serious debate and matter-of-fact style, a most interesting glimpse of the ideal life of a zealous and well-behaved student as conceived in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, must have brought Dorp to compose a colloquy through which youth is warned for the danger of enticing love and tempting laziness, and encouraged to sound virtue and strenuous work. He placed that argument in the mythological world, and represented the *Dialogus : in quo Venus & Cupido omnes adhibent versutias : ut Herculem animi ancipitem in suam Militiam inuita Virtute perpellant* <sup>5)</sup>. The

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<sup>1)</sup> The debate between the *Fiscalis* and the *Junior* is held before an assembly of ' clarissimi & doctissimi viri, prelati, nobiles doctoresque ' in the big, *auditorium* of the *Artes* ; it stops in the middle, and is resumed in the *Lily* after the *cena* by a substitute *Fiscalis* and another *Junior* : *Declamatio* &c, f b, r.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 162, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Declamatio* &c, f a 5, v ; the same idea is expressed by Suffridus Petri (cp. Ch. XXV) in his letter of March 21, 1583 to James Cujas, to whom he writes : eo nomine inter Iureconsultos nostri seculi maxime suspiciendus es, quod præparatum ex omni literarum genere subsidium legibus explicandis attuleris, &c : Gabbema, 418.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 184.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 331-333 ; *Busl.*, 253-54.

language and style show an immense advance on the *Declamatio*; instead of the uniform flow of the debate, the characters of the personages bring a most pleasing diversion: the majestic *Virtus* and the coaxing Venus, the impulsive Cupido and the stern Hercules, talk in their peculiar manners, as already Jerome de Busleyden described them <sup>1)</sup>. Still if the play is moral in aim and tone, it is pagan in spirit, as even *Virtus* only moves by vulgar motives, and does not appeal to any higher ideal than bodily health and material welfare. The *Dialogus* was acted in 1509, and met with an immense success: it was transcribed at once, and when, in November 1513, Dorp wished to publish it, and felt that it was rough and badly finished in many a place, he durst not correct it, since the text was in so many hands, as he declared to John de Neve, to whom he dedicated it in October or November 1513<sup>2)</sup>.

The influence of Dorp's *Dialogus* was immense: it gave rise to several plays which are devised as helps to the education of youth. The poet Remacle d'Ardenne <sup>3)</sup> represents *Palamedes*, a young man, enamoured of Sophia, a slave, whom he wants to buy at the market, where he finds Chrysus, another slave who offers him all possible wealth; unable to choose between the two, as they show an unsurmountable rivalry, he finally decides, on the advice of his friend Philotas, to buy Sophia, and to let her manage him: she accepts with satisfaction, and even shows a way to make use of Chrysus as an obedient servant. The play was finished on January 1, 1512 in London where Remacle was teaching, and printed in Paris in 1512<sup>4)</sup>. About the same time George Macropedius <sup>5)</sup> composed a drama in which he showed a good boy, Philætus, and his bad brother, Asotus, who, like the Prodigal Son, asks for his part of the substance, leaves, and returns full of remorse when it is squandered. Besides *Asotus*, Macropedius composed two

<sup>1)</sup> Letter of the latter half of November 1513: *Busl.*, 446-447.

<sup>2)</sup> *MonHL*, 331-33, 366-67; of that first edition no copy seems to subsist; it was reprinted by Martens along with the *Tomus Aululariæ* and two smaller compositions, one by Chrysostomus Neapolitanus, and the other by Geldenhouwer, about Holland: *Busl.*, 441-46; *NijKron.*, I, 737.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 218-222.

<sup>4)</sup> *Remacli Arduenne Florenatis Palamedes*: Paris, Giles de Gourmont: Paquot, XI, 44; *Busl.*, 219-20.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. XII.

similar plays, *Rebelles* and *Petriscus*, in which young scoundrels are brought to compunction by misery, and saved from the gibbet by their old schoolmasters. Although only printed by 1535-1537 <sup>1)</sup>, they were often played, and no doubt suggested the famous *Acolastus*, 1525, by William Gnapheus<sup>2)</sup>, who kept nearer the text of the Parable, of which he only freely enlarged the part described as 'vivendo luxuriose' <sup>3)</sup>: it was as the first of a long series of *Prodigal Son* plays, like those in England, ranging from John Palsgrave's *Ecphrasis*, 1540, to George Gascoigne's *Glasse of Government*, 1575 <sup>4)</sup>; whilst here in the country Christian Sterck, *Ischyrius*, by his translation of the Flemish Morality *Elckerlyc*, as *Homulus*, 1536 <sup>5)</sup>, another Prodigal Son, prepared the theme of Macropedius' *Hekastus*, 1538 <sup>6)</sup>; also of *Euripus*, 1548, by Livinus Brecht, with the way to Heaven as its scene <sup>7)</sup>. The decided intention to promote the right education, which Dorp realized, no doubt brought some of his contemporaries to propose models of virtue, like *Grisellis*, 1518, by Eligius Hoeckaert, *Eucharius* or *Houcarius*, Ghent *Ludimagister*<sup>8)</sup>; and *Susanna*, 1534, by John Placentius<sup>9)</sup>; or the play *Joseph*, 1535, by Cornelius Crocus<sup>10)</sup>, which opened another long series, one being Macropedius' *Josephus*, 1544 <sup>11)</sup>; whereas George de Hollogne, *Holonius*, introduced proper Saints plays by his *Lambertias*, 1556 <sup>12)</sup>. A very witty imitation of the love-stories and the tales of finding lost children in Plautus' and Terentius' plays, is *Vinctus*, 1522, by Petrus Nannius <sup>13)</sup>: it does not close the

<sup>1)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 53-56.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Ch. XII; Bahlmann, II, 39-42; G. Gnapheus, *Acolastus* (ed. Joh. Bolte): Berlin, 1891; cp. Gabbema, 25-29.

<sup>3)</sup> Luke, xv, 13.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Creizenach, II, 75, sq, 85, 101, 105, 121-24, 169-70, III, 318, 334, 368, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 64-65; Chr. Ischyrius, *Homulus* (ed. Alph. Roersch): Ghent, 1903.

<sup>6)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 57-59; *CatSél.*, 442.

<sup>7)</sup> Ch. XXII; Bahlmann, II, 103, 110; Creizenach, II, 154-57; J. van der Heyden, *Het Thema... van den Dood*: Ghent, 1930: 223, sq, 264, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1519; NijKron., II, 3216; *AntvAnn.*, II, 399; cp. Ch. XVIII.

<sup>9)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 51.

<sup>10)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 62-63; cp. Ch. IX; and Creizenach, II, 111, sq.

<sup>11)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 60-61.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. Ch. VIII.

<sup>13)</sup> Polet, 33-42, 210-235; and further, Chs. IX, XX, &c.

list of dramatic compositions and exhibitions in the Netherlands in the first half of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, which is headed by Dorp's performances and his *Dialogus* : considering the small extent of the country, that set is compared most advantageously with the plays called in existence over a much wider area by Wimpfeling's *Stylpho*, composed and played in 1480 in Heidelberg <sup>1)</sup>, and Reuchlin's *Henno*, produced in the same town in 1497 <sup>2)</sup>. The great services Dorp thus rendered to the study and the teaching of Latin and Literature, were duly appreciated, as results from the frequent dedications and laudatory mention in the works of contemporary literators <sup>3)</sup>, as well as from the fact that he was considered as one of the most authoritative Humanists by 1510, when he turned his efforts to Theology.

#### E. JOSSE VROEYE & GREEK

Martin van Dorp had a worthy match in Josse Vroeve, *Lætus*, of Gavere, who had matriculated on February 28, 1499, as a student of the Lily <sup>4)</sup>, and had been classed the second at the promotion to Master of Arts in 1505 <sup>5)</sup>. He started teaching first the lower branches and language ; afterwards he was *legens* of *logica* and *physica*, whilst studying law, and whilst seconding the *Regens* John de

<sup>1)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 7-9 ; J. Wimphelingius *Stylpho* (ed. H. Holstein) : Berlin, 1892.

<sup>2)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 18-22 ; H. Holstein, *Johann Reuchlins Komödien* : Halle a. S., 1888.

<sup>3)</sup> Peter Gillis inscribed to him his edition of Agricola's *Opuscula*, 1511 : NijKron., I, 46 ; de Coster, his *In Etymologiam Collectarius*, 1512 : NijKron., II, 2733 ; de Spouter, his *Ars Versific.* v, 1511, and his *Syntaxis* in 1513 : NijKron., I, 702-4, II, 2767, 2770-72, and he is mentioned in an edition of Erasmus' *Epistolæ*, 1515 : NijKron., II, 2938. He edited Æsop's *Fabulæ* : NijKron., I, 27, &c, II, 2243, &c ; Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica*, 1515 : NijKron., I, 45, and he corrected the text of Agricola's translation of *Isocrates* for the *Opuscula*, 1514 : NijKron., I, 534, II, 2603. He wrote verses for Barlandus' *Collectanea*, 1514 & 1515, and a commendatory letter for Geldenhouwer's *Satyræ*, 1512 : NijKron., I, 222, II, 2359, 3122 ; *GeldColl.*, 151-52. Cp. *MonHL*, 351, sq, 395, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 73, r ; *Excerpts*, 92 : ' Judocus vroye de gaueren Camer. dioc. ex lilio '.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 67 ; the first place was gained by Francis de Cranevelt : *Gran.*, xxxvi.



Neve, whose health was not very strong <sup>1)</sup>. He evidently was a favourite with John de Spouter, who, on July 10, 1513, dedicated to him, as well as to Dorp and Nicolas van Broeckhoven, his *Syntaxis tertio edita* <sup>2)</sup>, and praised him in other prefatory letters <sup>3)</sup> : in recommendation of his grammatical work, Vroeye composed a poem '*Scire palemonias*', the only one of his writings that subsists <sup>4)</sup>. He tried to do for Greek what de Spouter had done for Latin : for several years he applied himself to the study of the lexicography and the syntaxis of Homer's language, which he most probably had learned from either of the occasional professors, John Polo de Albo Castro, or Alexander Ansain, who taught Greek in Louvain some time between 1499 and 1503 <sup>5)</sup>. He applied to that language the principles worked out by de Spouter for Latin, and thus was able to help and direct the famous Adrian Amerot (Amaury) Guennevelle (Quennevelle), of Soissons <sup>6)</sup>, who had attended Aleander's lessons in Paris <sup>7)</sup>, and who, in his *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices*, published 'xviii Cal. Nov.', October 15 or 16, 1520, by Thierry Martens, expresses his hearty admiration for his erudite master <sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> In 1516, when he requested from the Faculty the office of *Regens* of the Lily — to neutralize the pretensions of Thomas Zeghers, of Ardenburg, against his friend John de Neve, — he stated : *se multis retroactis annis in officiis et seruitiis facultatis legendo et docendo juvenes laborasse, non solum in lectionibus inferioribus, sed et in Logica et physica, simul tentando et examinando, ut placuit Facultati, aliquando Baccalaurios, aliquando Licentiandos. Et dixit se cum memorato Magistro Joanne de Neve, decano, multis annis — octo, vel circiter, — laborasse in regimine dicti pædagogii Lilij : quod omnibus, ut dixit, constabat esse verum : AcArExc., 57-58, quoting ActArt VI, 140; FUL, 727.*

<sup>2)</sup> Bergues-St. Winock, July 10, 1513; the edition was published by Ch. Chevallon, Paris, c 1516-17 : *BB*, D, 268, 1-2; *MonHL*, 365.

<sup>3)</sup> Preface to Dorp and James Pape, May 7, 1511, of *Ars Versificatoria* : Strassburg, December 1512 : *BB*, D, 294, 3-4; *MonHL*, 357; *Cran.*, 288, d.

<sup>4)</sup> These verses appear amongst the prefatory matter to de Spouter's (first edition of) *Syntaxis*, 1509, — of which no copy seems to subsist — and of its reprint : Strassburg, July 1515; also in many subsequent issues : *BB*, D, 267, 1-3, 268, 2, 281, 287, 292, 371.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. III, sect. 4, A.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 257, a : Amerot matriculated in November 1513, and when he promoted, the first of his year, in 1516, he had already started teaching Greek himself as private tutor in the Lily : *LibIntIII*, 198, v; *ULPromRs.*, 70; *Aléandre*, 93.

<sup>7)</sup> *Aléandre*, 21-23.

<sup>8)</sup> *Iseghem*, 310; *Cran.*, 257, a; *NijKron.*, I, 115 : it is dedicated to Antony de la Marck, Abbot and Count of Beaulieu : cp. further, Ch. XXIV.

Vroeye, who was a priest <sup>1)</sup>, and was also a member of the Academic Senate since 1509, applied himself afterwards to the study of law; he remained in the Lily, where he backed de Neve in his contest against Thomas Zeghers, of Ardenburg, to whom Leo Outers had sold his rights <sup>2)</sup>. He continued his lectures <sup>3)</sup>, and was a most agreeable *convivator* to Erasmus <sup>4)</sup>, at least till the end of April 1521, for on May 6, 1521, he was appointed president of St. Yves' College <sup>5)</sup>. On May 22, 1520, he had promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* <sup>6)</sup>, and on November 16, 1524, he succeeded Louis de Schore <sup>7)</sup> as secondary professor of Civil Law <sup>8)</sup>, and Hermes de

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<sup>1)</sup> He availed himself of the Privilege of the Nomination of the Faculty of Arts to be appointed to the first vacancies at the collation of the Abbot of St. Bavo's and that of St. Peter's, Ghent, of the Provost and the Chapter of St. Peter's, Lille, of the Bishop of Tournai and that of Théroutanne, 1516-1518: *LibNomI*, 72, v, 111, v, 122, v, 125, v, 141, r, 160, v, 164, r, 175, v, 198, v; *AcArExc.*, 60, 90. The Josse, and the Catharina Vroeye, who matriculated in Louvain: *LibIntIII*, 277, v; *LibIntIV*, 13, r, were his nephew and niece (cp. note 5 following), children of his brother John: it all proves that BaxH, iv, 581, is mistaken in making him a married man.

<sup>2)</sup> The contest about the Regency of the Lily, 1515-1517, is related in *MonHL*, 181-187: cp. *AcArExc.*, 55-60, 118-19; *ActArtInd.*, 11, 13, 17, 22, 23; *Cran.*, 26, b, c; cp. before, pp 92-93, and n 1 of p 223.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cran.*, xciv.

<sup>4)</sup> *Cran.*, 138, 4, 49, a; Allen, III, 717, 20-21, 932, 52-55. — In the *Scholia* to his *Iocorum... Libri Tres*, Antwerp, 1529, Barlandus refers to Erasmus' letter to Vroeye about Neve's strength of mind, although of weak health: f c 8 r; Allen, v, 1347, 13-16.

<sup>5)</sup> He succeeded Thomas Courouble, of Lille, Licentiate of Laws: *VAnd.*, 296; *ULDoc.*, III, 107; *FUL*, 1875. That coincides with the fact that Vroeye, Rector from February 28 to August 31, 1521, inscribed his nephew 'Iodocus filius Iohannis Vroeye de gauere... in artibus', as 'minister Rectoris', August 25, 1521: *Excerpts*, 102; just as on Aug. 2, 1529, during his second Rectorate, he noted down: Catharina filia Joÿs Vroeye de Gauere seruitrix & neptis Rectoris: *LibIntIV*, 13, r — as he could dispose of a 'familia' at his own choice. — It was on account of this new charge that Vroeye is not mentioned any longer amongst the professors inmates of the Lily with Erasmus, in his letter to Bernard Bucho, Sept. 24, 1521: Allen, iv, 1237, 21, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> *VAnd.*, 182.

<sup>7)</sup> He was appointed member of Mechlin Parliament, 1524; in 1540-41 he became head and president of the Privy Council and of the Council of State: *Cran.*, 110, c-f; Matthieu, 49, 55; *BrabNobl.*, 492, 101.

<sup>8)</sup> *VAnd.*, 156; *Anal.*, xxxix, 294-95; *Vern.*, 98.

Winghe <sup>1)</sup>, as extraordinary professor of Canon Law, and canon of the second foundation of St. Peter's on October 16, 1526 <sup>2)</sup>. He was elected as Rector on February 28, 1521 and 1529 <sup>3)</sup>, and in acknowledgment of his literary abilities, was appointed, on February 28, 1526 <sup>4)</sup>, as *Dictator Universitatis*, writer of the official letters, replacing his deceased friend John Paludanus <sup>5)</sup>.

Vroeye's health, which had been precarious since several years <sup>6)</sup>, obliged him to resign his professorships in 1532 <sup>7)</sup> : he died on February 10, 1533 <sup>8)</sup> : in his *Epithalamium Petri*

<sup>1)</sup> Hermes de Winghe, of Renaix, became Privy Councillor : VAnd., 186 ; *BruxBas.*, II, 42.

<sup>2)</sup> VAnd., 157 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 302.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, I, 263-64 ; VAnd., 41, 42 ; *LibIntIII*, 275, r ; *LibIntIV*, 14, v : Judocus Vroeye de gauere.

<sup>4)</sup> *LibActVI*, 51, r, 79, r, 87, r ; VAnd., 50 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 315. — Vroeye had been Receptor of the University in the year starting December 22, 1526 : *LibActVI*, 48, v ; also 63, r. — In the Faculty of Arts he was procurator for the Flanders Nation for the three months following on Oct. 2, 1515 and Febr. 1, 1518 ; and Receptor from June 1, 1518 : *LibNomI*, 90, r, 112, v, 136, r, 175, v, 176, r, 351, r, 357, r ; *ActArtV*, 183, r, 202, r, 291, v, 307, v.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 184, 189, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> On March 27, 1523, he wrote to Erasmus : *Neuui mors... admonet me quidem, qui abhinc ferme octo annos simili cum eo valetudine laborauerim* : Allen, v, 1355, 2-4.

<sup>7)</sup> Already in 1532-33 he was replaced — for his name is crossed off in the town accounts — for his afternoon lesson of Civil Law, by Peter de Vriend, *Amicus* ; and by John Boucquet, of Boulogne, J. V. Lic., on February 4, 1532 : cp. VAnd., 156-57 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 303. — *BaxH*, IV, 581, and, after him, *ULDoc.*, III, 107, quote as his successor in St. Yves', Peter Pellens, of Bilsen, who is said to have taken the management only in 1539 ; they suggest that Josse Vroeye, the son, continued the direction for his father. There is here evidently a mistake in the reading of the date, MDXXXIII being meant : the last two units may have been written as a Y, which was read as if it was an X : MD.XXXIX, as VAnd., 296, wrongly has it.

<sup>8)</sup> Mol., 545 ; VAnd., 182 ; *PF*, I, 262 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 107, IV, 246 ; FG, 357 ; Allen, III, 717, 21 ; *Gra.*, xxxvi, &c ; *MonHL*, 110, 127-28. — By May 1525 Vroeye was a party in a lawsuit before Mechlin Great Council, his opponent being the Solicitor General, as results from a list of causes to be heard and judged : *MalGrCons.*, 313 : 23, r, &c. The management of his inheritance was supervised by the Rector : *ExTest.*, 237 ; he himself had had, a few years before, some negotiations with the Rector's Court, since a legacy bequeathed to him by John Calaber, had not been paid : *ExTest.*, 168.

*Ægidii*, Erasmus called this conscientious worker and erudite one of the ornaments of Louvain, with Paludanus, Borsalus and Dorp <sup>1)</sup>. — His nephew and namesake Josse Vroeye remained in Louvain, where his son or grandson Andreas became town secretary ; he married Philippine Everarts, and their son John-Francis de Vroeye, Councillor and Pensionary of Louvain, was ennobled on June 8, 1657 ; the descendants he had from his wife Mary Lintermans bought the lordship of Linden and were often mayors of the town <sup>2)</sup>.

#### F. ADRIAN BARLANDUS & TEXT BOOKS

The great difficulty that hampered the study and teaching of Latin was the scarcity of literary texts : they were either too extensive in the voluminous *Opera Omnia* of an author, or most objectionable on account of their indecent tone. Dorp and his imitators made a praiseworthy effort to replace the offensive dramas by more modest and even decidedly Christian plays, so as not to tear down with the left hand what the right built up. Still those compositions had not the finish of the authentic Antiquity, and their number did not answer the need. Even as late as May 10, 1523, Vives complained to Erasmus that Froben and other printers published and sold numerous manuals of grammar, but hardly any text for real study : ‘ vt Kemponum <sup>3)</sup> et Brechtorum <sup>4)</sup> et Torrentinorum <sup>5)</sup> plena sint omnia, Ciceronem vix vnus habeat’ <sup>6)</sup>. If that was the case with complete editions of the works of authors, text-books of unadulterated Latinity appropriate to youthful minds proved a drug in the market. To supply that want, the Louvain professor Adrian Barlandus devoted all his efforts, and set a magnificent example.

Adrian, son of Cornelius, *Cornelii*, born on Sept. 28, 1486, at Baarland, in Zeeland, *Barlandus*, was educated at Ghent

<sup>1)</sup> EOO, I, 749, A.

<sup>2)</sup> *BrabNobl.*, 407, 408 (a pedigree which is wrongly headed by Josse Vroeye, Erasmus' friend, instead of by John Vroeye); *DivRer.*, 36; *LouvBoon*, 414, 424, sq, 432, sq, 443, 487-90.

<sup>3)</sup> Kempo of Texel, author of a commentary on the *Doctrinale* in conjunction with Torrentinus : cp. before, p 199.

<sup>4)</sup> John de Coster, Custos, of Brecht : cp. before, pp 203-5.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 198-99.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, v, 1362, 53-54.

by Peter Scotus before he went to study in the Porc, Louvain, where he passed his *actus determinantiæ* on Nov. 15, 1503 : 'adrianus de berlandia' <sup>1)</sup>, and promoted M. A. probably by 1505 <sup>2)</sup>. He became professor in his Pedagogy, presiding the *actus birretationis* of 'Wilhelmus Zagher de Goes' <sup>3)</sup> and a second licenciate, on June 6, 1510, which shows that he taught one of the philosophic branches <sup>4)</sup>. Still he evidently was chiefly interested in his Latin lessons ; following the example given by his colleague of the Lily, Martin van Dorp <sup>5)</sup>, he explained dramas, which he afterwards had represented by his disciples, either in the Porc, or occasionally in the newly founded College of Arras <sup>6)</sup>, where he may have tutored some students, and where he, for certain, was a most familiar visitor, as results from his *Carmen de Laudibus amenissimi Louanii* :

Namque mihi ante alias vrbs visa es nuper amena

Doctis & apta Vatibus

Mane, satur somni cum amplis spatiarer in hortis

Ruterii, legens iocos.

Sunt tibi syluæ, & fronde virentia menia late... <sup>7)</sup>

For the plays he had acted, Barlandus wrote either metrical prologues or dialogues in prose, spoken before or after the performance <sup>8)</sup>, most of which were printed in his classical textbooks. On April 22, 1512 he published *Pluscule Esopi phrygis et Aviani Fabulæ*, printed by Th. Martens, in Antwerp, the text of which did not reproduce that of William Herman of Gouda's edition of 1502 or 1503 <sup>9)</sup>, but his own, as the title declares : he thus courted a minute inspection, which

<sup>1)</sup> ActArtV, 209, r.

<sup>2)</sup> Cran., 256, a.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, p 234.

<sup>4)</sup> ActArtV, 297, v, 298, r.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 214-22.

<sup>6)</sup> The College was founded in 1508 by Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras : cp. before, pp 8-9, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> *Hadriani Barlandi versuum... prouerbialium Collectanea* : Louvain, Th. Martens, March 1514 : ff c 2, v, c 3, r. — Arras College was established in 'dhuys van Ranshem', a mansion in Provost Street, belonging to Bishop Ruterius, of which the large gardens stretched out along the inner town wall : part of them still constitute the Parc with those of the then neighbouring St. Donatian's College, in *Cattorum Strata* : FUL, 2241-43.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, pp 217-18 ; Daxhelet, 207-220.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, 1, 172, 12, 178, 16.

showed that he had spoiled many a sentence by weakening diminutives, by an excessive use of infinitives, and by other causes of obscurity <sup>1)</sup>. It must have influenced the sale, for Martens issued a reprint of Herman's edition, made ready by Martin van Dorp, who had, however, recommended that of his colleague by some verses <sup>2)</sup>; it came out by the end of 1512, with a dedicatory letter of November 22, 1512 <sup>3)</sup>. Barlandus understood the lesson : he prepared a better text, left out some fables, and introduced others, even from Dorp's edition, whose dedicatory letter was reproduced : the new collection was issued on September 21, 1513, and, with some slight changes, again on October 22, 1513, by Th. Martens, who was then established in Louvain, opposite the School of Civil Law, in Provost Street <sup>4)</sup>. Although emended, Barlandus' compositions are in a heavy, monotonous style, and moralizing seems his chief preoccupation. Yet his work was praised by his friend John de Munter, and proved a welcome help to the teachers : it was reprinted in 1517 and counted at least fifty more editions <sup>5)</sup>.

Barlandus' first failure was the happy cause of a most energetic study ; he thus acquired the excellent style which characterizes his maturity, as well as a far greater circumspection in the choice of texts to be edited. In 1512 he published *Complures luciani dialogi a desiderio Erasmo... in latinum conuersi*, dedicated on August 13, 1512, to the *Regens* of the Porc, Thierry Thomas, of Amsterdam, and printed by Thierry Martens <sup>6)</sup>. He further had selected a list of proverbial sayings from Virgil, which, in his lessons, he explained by a commentary, but he only published it on the insisting advice of Vives, who knew it through a common friend and disciple, James de la Potterie, of Bruges <sup>7)</sup>. It was printed in March

<sup>1)</sup> Iseghem, 242-43 ; NijKron., I, 26 ; BB, A, 154 ; Daxhelet, 33, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> MonHL, 395.

<sup>3)</sup> MonHL, 361-64.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. MonHL, 361-64 ; NijKron., I, 27, II, 2243 ; Daxhelet, 33-37, 238-243, 245-248.

<sup>5)</sup> NijKron., I, 32 : Sept. 1517, also I, 34-36, 38, II, 2245-46, 4108 ; BB, B, 290, 4-9.

<sup>6)</sup> Iseghem, 257, S, 15-16 ; BB, B, 290, 9-11 ; NijKron., II, 3434-35, I, 1399-1402, II, 3436-41, 3443-45 ; Daxhelet, 37-38, 244-45.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. Vives' letter to Barlandus, published on fg 5, r, v, of the edition of the *Collectanea* printed by Giles de Gourmont ; BB, B, 252, 4 ; Cran., 233, a.

1514 by Martens, as *Hadriani barlandi versuum ex Bucolicis Vergilii proverbialium Collectanea*<sup>1)</sup>, with a dedicatory letter of March 15 to John de Spouter<sup>2)</sup>; it met with such good reception that in 1515 Barlandus reissued it with a new series of proverbial phrases and their comments, dedicated to George of Halewyn<sup>3)</sup>; it was printed again by Martens: that edition, of which no copy seems to exist, was reproduced in 1516/17, at least in part, by Giles de Gourmont of Paris, who had also a bookshop in Louvain: *Hadriani Barlandi Versuum ex Poetarum principe Vergilio prouerbialium Collectanea: Rursus ab eodem recognita atque aucta*<sup>4)</sup>.

From 1515 the editions become more numerous and more important: in that year were published by Martens a group of three works joined under the title *Hoc in libello continentur*: the first was *De Literatis urbis Romæ Principibus Opusculum*, by Barlandus; the second, a choice of *Epistolæ Elisii Calentii*, who died in 1503 as preceptor of the son of the King of Naples Ferdinand II; the third, *Menandri Dicta siue Sententiæ eximiae*. The improving taste and the judiciousness in the selection<sup>5)</sup> was especially shown by the publishing of *C. Plinij Secundi epistole familiares cum Barlandi scholiis*, printed by Martens in April 1516, and addressed to the *Ludimagistri* of Brabant, Flanders and Holland, so that they should not give way to *ignavia*, nor keep to some recent authors, neglecting 'veteres a quibus ceu fontibus manauit quicquid vsquam est eruditionis'<sup>6)</sup>. Barlandus afterwards edited Titus Livius' *De Regibus Romanorum*, c 1520<sup>7)</sup>, and

<sup>1)</sup> Iseghem, S, 18; BB, B, 250; NijKron., I, 222.

<sup>2)</sup> On f a 1, v.

<sup>3)</sup> On f d 1, v, of the third issue; Barlandus had expressed his hope to deserve Halewyn's approval by his work in his dedicatory letter to de Spouter of the first edition, 1514; he refers to that wish in the dedication of the second part added, as having been written 'superiore anno': thus indicating 1515 as date of the second issue.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. preceding note; and BB, B, 252; NijKron., II, 2359; Cran., 233, a; Daxhelet, 39-46, 248-50, 252-54, 260-61.

<sup>5)</sup> Iseghem, 253; BB, B, 254; NijKron., I, 233; Daxhelet, 46-49, 95-98, 255-59.

<sup>6)</sup> Iseghem, 261-62; BB, P, 91; NijKron., I, 1740; Daxhelet, 49-56, 261-64.

<sup>7)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen: BB, B, 290, 17; NijKron., I, 1378; Daxhelet, 62-66.

from 1529, *Quatuor Libri Aeneidos* <sup>1)</sup>), as well as, on Oct. 21, 1530, *P. Terentii Sex Comoediae* <sup>2)</sup>), in which three texts he gives evidence of the practice of criticism and of the collation of various copies which he had learned in the *Collegium Trilingue*, where he had been professing for several months <sup>3)</sup>). He left that institute in the difficulties of the first years, for a far more peaceful and lucrative tutoring <sup>4)</sup>), as he had as pupils sons of the leading noblemen <sup>5)</sup>), for whom he continued editing classic books, which aimed at making not only apter Latinists, but also more perfect men and Christians. For them he edited *Epistolae aliquot selectae ex Erasmicis*, in December 1520 <sup>6)</sup>), and *In Omnes Erasmi... Adagiorum Chiliadas Epitome*, in June 1521 <sup>7)</sup>), so as to enrich both their mind and their vocabulary, whereas the language for the familiar talk was greatly helped by two most interesting readers, built up from ancient and Renaissance authors : in March 1524 : *Dialogi XLII... ad profligandam e scholis barbariem utilissimi* <sup>8)</sup>); in June 1524 <sup>9)</sup>): *Jocorum Veterum ac Recentium duce Centuriae, cum scholijs*. Equally felicitous as those highly educative helps towards an interesting conversation, was the introduction of history as a means to make the younger generation acquainted with the political situation in which they were to live, and to impart, with the appropriate language, the indispensable knowledge

<sup>1)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen : *BB*, B, 286 ; *NijKron.*, I, 228 : it contains only the comments on the first book, which Mich. Hillen reprinted in 1544 ; the 2nd, 3rd and 4th : *NijKron.*, II, 2365-67, date from 1535-36 ; Daxhelet, 66-76, 316-18.

<sup>2)</sup> Louvain, Rutger Rescius : *BB*, T, 106 ; *NijKron.*, I, 1985 ; Daxhelet, 76-82, 319-24 ; H. W. Lawton, *Térence en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* : Paris, 1926 : 143-44.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. III, sect. 3, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. VI.

<sup>5)</sup> Amongst them, Charles de Croy, abbot of Afflighem and of Aumont, future Bishop of Tournai : *BB*, B, 250, 11-13, 19-20.

<sup>6)</sup> Iseghem, 311-313 ; *BB*, B, 290, 13-14 ; *NijKron.*, I, 820, II, 2940, 2942-43 ; Daxhelet, 131-35.

<sup>7)</sup> Iseghem, 318-19, S, 25-26 ; *BB*, E, 140, B, 290, 17-18 ; *NijKron.*, I, 771, II, 2844-47, 4144 ; Daxhelet, 135-45.

<sup>8)</sup> Louvain, Th. Martens : Iseghem, 332-33 ; in a second edition, August 1524, thirteen Dialogues were added : Iseghem, 333 ; the book was often reprinted : *BB*, B, 262-73, 290, 18-20 ; *NijKron.*, II, 2360, also I, 223-27, II, 2361-63 ; Daxhelet, 158-180, 294-95, 298.

<sup>9)</sup> Louvain, Peter Martens : Iseghem, 336 ; *BB*, B, 259-61, 290, 18 ; *NijKron.*, I, 229, 230-31 ; Daxhelet, 145-57, 296-97.



for those who were called to direct, or at least, to help to direct, the management of their native land and nation. In July 1519 he published his *De Hollandiæ Principibus* <sup>1)</sup>, to which were added, in January 1520, a *Catalogus Episcoporum Traiectensium*, and a life of *Carolus Burgundus* <sup>2)</sup>: the series is closed by the remarkable *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae Ducibus Historia*, published in 1526 <sup>3)</sup>, which, through its clearness of representation, its excellent Latin, its prevailing good sense and its sound judgment, remained a *locus classicus* <sup>4)</sup> till long after the time when literators and philologues like Justus Lipsius were decorated with the title of *Regius Historicus* <sup>5)</sup>.

## G. DE RATIONE STUDII EPISTOLA

The development which the study and teaching of Language and Literature had reached in Louvain in the second decennium of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century can be gauged from the history of the intellectual evolution of John Louis Vives, who, about 1525, was considered to form with Erasmus and Budé the literary triumvirate that dominated the first half of that century :

Judicio Vives, sermonis flumine Erasmus,

Doctrinæ primas laude Budæus habet <sup>6)</sup>.

Born on March 6, 1492 at Valencia, in Spain, he owed to his uncle Enrique March, an able lawyer, the first initiation in Latin, as well as a predilection for jurisprudence <sup>7)</sup>. After having studied in his native town under Jerome Amiguet <sup>8)</sup>, who continued the old tradition in his teaching, Vives went

<sup>1)</sup> Antwerp, John Thibaut : *BB*, B, 255 ; Daxhelet, 98-99 ; Wood, I, 112.

<sup>2)</sup> Antwerp, Mich. Hillen : *BB*, B, 256, 257, 290, 14-16 ; NijKron., I, 232, 235 ; Daxhelet, 102-106.

<sup>3)</sup> Antwerp, Adrian Tilianus and John van Hoochstraeten : *BB*, B, 275 ; in this book is taken up the *Obsidio Papiæ*, and the *Germaniæ Inferioris Urbes*, already included in some preceding editions of the *Dialogi* : *BB*, B, 271, 274, as well as *De Ductibus Venetorum*. It was often reprinted and translated, adorned with portraits of the Dukes in woodcut or engraving : *BB*, B, 276-289, 290, 20-28 ; NijKron., I, 236, 237, 234 ; Daxhelet, 113-124, 106-112, 324-28.

<sup>4)</sup> Daxhelet, 124-128.

<sup>5)</sup> NèveMém., 168.

<sup>6)</sup> *De Sentent. Sim. Grynæi* : G. Eulitz, *Der Verkehr zwischen Vives und Budæus* : Chemnitz, 1897 : 4, 26.

<sup>7)</sup> *Viv Vita*, 5 ; Bonilla, 21.

<sup>8)</sup> *Viv Vita*, 23, sq ; Bonilla, 35, sq.

to Paris in 1509; there, under masters like J. Dullaert and Gaspar Lax de Sariñena <sup>1)</sup>, he became such a clever adept of dialectic, that, as Erasmus declared, *nemo disputabat acrius, nemo magis agebat sophistam* <sup>2)</sup>. The measure of the stage of his development is given by the fact that, for some lectures, he selected as subject, and prepared an edition of, C. Julius Hyginus' writings <sup>3)</sup>. Equally significant is his concluding speech of a meeting at the house of his master and friend Gaspar Lax, at which had been discussed the advisability of learning and teaching classic literature by means of pagan authors: he ends the debate, in the *Ovatio Virginis Mariæ*, by declaring that it is far worthier of a Christian to talk and to write about our Saviour and His Virgin Mother than about the tales and fables of a Virgil, of an Ovid, of a Valerius Flaccus or of an Apuleius, not to mention the writings of the Greeks, and especially those by 'insano sene Homero, nugurum omnium parente' <sup>4)</sup>!

When, in 1512, political complications drove Vives from

<sup>1)</sup> *VivVita*, 25-28; Bonilla, 51, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter to Herman, Count of Neuenahr, [March 15,] 1520: Allen, iv, 1082, 46-47.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter of Vives to Juan Fort, asking him to read the text of Hyginus which he had corrected when he was still in Paris: 'ipsum igitur Hyginium quum essem Parrhysiis publico professurus auditorio, volui meliori redderetur incudi...': Bonilla, 704. That letter is published in the edition of Hyginus by Pasquier Lambert in 1514, and in its reprint of 1517, taking each time the date of the issue: Estelrich, 42-46; Bonilla, 790-91.

<sup>4)</sup> VOO, vii, 130: the meeting at the house of Lax is described in two pamphlets: the first part constitutes *Christi Iesu Triumphus* and the latter, *Mariæ Dei Parentis Ovatio*; they were printed in Paris, possibly in 1514, by Jehan Lambert under the title *Opuscula duo Christi Iesu Liberatoris nostri Triumphus et Mariæ parentis eius ovatio* (quarto, 15 leaves: Estelrich, 36-39). Those first of Vives' works were reprinted amongst his *Opuscula Varia* in Louvain by Thierry Martens, probably in 1519: Bonilla, 751; Iseghem, 302-303; NijKron., i, 2172; Vives inserted a few correctives of what might seem objectionable in those premature writings: in the *Ovatio* he mentions Erasmus as 'amicum meum probatissimum et eruditissimum virum', whom he wishes as preceptor to Prince Ferdinand, like Adrian of Utrecht was that of Charles of Austria: the question of that preceptorate dates only from 1519, and yet it is inserted in the report of a meeting of several years before: VOO, vii, 130-31; *VivVita*, 30, sq; Bonilla, 66, sq, 599. Erasmus declining the preceptorship, had suggested Vives: Allen, iii, 917, pr.

Paris, he took shelter in a friendly Spanish family at Bruges, where he was entrusted with the preceptorship of James de la Potterie, whom he followed to Louvain, in the hope of finding there a living for some time <sup>1)</sup>. Louvain was a revelation to him. He there made the acquaintance of Barlandus and Dorp, of Paludanus and de Neve, of de Corte and Cranevelt, and, through them, of real, sound scholarship. Having arrived some time before 1514, since he advised Barlandus to print his *Collectanea* <sup>1)</sup>, he was so eager a neophyte in the study of authentic literature and unobjectionable Latin, that already in 1515, in the second edition of those *Collectanea*, Barlandus points him out as a most zealous teacher, as a protagonist, who instead of lagging behind, takes the lead : ' Louanii hoc tempore videntur mihi studia hec nostratia ex parte sibi aliqua restituta : diligentia latine doctissimi amici mei Ludouici viuis, Hispani generis : qui quotidie docendo, dormienteis excitauit hic latinas musas ' <sup>2)</sup>. He became Erasmus' disciple and friend <sup>3)</sup>, and, no doubt, through him and Dorp's edition of Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica* <sup>4)</sup>, he assimilated the most essential principles of real humanism, which became as the basis of his grand pedagogical system. It explains the enormous distance between the presumptuous brilliancy of the *Triumphus* and the *Ovatio*, on one side, and on the other the rich maturity of the *Somnium Scipionis*, 1521, and the admirable erudition of his comments on the *Civitas Dei*, 1522. No wonder that he felt the backwardness of Paris on his visit of 1519 : whereas he himself had made a prodigious advance, his friends and the whole University had not moved a step forward ; it brought him to the bitter rebuke of the methods

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 228.

<sup>2)</sup> *Hadriani Barlandi Versuum... prouerbialium Collectanea* : Paris & Louvain, Giles de Gourmont [, 1517] : f g 1, v ; the just mentioned letter of Vives to Barlandus [end of 1513, beginning of 1514], is printed there on f g 5, r, v ; cp. before, p 228-29.

<sup>3)</sup> In his letter to Herman, Count of Neuenahr, of (about March 15) 1520, Erasmus highly praises Vives, and remarks that when he still *in subtilibus... sed infantibus disciplinis versaretur*, he was the first of the sophists. ' Nunc,' he adds, ' totus in mansuetioribus litteris versatur, et sic versatur vt hoc sæculo vix alium norim quem ausim cum illo committere ' &c : Allen, iv, 1082, 24-50, specially 46-49.

<sup>4)</sup> Louvain, January 12, 1515 : Iseghem, 248-49 ; cp. before, for opinions common to Agricola and Vives, pp 156-158.

of Paris in his famous *In Pseudo-Dialecticos*, in which he victoriously burns that which he had adored, and that which had made him famous seven years before <sup>1)</sup>.

By his wonderful development in the course of those very few years, Vives magnificently brought out the glory of Louvain, but at the same time pointed out her weakness, and the danger of a possible decay. The grand achievements were in fact only due to the happy circumstance of the availability of apt and efficient men at the right moment, and were dependent on it: if the staff of the Lily had not possessed the rich choice of workers, their great enterprise would have foundered at the leaving of one or more of those individual forces: they themselves had been most successful because they had followed the bent of their nature, but they had not left any 'line of conduct'; when difficulties arose, their successors had nothing to guide them, and nobody to advise them, so that, in their abandonment, they actually let things go their way, and seemed to fall asleep — so that they needed an eager neophyte like Vives to rouse them up, as Barlandus remarked <sup>2)</sup>.

That was also understood by one of the latter's pupils, William Zaghere, of Goes <sup>3)</sup>, appointed as headmaster at Zierikzee. He had been a most careful disciple, but evidently soon found that there lay miles between theory and practice. He therefore requested his master to instruct him about the organisation of teaching, and of the study of Latin and of Literature. In reply Barlandus wrote a most interesting letter *De Ratione Studii* <sup>4)</sup>, replete with the golden experience of a zealous and earnest worker, who had contended with difficulties to realize his aim, and to become an efficient professor. His friend Zaghere, no doubt, appreciated the *Ratio*, which helped

<sup>1)</sup> VOO, III, 37, *sq*; Bonilla 588-591; Estelrich 15, 86-7, 90.

<sup>2)</sup> In his comments of the *Collectanea*, quoted before, p 233.

<sup>3)</sup> William Zaghere, Segher, *Sagarus, Zagarus*, of Goes, matriculated in Louvain on Aug. 31, 1507, as a student of the Porc, and passed his last examination for the promotion under Barlandus' presidency on June 6, 1510 (cp. before, p 227). He studied law for some time, and then accepted a place as master in Zierikzee School of which he soon became the head. By 1533, he was member of the Council for Friesland, in which office he died in December 1538: *Cran.*, 147, *a-b*; Daxhelet, 300.

<sup>4)</sup> The letter *De Ratione Studii* directed to William Zagarus, reproduced by Daxhelet, 300-307, is not dated; the exact year of the headmaster's appointment is ignored; consequently the interesting memoir is ascribed

him on with a success that opened a brilliant career for him ; he had it copied and transmitted to friends. Barlandus, who evidently was on most familiar terms with Martens, allowed him to print it in front of his edition of Franciscus Philelphus' *Elegantes et familiares Epistolæ*, which was ready just then, and only wanted the title <sup>1</sup>). Although almost forlorn in that

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to 1525 or -26 (Daxhelet, 300), when Barlandus was in the full development of his experience. Certain details, however, point to a much earlier date : on l 46 (of Daxhelet's reprint) Aldus Manutius († 1515) is said to have died, but John de Spouter († 1520) is referred to as still alive ; on ll 53-54, William Lily's *De Constructione Octo Partium Orationis*, originary *ex Anglia*, had been found so useful that it was printed *his intra paucissimos menses*. That handbook, composed for John Colet's School, and printed by Richard Pynson in 1513 (*PrintLists* : Pynson, 9), had been arranged by Erasmus and published by Froben, at Basle, in August 1515, with a letter to the Reader explaining its genesis : Allen, II, 341. Martens reproduced it in September 1516 from the 'codex Germanicus', viz., the Basle model, and added to it Barlandus' *Isagoge Rhetorices* : Iseghem, S, 18-20 ; Daxhelet, 56-59 ; NijKron, II, 2893, 2896, 2898. No doubt Barlandus refers to *that* issue, which he used in his lectures during the winter. The re-issue, a consequence of the practical utility of the handbook, would not be an extraordinary event : Martens similarly reprinted on October 22, 1513 the *Fabulæ* which he had issued a month earlier, Sept. 21, 1513, — and that was only known when a copy of the reprint turned up (NijKron., I, 27, II, 2243, and before, p 228). It is quite admissible that on account of the great demand, the printer had to reproduce the issue of September, part of the composition being possibly still available, before or during the winter ; which would then indicate the early months of 1517 as date of this letter. It was inserted in the edition of Philelphus' *Epistolæ*, of which all but the title was then just ready (cp. NijKron., II, 3726, and next note). That date agrees with the reference to Geldenhouwer, who was then in Louvain, and who sent his greetings to Zaghere along with this *Ratio* : he was evidently at work at his publications and as Martens' corrector, and only left for Utrecht, where he had accepted the post of secretary to the newly appointed Bishop, Philip of Burgundy, so as to take part in his solemn entrance into his cathedral town on May 19, 1517 : *GeldColl.*, 218 ; *Geldenh.*, 22-31. The year 1525-26 is decidedly excluded by the fact that in the spring of 1526 Geldenhouwer was still in Germany, or, if returned, had to hide from all friends and acquaintances : cp. *Cran.*, 179, a, 145, 147.

<sup>1</sup>) NijKron., II, 3726 : the *Epistola* is announced on the title-page : 'Hadriani Barlandi ad egregie literatum adolescentem Guilielmum Zagarum de prælegendis autoribus in scholis Epistola. Et hanc optime lector statim in fronte libri habebis obuam propterea quod iam opere ad calcem perducto, tantum Titulus restabat excudendus cum epistola hæc ad prelum allata est'. — The letter itself, with just the address,

‘unconnected’ book, of which neither text nor notes refer to Barlandus or to this *Epistola*, it was not forgotten : it was reprinted, nearly a century later, amongst the *Historica Hadriani Barlandi*<sup>1</sup>).

That *Ratio*, answering, in the beginning of 1517, Zaghere’s earnest-minded request, illustrates the necessity of a permanent, well-constituted staff of masters of languages, as rich in experience as in erudition, who should be, if not the supervisors, at least the ready counsellors and constant helpers of the younger teachers they had formed. Even after having witnessed a splendid efflorescence of studies in Louvain, Zaghere felt the need of assistance, no doubt because the ‘line of conduct’ had never been definitely pointed out. Many students, like he, had profited by its actual working, and had highly appreciated its effects, but they were at a loss how to apply it in their turn, especially if they had to contend with hostile prejudice, with benumbing distrust, or at the least with routine, in the surroundings where they were to teach.

The *Ratio*, moreover, implied that those masters could not content themselves any longer with just aiming in their lessons at providing only a practical acquaintance with Latin, even if it should include an occasional letter and a casual speech. A good part of their audience were to become *ludi-magistri*, which obliged the staff to impart to them a larger knowledge than that which, in their turn, they had to dispense, as well as all the necessary notions about the method to be applied. Another part of their hearers were quite as much in need of a better literary equipment than had been given up to then : for as they were to become public orators

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begins on the *recto* of a second leaf, and ends on the *verso* of the fourth, with a ‘Carmen Barlandi extemporale ad Gulielmum Za. vt amici epistolam dono missam læta fronte accipiat.’ — After that first unpaginated quire, the book starts on numbered leaves. — The edition is ascribed to c 1525 on the authority of Daxhelet, 180, sq, 300 : it is evident that it belongs to the first months of 1517.

<sup>1</sup>) Cologne, Bernard Gualtherus, 1603 (= Barl*Hist.*) : the letter begins on p 276 with the address : ‘Hadrianvs Barlandvs Gvilielmo Zagaro Ciriacinæ iuuentutis moderatori S. D. P.’, followed by the title *De ratione studij*. The text extends to p 282, and is followed by the *Carmen* of 8 lines.

or diplomatists, juridical councillors or any other kind of officials, their utility and efficiency in the commonwealth would be wholly dependent on their mastery over a discriminating, supple and nervous Latin. Others were destined to profess different branches in the University : for their study and indispensable research, they did not merely want a thorough acquaintance with the language of Rome, but also with that of Greece, as well as, maybe, some understanding of Hebrew or Arab. It lay in the duties of the permanent staff to equip themselves so as to be able to provide an adequate training adapted to a widening and deepening instruction.

That body of instructors should, finally, have to communicate the reliable ensurance of progress, the certitude that the forward movement, once begun, would always continue in a regular tempo ; that, instead of following the track once beaten, they should constantly extend their researches, and investigate, not merely each language and its literature, but also all subsidiary information gathered from monuments and antiquities, from works of art and science, and from all that might illustrate the mind and civilisation which had shaped that language and its literature. That staff should be composed, not of passing erudites or occasional visitors, but of men who should devote their whole existence and all their efforts to the stated pursuits ; and measures were to be taken that would allow them to work without having to think of the material necessities of life : so that no Dorpius and no Curtius should have to try and enter a higher Faculty, and no de Coster and no de Spouter should have to leave the University just for the sake of a handful more pelf.

A few months after the *Ratio* was written and despatched, all those *desiderata* were going to be realized by the providential founding of Jerome de Busleyden's *Collegium Trilingue*.

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## CORRIGENDA

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*On p*

17	<i>l</i> 16	<i>please read</i>	Antony	<i>instead of</i>	John
22	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Lambert	» »	Louis
76	<i>n</i> 1	» »	extension	» »	extensions
93	<i>l</i> 10	» »	to	» »	tho
112	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Ger. v. Goetsenhoven...226	» »	A. van Engelen...228
128	<i>l</i> 11	» »	(John)	» »	John
130	<i>n</i> 5	» »	Ch. VII	» »	Ch. V
221	<i>l</i> 22	» »	Gregory	» »	George
463	<i>n</i> 1 <i>l</i> 14	» »	were	» »	where
528	<i>n</i> 1	» »	<i>LibAct V</i>	» »	<i>LibAct VI</i>

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## CHAPTER III

# THE DAWN OF THE FOUNDATION

## 1. — THE BEGINNING OF THE EXECUTION

### A. AUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES

Very few circumstances have been as favourable for the welfare and the development of Louvain University as those in which Jerome de Busleyden made his foundation. If he had decided on it ten or fifteen years earlier, when he still was under the spell of the literary and artistic vision which he had enjoyed in Italy, he would have tried to imitate the brilliant Academy presided by the magnanimous Lorenzo de' Medici <sup>1)</sup>, and his institute would probably not have stood the test of many years, even if his elder brother Francis had lived longer, and provided him with more ample means. Instead of an existence passed in comparative inaction thanks to a wealth of choice preferments, circumstances compelled him to a most active life in the supreme Law-court, with only a religious feast as an occasion to indulge in poetry <sup>2)</sup>, and later on, in the absorbing embassies and missions on his Prince's service. He thus learned by experience that, instead of contemplative and aesthetic literators, fit men were urgently wanted to prepare qualified and well-equipped schoolmasters for the various towns and boroughs throughout the country who, in their turn, had to provide the necessary workers for the intensifying political and social life, and the growing requirements of business and finance. There had started an urgent demand for intellectual labourers of all

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Sandys, II, 81, *sq* ; Symonds, 322, *sq*.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 200, 304, 317, 319.

kind : secretaries and amanuenses, advisers and employees, and that demand was not likely to abate in the coming years. Science and erudition moreover could not any longer content themselves with the repetition of what had been said before, but required a thorough understanding of the language to analyse documents, as well as to supply an efficient and adequate expression of the new things thought out, with the considerations that had suggested and averred them. The time had gone when knowledge only served to knot unobjectionable syllogisms : man's spirit had to risk on new ways : by mere coasting, no New Worlds were to be discovered. Nor could a scholar forgo much longer any of the original texts, though Greek or Hebrew : translators and commentators having lost most authority, the authentic wording of the document had to be scanned and scrutinized to make it yield all its value as evidence ; henceforth no judgment could be passed on any scientific matter except by means of the genuine and thorough intelligence of the necessary monuments, be they a verse from Scripture or a passage from Chrysostom, a text from a law-book, an Aphorism by Hippocrates or the testimony of Herodotus. If the University wished to keep the lead in the various sciences, it became an imperious necessity for her to organize a School where skilled professors would teach the languages, to the study of which they were to devote the whole of their intellectual activity throughout their lives. Yet the founding of such a School was far beyond the means of the modest *Studium Generale* of Brabant : in other countries royalty assumed that glorious burden, after it had been seen how in this country a venerable Prelate had taken it on his shoulders.

Most fortunately, too, Busleyden had amply availed himself of the advice and the encouragement of Erasmus ; it allowed the executors to turn to him in all their difficulties, as he knew best the founder's intention, especially since the plan had not had the occasion to get to full ripeness in the Prelate's mind. He had for certain contemplated living a few years longer to gather more funds : the grafting of the Institute into an existing college was evidently only a provisional measure, decided upon in the unease before the unexpected journey to Spain, so as to realize as much as possible of his scheme, if death overtook him before the means to secure an independent

existence to his foundation had been collected. Yet if the *Trilingue* had been abundantly endowed, it would unavoidably have fallen a prey to avaricious nonentities, whereas, in its comparative helplessness, it found the sympathy and effective cooperation of men of good will, ready for every endeavour and every sacrifice, which actually ensured its life and lasting success.

#### B. THE 'DRIVING FORCE'

Foremost amongst those men was the inspirer of the great scheme, Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, on whose full-hearted devotedness the executors had an absolute reliance. His loyal zeal was impelled merely by the certainty that nothing could be more beneficial to Church or State, nor more glorifying to Louvain University. To be true, he was not quite unselfish in his endeavour, for he contemplated settling in the College as soon as circumstances would have brought about a well-organized, well-equipped Institute; yet he should have enriched it in return with his experience and his renown <sup>2)</sup>; he further intended endowing it with his own means, and for certain, with his fine collection of books and manuscripts <sup>3)</sup>. He was so eager that, as soon as he knew of Busleyden's death and will, he lost no time in bringing about the great plan, for fear of difficulties which would grow with the time; he was certain that there would be some opposition, as the new Institution was to upset the methods of study and teaching, and to turn upside down the world of ideas and opinions in which the University had been living for nearly a century <sup>4)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 12, sq, 60, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> In November 1517, Erasmus wrote to Giles de Busleyden referring to the new Institute: '*Nec vilius contubernii malim hospes esse, idque meopte sumptu; et puto meum conuictum non inutilem fore tali collegio*': Allen, III, 699, 16-17.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus added: '*Postremo non malim vllum alium hæredem bibliothecæ nostræ*': Allen, III, 699, 15-18. In his first will, dated January 22, 1527, he stipulated that the complete edition of his works should be offered to the College, to be placed in its library: Allen, VI, p 505.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 12-14: '*Nihil vnquam nouæ rei tam plausibiliter fuit institutum quin vnus aut alter reclamaret*'.

As soon as he was fully informed about the dispositions stated in the will, he sounded through his friends <sup>1)</sup> what chances Busleyden's foundation had to be accepted and incorporated in St. Donatian's College. Fearing that John Stercke's suggestion would not find in the Faculty of Arts, the chief patrons of that College, the encouragement and support it deserved, he evidently wanted to prevent that, by a refusal, the whole scheme should be abandoned. In his perspicacity he knew that it would be of utmost importance to start the teaching at once <sup>2)</sup> : on the one hand, it should bind the executors and even Busleyden's heirs, engaging them towards the appointed professors, towards the University and towards the public in general, to continue the lessons that had been started and had proved useful and indispensable ; on the other hand, it would disarm all opposition <sup>3)</sup>, as instead of diffidence and distrust, it would create appreciative admiration, even in the staunchest partisans of tradition and of the old order, provided there were really first rate professors to inaugurate a 'negocium pulcherrimum et immortalitate dignum' <sup>4)</sup>.

## 2. — THE HEBREW PROFESSORATE

### A. MATTHEW ADRIANUS

It happened that at the time there was in Louvain one of the best Hebraists of those days, Matthew Adrianus <sup>5)</sup>. He

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<sup>1)</sup> No doubt his host John de Neve, *Regens* of the Lily (cp. pp 200-2), had experience enough of the management of University institutions to know whether the scheme as proposed in the will was likely to live ; he was acquainted, on the other hand, with the feelings of his colleagues of the Faculty of Arts to have an idea of the trouble that might be created.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 13.

<sup>3)</sup> From the very beginning Erasmus dreaded the malevolent interference of some theologians : to Antony Clava, of Ghent, he wrote on Dec. 21, 1517, about the new College 'quod ex legato Buslidii Louanii instituetur, nisi theologorum genius aliquis malus obstiterit' : Allen, III, 743, 6-7.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 2-6, 695, 8-10.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HebStud.*, 41-48, 134 ; *HebGesch.*, 190-202 ; Gustav Bauch, *Die Einführung des Hebräischen in Wittenberg* (in : *Monatschrift für die Geschichte des Judenthums*, XI) : Leipzig, 1904 : 297-98, 329-40, 461-67, 478-79.

was born about 1475 in Spain from a Jewish family, and had become a *Miles Christi* <sup>1)</sup>. He went to Italy where he studied medicine and possibly promoted Doctor <sup>2)</sup>. Apparently he gained a living by teaching the rudiments of his native language, about which he wrote an *Introductio in Linguam Hebraicam*, printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1501, reprinted in 1508 and again in 1512 <sup>3)</sup>. In that year Matthew was in Tübingen where he published a Hebrew translation of some prayers <sup>4)</sup> — the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo*; — it was intended as a correction of a similar work by Pfefferkorn <sup>5)</sup>. He seconded Reuchlin <sup>6)</sup>, and taught Conrad Pellican <sup>7)</sup>: both of whom recommended him <sup>8)</sup> to John Amerbach, of Basle, as a clever Hebraist and as a convenient preceptor for his three sons; the only drawback was his insufficient knowledge of Latin, which is drastically illustrated by the letter which Adrianus wrote from Strassburg on January 31, 1513 <sup>9)</sup>, offering his services as corrector of an edition of St. Jerome <sup>10)</sup> and as instructor, at least for a few months, since he intended going to Venice about Easter and from there to Palestine <sup>11)</sup>. He also referred to a book which

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Mol., 796; VAnd., 283; VAndEx., 68; *BibBelg.*, 865-66; Paquot, xiii, 310-13; *ULDoc.*, iv, 523; *NèveMém.*, 126, 228-231; Allen, iii, 686, 5; Enders, ii, 223.

<sup>2)</sup> Probably before or in 1512: that title is first mentioned in January 1513: ReuchlE, 150.

<sup>3)</sup> It was reprinted by J. Froben, Basle, in 1518 (*CatHalle*, 68) and 1520, as well as by Seb. Gryphius, Lyons.

<sup>4)</sup> *Libellus Hora Faciendi pro Domino*: Tübingen, Th. Anshelm: January 1513: *HebGesch.*, 478; *CatSél.*, 196.

<sup>5)</sup> *HebGesch.*, 195, 197.

<sup>6)</sup> ReuchlE, 219.

<sup>7)</sup> Enders, ii, 359.

<sup>8)</sup> Reuchlin's letter, ReuchlE, 150, is dated from Tübingen, January 4, 1512/3: *HebGesch.*, 190; Pellican's, 'Pforcen. Vincentii 1513' (Pforzheim, January 22, 1513: *HebGesch.*, 191-192): in the latter, reference is made to Adrianus' defective Latin.

<sup>9)</sup> *HebGesch.*, 192-95, reproducing the manuscript original: *BbBasle*: G. ii, 29, ff 1-2, 13a, 67, 53.

<sup>10)</sup> Writing about the projected edition of St. Jerome's works, he declares, in his quaint Latin: *Almani non posunt bene hoc facere propter quod omnes falsant scripturas legendo, nec nulus este in alimania ebreos... ego scio pro certo quod Rochelino vel Pellicano non habent potestatem coregendi divum sanctum Jeronimum*: *HebGesch.*, 193.

<sup>11)</sup> *HebGesch.*, 194.

he had wished to publish whilst he was in Tübingen <sup>1)</sup>, and he introduces himself as medical doctor <sup>2)</sup>. He eventually reached Basle and entered John Amerbach's service as preceptor <sup>3)</sup>; he also taught there Wolfgang Fabritius Köpfel, *Capito* <sup>4)</sup>, who had settled there in March 1513. Still the works of St. Jerome were not issued, nor did Adrianus publish his own <sup>5)</sup>; he seems to have left Basle long before one year had gone, for he was already at work in or soon after 1513 as private teacher of Hebrew in Heidelberg <sup>6)</sup>, where he had as pupils the future theologians John Brenz, *Brentius* <sup>7)</sup>, and John Hausschein, *Oecolampadius* <sup>8)</sup>. By 1516 he went and practised as physician, at least for a time, in Middelburg <sup>9)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> It was to comprise *præcepta hebraica & caldaica cum figuris*, the four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles and the *Passio Domini* in Hebrew, as well as a *Vocabularium magnæ utilitatis*: *HebGesch.*, 194.

<sup>2)</sup> *HebGesch.*, 192; Reuchle, 150: Adrianus probably promoted M. D. in Italy between 1502 and 1512; if not, in Tübingen.

<sup>3)</sup> *HebStud.*, 42; Rupprich, 9; Fechter, *Bonifacius Amorbach* (in *Beiträge zur Vaterländische Geschichte*: Basle, 1843: II, 179, sq, quotes these words from a letter of Bruno Amerbach to his brother Boniface, 1519: Habes Matthæum Hadrianum, quondam in litteris hebraicis præceptorem nostrum, virum optimum qui te non secus ac filium amat. — Cp. *BbBasle*, G. II, 13, 111.

<sup>4)</sup> J. W. Baum, *Capito and Butzer*: Elberfeld, 1860: 12-17; Allen, II, 459, *pr*, III, 707, 10, 731, 25-26, 797, 10. — Sebastian Münster, in his preface of Dec. 10, 1541 to his *Opus Grammaticum Consummatum* (Basle, H. Petri, March 1542), says that Capito was taught Hebrew by Adrianus in Bruchsal Abbey, which can hardly be correct; he also calls Mattheus a 'difficilis præceptor', probably because in his *Vita Oecolampadii*, Capito declares: Hebræa a quodam Hispano didicit quo & ego antea usus eram Præceptore, etsi infelici, & invidente nobis cognitionem sanctæ Linguae: Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Theologorum*, edit. 1706: 42; Paquot, XIII, 310-311.

<sup>5)</sup> *HebGesch.*, 196; Allen, III, 686, 5.

<sup>6)</sup> J. Fr. Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg*: Mannheim, 1862-64: I, 370; *HebGesch.*, 198.

<sup>7)</sup> J. Hartmann & K. Jäger, *Johann Brenz*: Hamburg, 1840-42: I, 24, sq; Beyschlag, *Leben des Johann Brenz*: 330; *HebStud.*, 43.

<sup>8)</sup> *Oekolampad*, I, 107; E. Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*: Leipzig, 1934; *BeitSchlecht*, 14, sq; K. R. Hagenbach, *Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius, die Reformatoren Basels*: Elberfeld, 1859: 8.

<sup>9)</sup> In some biographies a stay in Liège is mentioned for this period (Enders, II, 223), which can only have been a mere passing through — or a mixing up either with John Cellarius, or Robert Wakefeld, one of whom taught Hebrew there to Pascasius Berselius, and was sent by him to Erasmus in Louvain: cp. Ch. V; Allen, III, 674, 29, sq; *HebStud.*, 44.

which town he had to leave in a hurry on account, it seems, of his debts <sup>1)</sup>. He came to Brussels, where he met a countryman, Louis de Vaca <sup>2)</sup>, member of Charles of Austria's Council, who had been acquainted with Jerome de Busleyden, and knew of his scheme. He sent Adrianus to Erasmus in Louvain <sup>3)</sup>, who at once saw to what account he could be turned. He wrote to Giles de Busleyden, — to whom Vaca meanwhile had mentioned that Hebraist <sup>4)</sup>, — and called him a godsend, whom it was a duty to accept; he also added that he had mentioned him and his accomplishments to the theologians and that, without doubt, they took his word for it that Adrianus was at that time the only one who satisfied every wish. He therefore advised to do what was possible to secure and retain him, and he himself offered his services and his influence to that effect <sup>5)</sup>. So anxious and enthusiastic he was about that appointment, that he expressed his hopes in his letters to Peter Gillis <sup>6)</sup>, to William Budé <sup>7)</sup>, to Thomas Lupset <sup>8)</sup> and to Peter le Barbier <sup>9)</sup>, as well as, a few weeks later, to Henry Glareanus <sup>10)</sup> and to Wolfgang Capito <sup>11)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 798, 17 : ex Midelburgo cum summo tumultu discessit ob æs alienum.

<sup>2)</sup> Louis Cabeza de Vaca, or Vacca, a Spanish nobleman of Jaen (c 1465-Dec. 12, 1550), priest and protonotary, had been from 1505 Charles of Austria's teacher, and for the first three years, also that of his sisters (Moeller, 43, 53, 87; Glay, I, 35); from 1510 Adrian of Utrecht took the direction of that instruction : *Busl.*, 314-17. Vaca was praised for his work by Margaret of Austria : Glay, II, 115; and his pupil granted him a pension, and appointed him as councillor in his Court : Henne, II, 77, v, 45; his name occurs on the lists of those forming the Emperor's train in 1515, 1517 and 1522, and of those who followed him to England and Spain in May 1522 : Gachard, II, 493, 517; Walther, 213; Brewer, III, 2288 (p 969). By 1509 he had Remacle d'Ardenne in his service : *Busl.*, 219. He was appointed as a member of the Council for India, and became Bishop of the Canary Islands on October 14, 1523; he was promoted to the see of Salamanca in 1530, and in 1537 to that of Palencia : Allen, III, 686, 14, VII, 1847, 91; *Busl.*, 219; *EraCab.*, 21; Thibaut, 32, 51; *MargvOK*, 205; Gossart, 165.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 686, 22-23.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 686, 13-14.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 686.

<sup>6)</sup> <October 1517 : > Allen, III, 687, 20-21.

<sup>7)</sup> October 16, 1517 : Allen, III, 689, 15-17; Opmeer, I, 476, b, 478, a.

<sup>8)</sup> October 26, 1517 : Allen, III, 690, 11-12.

<sup>9)</sup> November 2, 1517 : Allen, III, 695, 6-7; *BeitSchlecht*, 31.

<sup>10)</sup> <Middle and end of November 1517 : > Allen, III, 707, 9-11, 721, 8-9.

<sup>11)</sup> December 6 <, 1517> : Allen, III, 731, 25-26 : Mattheus, præceptor tuus, hic receptus est vt profiteatur Hebraice.

On October 30, he had not heard of Giles de Busleyden, and, losing patience, he sent Adrian to him with a letter, representing how urgently a decision was needed <sup>1)</sup> : for the man, he wrote, was waiting in Louvain to his great disadvantage, as he was abandoning his profession and his wife, and winter was setting in <sup>2)</sup>. If the legacy were not to be carried out, he should be advised of it at once, so as not to make him wait any longer ; if on the contrary the College was going to be founded, it were well to make an arrangement with this candidate <sup>3)</sup> ; for the Institution was not to be started with ordinary or indifferent professors, but with the most famous and the most experienced in their kind <sup>4)</sup>. It would not be possible to procure an abler one or a better qualified one from Italy : consequently, so Erasmus advised, he was to be engaged for the Institute at any cost ; and that would be easily done by giving him a place to lecture in without delay, and by ensuring to him a salary in proportion of his capacity <sup>5)</sup>. To that effect he suggested to abstain from all other expenditure for the time being, and to devote the whole of the income of the foundation to the organizing of a worthy and splendid teaching <sup>6)</sup> ; for it was of the highest importance that the ' *professio trium linguarum* ' should start with such dignity and magnificence that the Institution should reveal itself to all as a most admirable undertaking which was certain to be the glory of the nation <sup>7)</sup>.

The object of that encomium went to Brussels for an interview with Giles de Busleyden and, most probably, with Nicolas van Nispen, one of the executors <sup>8)</sup>. In Erasmus' opinion it was as the *auspictum* of the enterprise ; to prevent that the obvious lack of fluency in Adrianus' Latin might be urged against him, it was emphasized in a postscript that he had a sufficient command of the language to teach Hebrew and its literature, which no man in the world knew better than he did <sup>9)</sup>. Both the letter and the candidate made an excellent impression, and Giles de Busleyden at once advised

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 691.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 11-13.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 6.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 3-4, 10, 695, 8-10.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 51, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 1-2.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 4-6.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 9-10.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 19-22.



Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>; who replied by the same messenger that instead of thanks for the kind reception of the Hebraist, he rather sent congratulations for having secured the right man to start the Institute, which was going to make the name of Busleyden immortal and to be as the cause of a general revival of the collapsed studies, for, once given, the magnificent example was certain to be imitated in other Universities <sup>2)</sup>.

No doubt Giles de Busleyden had mentioned in his message some criticism which had been made to him of the grand scheme, for Erasmus judged it necessary to encourage him in his goodwill towards, and his protection of, the enterprise that would be the glory of his family and the ideal help proffered to all who study. He requests him not to let himself be dissuaded from the decision already taken <sup>3)</sup>: for there are always men who hate their own good so much that they even want to prevent it in others; men who prefer averting eager ones from good studies, rather than devoting themselves to them: and never has there started any good thing that was not objected to by one man or other. Fearing that he himself might do some harm to the scheme, at least in the opinion of those who bear him some ill will, Erasmus insists that he wants to promote the general welfare and not his own: *Mihi sane hic nec seritur nec metitur: sola me publici commodi ratio movet*: and he adds that, if ever he avails himself of the hospitality of the new Institute, he will repay hundred-fold <sup>4)</sup>.

That letter, together with which Erasmus sent a first sketch of an epitaph on Jerome de Busleyden <sup>5)</sup>, evidently tries to neutralize the influence of ill-disposed people at Court or in the government circles who want to discourage Giles from helping or even allowing the realizing of the foundation projected by his brother. Erasmus therefore hastened to warn him, and, with the messenger who maybe had come to inquire about the promised epitaph, he dispatched an urging letter

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<sup>1)</sup> The letter — if it was not merely a message by word of mouth, — is lost; it was answered at once: Allen, III, 699.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 1-5: the letter, no doubt, belongs to the beginning of November 1517.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 9: 'ne patiare te ab eo quod coeptum est abduci'.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 5-18.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 19-20, 22-29; *Busl.*, 100-102.

so as to prevent that any untoward interference should affect the nomination of the Hebrew professor. Giles was not an executor, yet his advice was certain to be of great importance in the matter, and his furtherance was most precious in this decisive occurrence. For Adrianus, after having met him, as well as Nicolas van Nispen, in Brussels, was likely to be sent to Mechlin to see Dean Robbyns and the other executors, van Vessem, Adrian Josel and Antony Sucket, so as to be finally appointed. At any rate, he had not returned to Louvain when Erasmus wrote to thank Giles for his benevolent reception <sup>1)</sup>, and, for certain, he had not been definitely nominated yet, as it is not mentioned. Maybe Vessem and Josel were, just then, monopolized by the sale of the property of the deceased <sup>2)</sup>, and Councillor Sucket <sup>3)</sup>, absent for the time; whereas Dean Robbyns <sup>4)</sup> was only an adviser. Adrianus had apparently some recommendation from Giles de Busleyden, and from Nispen if he had met him in Brussels, and for certain Erasmus' letter of October 30, with his praise of the candidate for the Hebrew lecture.

That letter, which eventually caused his appointment, thus became as the first document of the execution of the foundation, and when it had done its duty, it was carefully put aside by Vessem with the other documents, and transferred with them to the College in Louvain after his death <sup>5)</sup>. When a few years later, Rescius claimed an enormous amount of arrears which, he said, were due to him by virtue of the stipulations of Busleyden's will, the two *provisores* Tapper and de Corte searched in the records for evidence that the executors, who, by then, had all entered eternity, had legally changed those stipulations <sup>6)</sup>. This letter with Adrianus' *encomium* provided,

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 19 : Matthæus nondum huc commigrauit. Allen explains *huc* as : 'into the Collège du Lis, as a temporary residence', — which probably is not meant, as it does not follow at all that the Doctor had stayed there already a few days, though sent to Erasmus by Vaca : cp. before, p 244. The mention rather refers to the return from the visit that was to provide a decisive solution of the question, which, as several similar others, later on, was to be given at Mechlin.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Busl.* 112-118.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 121-122 ; and before, p 56, *sq.*

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 10, 11, *sq.*

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Ch. XXI.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Ch. XXIV.

Erasmus Busleyden suo S. D. Medici huius laudandum hocce  
 non sine magno suo dispendio: statim reliquit, et exor-  
 et instat hyems. Mibi negotium videtur omnium esse  
 pulcherrimum, et immortalitati dignum. Sed plerumque inter-  
 et, quibus auspiciis incipitur. Mea forte via, non  
 vulgaris aut mediocrius imperium est, sed per insignes  
 et magni nominis profectus. Hic unus corporis, qualem  
 nec ab Italia litteris accipere. proinde meo iudicio uno  
 de omnibus est alligandus. Id fieri si statim illa designet  
 locus, et salarium determinetur, ipse dignus. pro exor-  
 potius reliquis. Confut admodum ad hoc tempus. Sine  
 do profectio tenet linguam. Cui dignitate ac splendo-  
 re instituitur. hortatur sum ut ipse eam sum agr-  
 et negotium. Si rectum est legatum exquiri, cum hoc ream  
 egendum ab. Si in unum, adiuvatur. Hic ne frustra  
 pendetur. De quo accipiendo. aut si qua alia de re me-  
 vobis quicquam forte. munda tuo Erasmo. Est huius  
 Rutilius / cunctis optime et condita. q. pro si forte  
 sed mortem huius ut dixi, p. Eclibum et eximios  
 instatui. Bene vale vir omnibus. Louvain 3. Oct.  
 Nostrum.

Nequid in offensa in doctore Mattheo. quod in sermone  
 Latino meo sit prae Copiosus, ac potius. Tanti enim  
 quantum ad amandum satis sit. et sunt Litterae ita  
 callide, ut meo melius, quo huius negotii sumus est.

## LETTER OF ERASMUS TO GILES DE BUSLEYDEN

Louvain, October 30, 1517

from the autograph in the Records of the Realm, Brussels

moreover, the proof that for the lectures of Greek and Hebrew, even the will, as well as the executors, required men from other universities and of distant regions <sup>1)</sup>, who were excellent and even unparalleled in their branch. In fact Erasmus insists most particularly on those requirements when recommending Adrianus, and on that account he decidedly excludes Rescius as candidate for the Greek lesson : ' Est hic Rutgerus, iuuenis optimus et eruditior quam præ se ferat ; sed malim rem, vt dixi, per celebres et eximios institui ' <sup>2)</sup>. Those words apodictically prove the inanity of Rescius' claim to have been appointed in the spirit indicated in the will, as, in fact, he was then a mere student of Greek at work in Thierry Martens' office as corrector <sup>3)</sup>. In the *Motivum Juris in Causa Rutgeri Rescij contra Provisores Collegij Trilingui*, which seems to have brought about the final decision against Rescius <sup>4)</sup>, that argument is developed on page 17, and reference is made to the original letter, the first of six documents which, with a copy of the will, were joined to the memoir, being marked by the capitals *A* to *F*.

That *Motivum* extending over 58 folio pages, besides the six documents attached, — the copy of the will seems to have been lost before, — reached the harbour of the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels, during or soon after the French Revolution as part of the records of Brabant Council <sup>5)</sup>. Still that harbour did not prove a safe one : for the document lost its two jewels, two original letters of Erasmus, marked *A* and *B*. Of the first, the letter of October 30, 1517, about Adrianus and Rescius, a copy was made by Pinchart († 1884), which is now in the Brussels Royal Library, Carton Pinchart, n° 19 ; it indicates as source : ' Arch. du roy., Coll. d'autographes ', and it is joined to a second, of xviii<sup>c</sup>, corrected by a different hand : both copies were used by Allen for his *Ep.* 691 ; he added to their description : ' It is clear that the original was an autograph in the Royal Archives, but it cannot now be found ' <sup>6)</sup>. In the summer of 1928 the letter turned up by accident in a bundle, entitled *Varia*, where probably it had been placed by mistake after having been taken out of the

<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 12, 17, 18.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, sect. 4, B.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *FUL*, pp *xlii-xliii*.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 15-17.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Ch.* XXIV.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 691, *pr.*

*Collection of Autographs* : it has suffered much from being handled, as well as from the wear and the tear of time : it is stuck to a leaf of paper, with a small window for the address, also in Erasmus' hand :

*Ornatiss. viro dnō  
Aegidio Bnflidio pa  
trono vnice obferuā  
do*

Of the obverse side a photographic reproduction is given here on p 248 : it shows the capital *A* at the top added by the writer of *Motivum Juris*, who placed it, with the now missing document *B*, between pp 58 and 59. Below the postscript four words have been added, apparently by Erasmus, in a very small writing, and in a blacker ink, which through the handling and the dust have become very indistinct : the two first, ' *Crastino die* ', the last, probably, ' *non lugebimus* ' <sup>1)</sup>. The original offers only one real variant with the text as Allen gave it, viz., *l* 21 : *suas Litteras*, instead of *sacras litteras* <sup>2)</sup>).

#### B. HEBREW LECTURE STARTED

A few days after being recommended by Erasmus, Adrianus was appointed as Hebrew professor, and a yearly indemnity of 30 Rhine florins was granted to him until he should be joined by the two other lecturers, and the *Collegium Trilingue* should start <sup>3)</sup> ; meanwhile he was left free, and could instruct and tutor for his own account. Erasmus was pleased to announce the good news to Mattheus' former pupil Wolfgang Capito on December 6 <sup>4)</sup>.

It was actually the beginning of the lectures that Erasmus

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<sup>1)</sup> Probably ' *non lugebimus* ' is an allusion to All Hallows' Day, beginning at the first Vespers, on which the recently deceased brother Jerome will be recalled as a glorious saint, rather than on All Souls' Day, as a suffering soul.

<sup>2)</sup> Other variants are only apparent : such is the *et* before *arte* of *l* 1, which looks like *et*, whereas the *e* of *et* before *instat* of *l* 2, is a capital : *Et* ; similarly it reads *quippiam* on *l* 14.

<sup>3)</sup> In the accounts there is an entry of ' xv £ ' for the time he had to wait before being paid as professor, on Sept. 1, 1518 : *Rek.*, 89, v, 91, r, which implies that he had returned to Louvain to start lecturing by the end of February. Cp. Allen, III, 805, 22.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Allen, III, 731, 25-26.

was wanting, rather than the mere appointment; since, in his opinion, all delay of the effective teaching was a danger for the whole enterprise. He therefore had no rest before he made the executors put a house at Adrianus' disposal. They consequently rented on February 2, 1518, a house <sup>1)</sup> of the late professor of Law Walter de Beka <sup>2)</sup>, in Shrine Street, which was just empty; it was made ready, and although it was then not yet allowed to students of the Faculty of Arts to sit elsewhere than on the floor during the lessons, except they were noblemen or priests <sup>3)</sup>, forms were ordered to be placed in the room <sup>4)</sup>, where by the end of February or the first days of March 1518 <sup>5)</sup>, Adrianus started his lectures, after having installed there his wife and family. In the same year the executors bought a Bible in Hebrew, and had it bound <sup>6)</sup>, so that he could use it; and when winter approached they

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<sup>1)</sup> Item is voer hem purification anno xvij (viz., styl. Brab.) gehuert het huys van beka dwelck ledich stont om dair jnne te beghinnen te lesen ten laste vander executien voer een jaer om xl Rgs. geuallen ende betaelt purification xviii (= 1519) xl £ : *Rek.*, 89, v, 90, r.

<sup>2)</sup> Walter de Leeuwe, of Beek, *de Beka* : cp. further, Ch. V.

<sup>3)</sup> Students stood or sat on the floor, *gregatim*, in the room where a professor was teaching, and it often happened that in one and the same room, where two or more masters were lecturing, they gathered like swarms around them. They had to write as they could, and it was only exceptionally allowed to use chairs or seats. As late as 1512 the Faculty of Arts reminded students and masters of that rule, stating: 'Soli Nobiles aut in Sacris constituti possunt sedere super scamnis: alii vero humo humiliter prosternendi'. The contrary custom introduced in Busleyden's Institute, no doubt had a salutary effect; consequently in 1532, the syndicus of the Faculty, John Macket, 'exponit quod in omnibus Universitatibus italiæ et franciæ scholares in scamnis sedeant, sitque indecorum quod prout huc usque factum ut filii bonæ familiæ humi jaceant': *ActArtInd.*, 4, 30; yet only in 1559 *Permittuntur humilia scamna: antea humi sedebant scholares Artium: AcArExc.*, 136.

<sup>4)</sup> *Rek.*, 90, r : Item betaelt den seluen hebreussche om bancken te maken jnt schole voer de auditeurs als men lesden van weeken houte... xvj Julij a° xviii x £ xvij st vj d : the date is that of the payment.

<sup>5)</sup> That date is suggested by the fact that he was paid for six months, xv £, for the period preceding September 1, 1518, as according to the agreement he was to have 30 £ for one year : *Rek.*, 89, v.

<sup>6)</sup> *Rek.*, 38, r : Item voer een bybele jn Hebreussche tale geprent betaelt xiii £ xv st ende vande selue te byndene betaelt den doctuer hebreo xxv st viz., te samen pro collegio xv £.

ordered two wooden candlesticks to be made for the candles that were to give light to the audience <sup>1</sup>).

### C. INITIAL SUCCESS

The Hebrew lessons which started the *Collegium Trilingue*, were an unequivocal success : at least a fortnight before Mattheus Adrianus became an actual member of the University by his matriculating on March 15, 1518 <sup>2</sup>), his lectures attracted such numbers of hearers that Erasmus sent word of the gratifying news to several friends <sup>3</sup>), rejoicing that from *bilinguis* Louvain was becoming *trilinguis* <sup>4</sup>), and that several theologians, with Dorp at their head, were leading the way <sup>5</sup>) : in so far that he thought the time was near that he should be *exosculatum* instead of being *lapidatum* <sup>6</sup>). That result was all the more encouraging since the new Institute did not pay the professor for the lessons as yet, so that the hearers themselves had to bear the cost of the teaching, as well as the difficulty which the learning of the abstruse language entailed.

The enthusiasm of the first days, which might have been due to the novelty, did not die down, so that Erasmus could send by the end of the month a most pleasing report about the successful professor and the choice and number of hearers to his friend John Robbyns <sup>7</sup>), and express the most sanguine

<sup>1</sup>) Rek., 90, r : Item den seluen xxij december eodem anno (1518) noch van groote houten kendeleers by hem doen maken keerssen dair jnne te setten jnt schole bijden auditeurs betaelt by ordinantie als voer iij £.

<sup>2</sup>) *LibIntIII*, 244, r : Dñs Martheus Adrianj medicine doctor hebreus χρι miles.

<sup>3</sup>) Viz., to Peter Barbirius, March 6 : Allen, III, 794, 76 ; to Œcolampadius, March 13 : *ibid.*, 797, 10-12 ; to John Lascaris, April 26, 1518, *ibid.*, 836, 7.

<sup>4</sup>) Letter to Barbirius, March 6, 1518 : Ex bilinguibus hic omnes trilingues reddimur... Videbis breui nouum Louanium : Allen, III, 794, 75-80 : the sense used in *Æneis*, I, 661 : *Tyriosque bilingues* is not excluded.

<sup>5</sup>) Letter to Peter Barbirius, March 6, 1518 : Dorpius Hebraicæ factionis dux est ; to John Robbyns, March 26, 1518 : Habet auditores... in quibus sunt aliquot magistri nostri : Allen, III, 794, 78, 805, 3.

<sup>6</sup>) Letter to Peter Barbirius, March 6, 1518 : breui... exosculabuntur illum paulo ante lapidatum Erasmum : Allen, III, 794, 79-83.

<sup>7</sup>) Erasmus' letter to John Robbyns, March 26, 1518 : Mattheus suas partes et gnauiet et feliciter agit. Habet auditores cum satis vt in re tam noua frequentes, tum honestos : Allen, III, 805, 1-3.

hope that the study of the Bible should soon be nourished by the limpid sources instead of by turbid marshes <sup>1)</sup>. Although Dorp on July 14, 1518, wrote to Erasmus, who was then at Basle, that the lectures would be more frequented if they were free <sup>2)</sup>, no diminishing was noticeable : by October 1518, Erasmus stated : *Hebreus triumphat, et nihil illi non succedit* <sup>3)</sup>. Some whispered criticism seemed even as a sign that the new teaching was deemed far too prosperous by some. In fact, by the middle of March 1519, de Beka's house became too small <sup>4)</sup>, so that at the decease of James van Ryn, Dean of Zierikzee <sup>5)</sup>, his house was rented, and half as many forms as had been made in the beginning, were ordered and added, to accommodate the steadily growing audience <sup>6)</sup>.

#### D. MISGIVINGS

Although highly pleased with the success of the Hebrew professor, Erasmus felt rather suspicious about his moral character. The rumour of his hurried leave from Middelburg had been the first alarm <sup>7)</sup>; and through an incident that happened on one of the first days after the lectures had started,

<sup>1)</sup> In the same letter to Robbyns Erasmus declared : *Hæc vna res omnium studia a turbidis lacunis ad diuinæ Scripturæ limpidissimos fonteis revocabit* : Allen, III, 805, 32-34.

<sup>2)</sup> On July 14, 1518, Dorp wrote from Louvain to Erasmus who was at Basle : *Linguarum professio pulchre apud nos procederet, si stipendia tandem exoluerentur* (<viz., by the executors>) *et doceretur gratis*; *alioqui scis eo Louanienses ingenio vt ægre quicquam dent* : Allen, III, 852, 70-72.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter to Capito, October 19, 1518 : Allen, III, 877, 33-34.

<sup>4)</sup> *Rek.*, 90, r : *Jtem voer den tijt van omtrent zesse weken dat voirs. hebreussche ouer dJaer dair jne bleef* (<viz., in de Beka's house, after February 2, 1519>) *betaelt jn afslaghe xij s.*

<sup>5)</sup> James van Ryn, *de Rheno*, became doctor of Canon Law on June 11, 1493; he was admitted to the University Council on August 31, 1504, and in 1505 to the College of the *Doctores Vtriusque Juris*. He was dean of St. Livinus', Zierikzee, and of Bergen-op-Zoom, as well as parish priest of St. Michael's, Louvain. He died in 1519 : cp. Mol., 541; Vand., 178.

<sup>6)</sup> *Rek.*, 90, v : *Jtem den seluen verhuyst zijnde ende wonende jnt huys vanden deken van Zierixee. om noch bancken te doen maken mits dat de sael aldair grooter was pro auditorio bij ordinantie als voer iijj £ xij s.*

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 798, 17 : [Matthæus] *ex Middelburgo cum summo tumultu discessit ob æs alienum.*



the suspicion was far from being allayed. Adrianus, one day, called at the Lily <sup>1)</sup>, where Erasmus had just received a letter from Capito for him ; as, however, he was very busy, he sent his amanuensis with it down to the *atrium* where he was waiting, and wished to be excused. But the Hebrew insisted on coming up, and even on having the letter read out to him, as he had not his spectacles. The first lines were bitter invectives about money still due, which Erasmus advised him to peruse for himself, but Adrianus urged him to read on, and he was going to explain the whole matter when the Humanist peremptorily interrupted him on account of his pressing work <sup>2)</sup>. The incident, which was related to Capito on March 13, may have amused Erasmus for the time being ; it certainly caused some uneasiness and fear, that Matthew would leave Louvain one day as he had left Basle, Heidelberg and quite recently Middelburg <sup>3)</sup>. Acute psychologist as he was, he, no doubt, soon found the cause of the chronic indebtedness, which, most probably, was rousing Capito's animosity, and made the Hebrew's life as a continuous exodus from one place to another.

What that cause exactly was, is not indicated by any contemporary document, although it cannot have been a mystery for those who were acquainted with the intimate life of the strange man. On July 14, 1518, Dorp mentioned to Erasmus his surprising lack of hospitality, which had made him refuse the staying of a guest for one single night in his house, although not being short of money in the least : and

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus had waited to remove to the Lily until the controversy about the right to the regency had been settled in favour of John de Neve : cp. *MonHL*, 180, sq ; on September 16, 1517, he was definitely installed : Allen, III, 666, 5 ; he occupied the best of the rooms, which had been that of Nicolas Viruli and Outers ; it was on the first floor near the big staircase ; after he left, John de Neve occupied that apartment, in which there were still several of Erasmus' belongings. One evening, when coming up the stairs after supper, de Neve was struck with apoplexy : ' quum ascenderet', Erasmus wrote, ' gradus illos a me toties calcatos (nam demigrarat in cubiculum meum' : Allen, IV, 1209, 4, n, v, 1347, 7-9, 1351, 23, 1355, 15-36 ; *Gran.*, 26, e, 1-9, *MonHL*, 186-87.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 798, 3-16.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 798, 16-17 : Opinor hominem hinc discessurum vt solet ; nam ex Middelburgo cum summo tumultu discessit ob æs alienum.

he ascribed that unfriendly behaviour to sheer stinginess <sup>1)</sup>. That reluctance of admitting any person in the house during the nocturnal hours, may also be the result of a secret addict-edness to alchemistical pursuits, which thus are prevented in their exercise, or run the risk of being betrayed. The tradition handed down amongst the staff of the *Collegium Trilingue*, asserted that it was the case with Adrianus : Amerot, who was in Louvain from 1513 to at least 1521 (cp. *Cran.*, 257, a) and thus witnessed the beginning of the lectures on languages, in which he was greatly interested <sup>2)</sup>, had taken, after he had lectured himself on Greek in Busleyden's Institute during several years, as assistant Thierry Langius, his confidential friend and eventually his successor <sup>3)</sup>. Langius had communicated his information to Peter Pierius a Smenga, his Hebrew colleague from 1569 to 1577 <sup>4)</sup>, who, in his turn imparted it to John Molanus, professor of theology from 1569 to 1585 <sup>5)</sup>, who noted in his *Historia Lovaniensium* : Langius... retulit... Smengæ, professori hebræo, primum in ea professione fuisse... Matthæum Adriani, sed quum magicis studiis pertinaciter inhæreret, eum... et professionem et Lovanium reliquisse <sup>6)</sup>.

Although Erasmus never hinted at any dishonouring propensity in the man whom he unconditionally praised as professor, and to whom he occasionally resorted as physician <sup>7)</sup>, he was full of solicitude fearing that harm might come to the growing Institute if Adrianus' secret propensity were known, or were to lead to the accustomed result. It appears that after the incident of the tell-tale letter, he looked most anxiously for a means to prevent all danger for the grand

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 852, 72-74 : Dorp mentions that the hearers would be more numerous if the lessons were free, as in Louvain they do not like paying : *Id quidem male habet Matthæum nostrum, hominem vsqueadeo iratum pecuniæ vt ne nocte quidem vna annuat hospitium, etsi minime nummis occupatum.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Ch. XXIV.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Chs. XXIII and XXIV.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Ch. XVI.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. VAnd., 120-21.

<sup>6)</sup> Mol., 796-97 ; VAnd., 237, 282, 285 ; NèveMém., 208-11, 248.

<sup>7)</sup> When on his return from Basle, in September-October 1518, Erasmus suffered from a tumour, he was examined by the *Hebræus*, who gave his verdict that there was no danger whatever, whereas the ordinary physician thought that it was the pest : Allen, III, 867, 207-8.

undertaking, which he had announced most triumphantly a few weeks before to William Budé <sup>1)</sup>. He therefore repeated the beseeching request made in the first days of November 1517 <sup>2)</sup> to Giles de Busleyden, to stand firm in his resolution and realize his brother's scheme : ' De collegio instituendo caue te patiaris abduci a sententia ' <sup>3)</sup> ; and started advising the immediate beginning of the Latin lecture, for fear, he wrote to John Robbys on March 26, that the decision should cool down, or that some evil genius should trouble the plan which was sure to prove salutary to everybody <sup>4)</sup>.

### 3. THE LATIN LECTURESHIP

#### A. JOHN BECKER OF BORSELEN

The Latin lectures, which in Erasmus' mind would bind even more the heirs and the executors to the working out of Busleyden's plan, were in a way far more important than the Hebrew lessons. The latter evidently had to be rudimentary for a good while to come, whereas most students had already some knowledge of Latin before entering the University ; the teaching of that language thus lay open, in a way, to the general judgment <sup>5)</sup>. In their wish to provide an unobjectionable professor, the executors had reckoned on the cleverest among the Latinists in our provinces, John Becker, of Borselen <sup>6)</sup>, *Borsalus*, who had been in intimate connection

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<sup>1)</sup> Letter of February 22, 1518 : Allen, III, 778, 344-46 : *Buslidianum legatum ac trilingue collegium pulchre procedit. Est autem magnificentius quam putaram.*

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 699, 7-11.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter of about March 26, 1518 : Allen, III, 804, 13-16.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 27-29 : *Ego professiones statim censeo ineundas, ne res interim frigescat, aut ne quis malus genius rem salutarem omnibus inturbet.*

<sup>5)</sup> Erasmus developed that argument in his letter to John Robbys of March 26, 1518 : Allen, III, 805, 24-27.

<sup>6)</sup> The name is written *Beker* in the Louvain University records, *Beecker* in Reygersberch, and — what seems the most likely form — *Becker* in *BatavMart.*, 101. He was born in Borselen and was not related to the family of the Borssele, Lords of Veere : cp. further, p 263. His sister's son, Hubertus Barlandus, in Adolphus lord of Beveren's service since 1533, made a name as physician ; whereas another nephew or cousin, Adrian .Elius Jacobi Barlandus, was parish priest of Bergen-op-

with the founder, and who happened to reside just then in Louvain. He had matriculated as a rich student of the Lily on August 30, 1495 <sup>1)</sup>. After his promotion to master of Arts, on April 10, 1498 <sup>2)</sup>, he started studying theology and taught in his pedagogy, being admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts on December 22, 1502 as professor of philosophy <sup>3)</sup>. He was one of the pleiad of humanists of the Lily with John de Neve <sup>4)</sup>, John de Coster, of Brecht <sup>5)</sup>, John de Spouter <sup>6)</sup> and Martin van Dorp <sup>7)</sup>. He left the Pedagogy, probably in the summer of 1507, and went to reside in the house of Henry Viruli <sup>8)</sup> with his pupil Cornelius Erdorf, Jerome de Busleyden's nephew, who did not show any propensity for study; he probably abandoned it by 1508, and died at the end of 1512 or in the beginning of 1513 <sup>9)</sup>. Becker meanwhile had earned his living by private teaching, and returned to his native country, where he made the acquaintance of Philip van Spangen <sup>10)</sup>, who procured him a prebend in Middelburg Chapter in the spring of 1513 <sup>11)</sup>. He had remained in contact

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Zoom, as results from the dedicatory letter by which Adrian Cornelii Barlandus inscribes to his friend and protector his last work, *De Amplificatione Oratoria*: Louvain, April 1536: he announces that he has sent to Hubert an epitaph on the recently deceased Ælius, in which he describes his life and his works: Daxhelet, 330-331, 238-40, 273-276. Cp. Ch. XII; *Cran.*, xxxix, 62, b; *BB*, v, 291, 9-22.

<sup>1)</sup> Joannes de bursalia filius Iacobi beker traiectensis dyoc.: *Excerpts*, 91; cp. *Cran.*, 121, 9, note, where the dates of the various promotions of Becker are indicated; and before, pp 201, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> He was classed the 23<sup>rd</sup>: *Cran.*, xxxvii.

<sup>3)</sup> 'Magister Jo. beker de borsalia': *ActArtV*, 189, v; cp. also 146, v, 157, v, 174, v; *Cran.*, xxxvii, 12, e. — The statements made about that professorate in NèveRen., 198, and *ULDoc.*, iv, 114, are evidently mistaken: Becker did not teach in the Porc, although Barlandus, a *legens* of that pedagogy, worked under his direction: Daxhelet, 34, 43, 56, 100-101, 238, 273-76.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 200-201.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 203-205.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 206-214.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 214-222.

<sup>8)</sup> *Busl.*, 337-39.

<sup>9)</sup> *Busl.*, 15-16, 339-349, 393-395, 432-33.

<sup>10)</sup> Philip 'Hispanus', Lord of Spangen, in Schieland, near Rotterdam (c 1477-1529), a relation of the Lords of Berghes and Grimbergen: Allen, i, 291, 45, sq.

<sup>11)</sup> Allen, i, 291, 43-47; that letter dated from Middelburg, April 19, 1514, answered three letters he had received from Erasmus, the last

with Erasmus, and hoped to receive him as his guest on his return from England <sup>1)</sup>, when in the autumn of 1514 <sup>2)</sup>, his *Vetus patronus* Jerome de Busleyden requested him to become the preceptor of another of his nephews, Francis <sup>3)</sup>. He could not but accept, although he unwillingly left his studies and his friends to go and stay in the boy's family; for the mother, a widow, had nothing to console her but the son, who was still of tender age <sup>4)</sup>. He resided consequently either at Arlon or at Luxemburg, in wealthy conditions <sup>5)</sup>, but far away from all congenial acquaintances. In a letter to Erasmus of January 4, 1515, he requests him to send a copy of his various works and editions <sup>6)</sup>. A letter from Erasmus dated October 1, made him even more impatient with his situation, which he had accepted merely to please Jerome de Busleyden; his age, the ignorance of the country and the total absence of all intellectual interest in his surrounding, made the duty he had

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being brought from England (*ll* 1-11) by John Sixtin: this native of Bolsward, Friesland, who had studied in Oxford, served for a time Bishop John Arundell of Exeter, and, at his death, 1504, went to Italy, promoted D. V. I., but returned to England where he had received some preferments, such as that of archpriest of Haccombe, near Newton Abbot; he died in 1519, as rector of Eggescliffe, Durham: Allen, I, 113, *pr*, 112, 116, III, 655, 668, 775, 828; Wood, I, 650. — In 1513, he visited Bolsward where he had some landed property, and carried Erasmus' message to Becker.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, II, 320, 30-33.

<sup>2)</sup> On November 22, 1515, Becker wrote that he had been at Arlon 'Abhinc plus anno': Allen, II, 370, 37.

<sup>3)</sup> He was the son of Jerome de Busleyden's youngest brother, Valerian, who had been receiver-general as well as councillor for the duchy of Luxemburg, and died before or in the summer of 1514: *Busl.*, 11-12, 106, &c. His widow, Ann de Kempf or de Keymich, is frequently mentioned in the accounts of her brother-in-law's will: *Busl.*, 106; *Rek.*, 3, r, 24, r, 37, v, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> In his letter of Arlon, January 4, 1515, Becker described him as: 'filiolum ætate adhuc tenera, vnicum defuncti mariti solatium': Allen, II, 320, 22-23.

<sup>5)</sup> Becker wrote that he resided 'cum illius pueri matre, muliere probissima, Arelini ac subinde Lucenburgi... condicione honesta et quæstuosa satis', although he complained that it was 'nonnihil molesta': Allen, II, 320, 16-19.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, II, 320, 24-47; — Becker repeated his inquiry about Erasmus' writings in a following letter: Allen, II, 370, 12-16.

taken up most heavy <sup>1)</sup>; still he had decided not to lay it down, except 'per oportunitissimam honestamque inprimis occasionem', as he declared in his letter written at Arlon on November 22, 1515 <sup>2)</sup>. He hoped to be sent with the boy to a Burgundian or a French university in the following summer <sup>3)</sup>. He was liberated from the task, which was becoming most irksome to the eager scholar he was, by the death of his pupil; it happened after June 22, 1517, when Jerome de Busleyden in his will expressed his fear of this nephew's untimely decease, but before August 27, as the third part of the estate, with which he had been bequeathed, was even lost for his mother <sup>4)</sup>.

That is how it came that Erasmus, on entering the Lily in the first half of September 1517, as John de Neve's guest <sup>5)</sup>, was pleased to have there John Borsalus as *contubernalis*, as *convictor omnium festiuissimus* <sup>6)</sup>; the two old friends enjoyed several months of hearty intimacy <sup>7)</sup>. As Becker probably had engaged a substitute for his Middelburg prebend when he accepted the preceptorate at Arlon, he was without means,

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, II, 370, 31-50; in that letter Becker congratulates Erasmus on his appointment as Imperial Councillor, rejoicing that he is not any longer neglected and despised in his own country: II 16-30.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, II, 370, 45-47.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, II, 370, 43-48.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 12-14, 63, 106-7, 118, 135, 342.

<sup>5)</sup> On account of the contestation about the rights and the appointments of the *Regens* of the Lily, Erasmus, who was on excellent terms with each of the contending parties, abstained from accepting de Neve's hospitality until peace was signed on August 26, 1517; he then took measures to remove into the room offered to him, where he was installed by the middle of September: *MonHL*, 179-185; Allen, III, 666, 5: a letter dated from the Lily: *pridie Lamberti*, Sept. 16.

<sup>6)</sup> Erasmus mentions Becker to Peter Gillis, October 1517, to Mark Laurin, November 19, and of course, to John de Berghes, Dec. 12, 1517: Allen, III, 687, 16-17, 717, 21, 737, 8-10.

<sup>7)</sup> It was during that winter that Becker made Erasmus promise to write a *Concionandi Ratio*: in his letter dated Veere, March 28, 1519, he reminds him of his promise to provide an *Institutio Concionantis*, as he had done for the *Christianus Miles*, for the *Christianus Princeps* and for the *Christiani docentes et discentes*; he appeals to his 'in Christi religionem propensissima charitas' which inspires his works, notwithstanding cost and poor health, calumny and reproach; *cogita*, he adds, *quod id te facturum mihi superiori hyeme, quum tuo semper lateri vel cum importunitate hærerem, sis pollicitus*: Allen, III, 932, 16-40.

except his savings, and perhaps some private teaching <sup>1)</sup>. When John de Berghes <sup>2)</sup> asked Erasmus to become his son's tutor in Louvain, he excused for himself, but recommended his friend Borsalus <sup>3)</sup>, mentioning that he had already been

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Erasmus' letter to Robbyns, March 26, 1518 : *Scis fortunulas hominis esse minores quam vt eum Louanii possint alere ; vbi iam menses aliquot non sine dispendio sedit, adeo vt cogatur de augenda alicunde fortuna cogitare* : Allen, III, 805, 14-17. That statement proves abundantly the inanity of the supposition according to which John Becker, no doubt born at Borselen, should be a member of the most powerful and rich family of the Borselen, with Adolph of Burgundy (c 1490-Dec. 7, 1540), Lord of Beveren, Veere and Tournehem, Admiral of Flanders, at their head.

<sup>2)</sup> John de Berghes, Lord of Walhain and Melin, the son of John, Lord of Glimes and Bergen-op-Zoom, was the brother of Erasmus' first patron, Henry de Berghes, the Bishop of Cambrai († 1502 : Allen, I, 49, *pr.*), and of Antony (1455-1532), abbot of St. Trond (till 1516 : *MonHL.*, 476 ; *Busl.*, 370), and of St. Bertin, St. Omer : Laplane, II, 59-88 ; *Busl.*, 368-370 ; Allen, I, 143, *pr.* John had been Philip of Austria's chamberlain, and was now in a similar office, as well as in that of councillor, at Margaret of Austria's Court ; he was a valiant captain who faithfully served his Prince and his country, and died on January 20, 1532 : Henne, I, 37, &c, II, 88, &c, v, 108-109 ; Walther, 55, 58, *sq.*, 63, *sq.*, 95-99, 144, *sq.*, 193, 211 ; Moeller, 107, 159, 202, 227 ; *Busl.*, 8 ; Allen, III, 737, *pr.* Two of his sons, John and Maximilian, had attended Barlandus' lectures : the elder, John, matriculated under age, Febr. 8, 1501, prof. Nic. Godefridi of Lieshout *jurans* : *Excerpts*, 93 ; Daxhelet, 242-43. A third, Antony, was already in Louvain with Giles Rengot, his preceptor, in the autumn of 1513 when Barlandus dedicated to him the second edition of his *Æsopi Fabule* : Daxhelet, 247-248 ; he probably was still very young and when, by 1517, the father heard that Erasmus had settled in Louvain, and had made even his son's acquaintance (letter to Mark Laurin, November 19, 1517 : Allen, III, 717, 22-23), remembering his brother's patronage, he probably wanted to avail himself of the opportunity to secure for his favourite son the teaching of the ablest man alive. For although no name is mentioned, the letter of December 12, 1517 was not addressed to the Bishop of Utrecht, but to John de Berghes : Reich, 242, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 737, 8. — Antony de Berghes was helped in his studies by Vives, who dedicated to him the *Fabula de Homine* and the comments on the *Georgica* : *Opuscula Varia* (Louvain, Th. Martens), 1519. His father sent him to England in November 1519 to enter Henry VIII's service as cup-bearer, and gave him as preceptor and secretary Adrian Ælius Barlandus (Brewer, III, pp 1540-42), who returned to Louvain some time before Febr. 28, 1526, when he was received as member of the Academic Senate for the Arts : *ActArtVI*, 52, r. Antony served Charles V as governor of Luxemburg, and was rewarded with titles

preceptor to Busleyden's nephews <sup>1)</sup>. Still, when he wrote that recommendation, on December 12, 1517, Erasmus must already have contemplated securing his friend for the College to be founded. No doubt the executors readily accepted the proposal, in so far that, in several letters of the beginning of 1518, such as that to Peter Barbirius <sup>2)</sup>, Erasmus announced that the Latin lectures were destined to John Becker. As time went on, and the Hebrew lesson had started, he also wished that a definite agreement should be reached for the Latin one, as it was hardly possible to find a more convenient lecturer. Still no steps were taken, whereas the absence of lucrative occupation was compelling Borsalus to look out for a living; in March, Erasmus' patience was nearly at an end: he wanted more than ever to ensure John Becker's services, and, at the same time, to secure success to the enterprise, which was endangered as well by the sullen opposition of some theologians <sup>3)</sup> as by the unreliability of the professor of Hebrew <sup>4)</sup>. With the high esteem and the general sympathy of all his colleagues, and with the great repute of his erudition and experience, Becker would be a real godsend to the new Institute. No wonder that Erasmus insisted on his excellence, — *eiusmodi vir est ut non sit optandus quisquam alius* <sup>5)</sup>, — when, on March 26, 1518, he sent him to John Robbyns with Jerome de Busleyden's epitaphs <sup>6)</sup>, so as to occasion an interview; in the letter that Becker handed to the Dean of Mechlin, Erasmus praised him as much for his erudition and

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and estates for his courage and his zeal: he died in June 1541: Henne, I, 271, II, 7, 14, III, 244, 263, VI, 83, VII, 306; Allen, III, 760, *pr*, IV, 1038, 15; *BN*; Daxhelet, 247-48.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 737: 10-11: instituit enim nepotes reverendissimi D. Francisci Buslidii: namely Cornelius Erdorf, from about 1506, and Francis de Busleyden from 1514.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter of March 6, 1517: Allen, III, 794, 13; that intention of appointing Becker is, evidently, referred to in the letter to John Robbyns, March 26: Allen, III, 805, 4-5. Writing to Lascaris about the professors on April 26, Erasmus said: *Hebræus iam adest, et item Latinus*: Allen, III, 836, 7-8.

<sup>3)</sup> Already on January 14, 1518, Erasmus mentioned to Abbot Antony de Berghes that '*obstrepunt nonnulli qui, quod sunt, bilingues esse malunt*': Allen, III, 761, 63-64.

<sup>4)</sup> See before, p 254.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 5-6.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 804, 18-42; *Busl.*, 100-101.



his qualifications as for his manners <sup>1)</sup>). He hoped that his old acquaintance with Jerome de Busleyden and the patronage he had found in his family was not going to be in any way prejudicial : his means not being ample enough to allow him to stay much longer in Louvain at his own expense, as he had been doing for several months, he was looking out for some ways to increase his fortune <sup>2)</sup>). Such a man should stay in Louvain for everybody's advantage, *quo lumen illius latius luceat* <sup>3)</sup> ; he, Erasmus, would profit himself by it, for he was going to entrust to him all his books and manuscripts, for him to use, during the months that he had to go to Basle <sup>4)</sup>). And to make him stay, it would be sufficient to grant him a salary, as had been done for the Hebrew lecturer, who, after all, had only to teach the beginnings to beginners, whilst Becker had to satisfy erudite hearers. It was thus evident that the Latin lectures were far more important <sup>5)</sup>). It would be easy to find a house when necessary ; above all, the lessons should be made to start at once, *ne res interim frigescat, aut ne quis malus genius rem salutarem omnibus inturbet. Crede mihi*, he concludes, *theologicorum collegiorum abunde satis erit, et questionariorum ubique plus satis, at hoc pulcherrimum negotium, nisi ex Buslidii animo successerit, non video per quem possit instaurari* <sup>6)</sup>).

#### B. THE OFFER DECLINED

No information seems to be existing about the interview of Becker with the Dean of Mechlin : still as he was only an adviser, and not an executor, he could not directly take any measures. Most likely the great difficulty was the modicity of the wages : Becker did not show any eagerness as he disliked teaching, especially under the very discouraging circumstances specified by Busleyden's will : with his twenty years' experience he was, as Latin professor, entitled to only half the fees which his colleagues for Greek and Hebrew were to receive, as the Founder wished to attract foreign celebrities.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 4-11.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 17-19.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 22-27.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 12-17.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 19-22.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 27-34.

Yet, the Latin lecturer was expected to give an advanced course, whilst the two others could, for a good while, content themselves with dispensing rudiments <sup>1)</sup>. Robbyns was too clever a man not to see the anomaly in the case, and he probably will have promised John Becker to plead in his favour to the executors, who then were particularly busy with the arranging of the sale of the goods <sup>2)</sup>. At any rate when in the first days of May Erasmus left for Basle, no decision had been taken <sup>3)</sup>.

In the beginning of June the news reached Louvain that John Becker had been appointed as Dean of the Chapter of Sandycyk, which had been recently removed from that town to Veere, where it had been originally founded <sup>4)</sup>: he owed that preferment to Ann of Borsselen, Lady of Veere <sup>5)</sup>, widow of Philip of Burgundy (c 1453-1498), and of Louis Viscount of Montfort († 1505) <sup>6)</sup>. In 1517 her son Adolphus, Lord of Veere and Beveren (c 1490-Dec. 7, 1540), became Admiral of Flanders as his father had been, and was consequently one of Charles V's leading councillors <sup>7)</sup>. John Becker did not hesitate to accept the preferment: on June 19, Peter Gillis announced to Erasmus that he had passed through Antwerp on his way to Zeeland <sup>8)</sup>, and a few weeks later, on July 14, Dorp, in his report on the events in Louvain to Erasmus, also mentions that their much esteemed common friend had deserted them

<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 17, 18, 19.

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 112.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 841, *pr*, 844, *pr*: Erasmus signed the former of those letters in Louvain on April 29, and the latter at Basle on May 15; *cp.* also *pr* to 843.

<sup>4)</sup> *BelgChron.*, 146; *BibBelgTop.*, 77. A Chapter founded at Sandycyk by the family of Veere residing in the neighbouring castle of Sandenburg, was transferred to the town of Veere: it was in the attributions of the Borsselen family: *HEpM*, 27. On April 21, 1496, Philip of Burgundy and Ann of Borsselen transferred some revenue to the Dean and Chapter 'van der Vere & Zandenborch', in execution of the will of Henry of Borsselen Count of Grantpré: Fruin, 411, 426, 450.

<sup>5)</sup> Lady Ann of Borsselen died on December 8, 1518: Reygersberch, P 2; Allen, III, 932, 45.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, I, 80, *pr*, 93, *pr*.

<sup>7)</sup> He succeeded his kinsman Philip of Burgundy, who became Bishop of Utrecht, May 1517; Adolphus, who had received the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1516, had married on June 18, 1509, Ann, daughter of John de Berghes.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, III, 849, 6-8.

for the Deanery of Veere. He probably also had taken possession again of the Middelburg canonry <sup>1)</sup>. As to the *Prouincia, quam coeperat, Latine docendi*, Dorp announces that : *mandata est Barlando* <sup>2)</sup>.

Unfortunately the tedious task of teaching, which Becker tried to escape, was forced upon him once more by Adolphus of Burgundy, Lord of Veere and Beveren, for his sons <sup>3)</sup> : in September 1522, he accompanied the elder, Philip, as tutor to Louvain <sup>4)</sup>. As he had been appointed Dean of Middelburg in 1521 by that patron, he could not but grant all his requests. They lived in a house opposite that of Martin van Dorp — probably as guests of Henry Viruli <sup>5)</sup>. In October 1524, Gelden-

<sup>1)</sup> In the *Scholia* added in the *Libelli Tres* (January 1520) to the second edition of *De Hollandiæ Principibus*, which, in 1519, had been recommended by verses of Adrian Cordatus, canon of Middelburg, Barlandus mentions, with reference to St. Peter's Chapter in that town : *Vbi hoc tempore Canonicus est Ioannes Borsalus meus, vir ante alios doctrinæ, & eloquentiæ gratia venerandus* : *BarlHist.*, 308, 295 ; *Daxhelet*, 98-103.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 852, 74-77 ; on March 28, 1519, John Becker wrote to Erasmus from Veere, to inquire about his works, to remind him of the promise to compose a *Ratio Concionandi*, and to give him news about himself : he has a fine *conditio*, although he regrets that it leaves him less freedom to study than he had expected : Allen, III, 932 ; Erasmus answered most amicably from Louvain on Easter day, April 24, 1519 : Allen, III, 952.

<sup>3)</sup> It was not long before the duty of instructing the Admiral's boys was pressed on Becker : for when writing to Peter Zuutpene, Zuutpene, of Cassel, Adolphus of Beveren's juridical councillor (*Daxhelet*, 289-291), on August 10, 1519, Erasmus stated that John of Borselen had been entrusted with the instruction and education of the Admiral's '*filiolum*', as Batt had been with the father's : Allen, IV, 1005, 43-46. That refers, no doubt, to Philip, the elder son, born on October 1, 1512, who was of weak health, which the good air of Louvain was expected to improve (Allen, V, 1321, 28-30) ; he died prematurely : for when by the end of 1526, Becker came to Louvain as the preceptor of Maximilian, born on July 28, 1514, he described him as '*primogenitus*'.

<sup>4)</sup> According to John Becker's letter to Erasmus, Louvain, November 23, 1522, in which reference is made once more to the *Concionandi Ratio*, he had arrived in the University town by the end of September : Allen, V, 1321, 16-31, 10, sq. On December 4, 1522 matriculated there '*Generosus iuuenis philippus de beueris nobilis et iurauit pro eo Mattheus de creppi eius seruator*' : *Excerpts*, 103.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Bustl.*, 338, 343 : the *filiolus* is not Maximilian, — as is said there on the authority of Allen, V, 1321, 27, 31-32, — but Philip, as results from the matriculation : *LibIntIII*, 296, r ; *Excerpts*, 103.

houwer, writing from Middelburg to Erasmus, refers to Becker as being at Veere <sup>1)</sup>; he had been absent from Louvain for eighteen months, part of which time he had been so very ill that his death was announced to Erasmus, who wrote a letter of condolence to Barlandus <sup>2)</sup>. Becker returned to Louvain, probably by the end of 1526, with Maximilian, Adolphus' second son, who had become by now the 'primogenitus' <sup>3)</sup>, and resided with him in the house of Robert Viruli <sup>4)</sup>: he dated from there a letter to Erasmus, February 27, 1527 <sup>5)</sup>, breaking a three years' silence, which Erasmus had taken as a decided cooling of the old friendship, since Dorp had announced that, in his presence, an enemy of the humanist had tried for an hour to cause a break between the two old friends <sup>6)</sup>. In his missive Becker suggested to Erasmus to edit his letters in chronological order so that they should be as a biography and a record of facts <sup>7)</sup>. The old intercourse was taken up again, and on July 28, 1527, Becker answered to a most agreeable letter of Erasmus <sup>8)</sup>, who also sent a friendly epistle <sup>9)</sup> to the boy Maximilian, with whose instruction Becker was entrusted since several years <sup>10)</sup>. Unfortunately

<sup>1)</sup> *Cran.*, 121, 9-10.

<sup>2)</sup> *Allen*, vi, 1787, 11-21, 47-48.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ego viuo iam Louanii... vna cum primogenito, vt nuper, domini de Beueris*: *Allen*, vi, 1787, 46-47; the mention 'primogenitus' is certainly to be taken in the sense of 'the eldest', as is commonly used in Flemish, irrespective of brothers deceased. Cp. before, p 264.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 337-38, 343; *Allen*, vi, 1787, 46. — This son of Charles Viruli (cp. before, pp 90, sq) had matriculated in the University on February 23, 1476, 'in artibus': *LibIntII*, 118, r; cp. further, Ch. VI.

<sup>5)</sup> *Allen*, vi, 1787.

<sup>6)</sup> *Allen*, vii, 1851, 7, sq, 1860, 1, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> *Allen*, vi, 1787, 24, sq; Erasmus promised to give satisfaction to that sound remark, as results from Becker's letter of July 28, 1527: *Allen*, vii, 1851, 29, sq; when he wished to put it into practice, he found it too hard, and merely added year-dates to the older letters, which in many cases have puzzled all readers and erudites: cp. the preface to his *Opus Epistolarum*, published in August 1529, by H. Froben, J. Herwagen and N. Episcopius at Basle.

<sup>8)</sup> *Allen*, vii, 1851.

<sup>9)</sup> Basle, August 23, 1527: *Allen*, vii, 1859: the letter recalls the kindness of his father and grandmother to the great humanist. Still Erasmus wanted to be told who the young man precisely was: *Allen*, vii, 1860, 5-7, 1898, 17, sq.

<sup>10)</sup> On November 6, 1527, Becker wrote: *Quintum iam annum illi instituendo præsuum*; which evidently means that the young boy was instructed according to his orders during the time that he was himself

that letter to the young man, announced in a short note to his preceptor <sup>1)</sup>, went astray, and hearing from the latter of the boy's disappointment <sup>2)</sup>, Erasmus sent him his *De Recta Sermonis Pronunciatione*, dedicated to him, which gave great pleasure <sup>3)</sup>. It was probably not before the summer of 1529 <sup>4)</sup> that Becker could return to Zeeland and to his *sacerdotium*, the deanery of Veere ; for the appointment to that of Middelburg was contested by the Imperial Court <sup>5)</sup>, and was made up for by the parish of Brouwershaven in 1522 <sup>6)</sup> by Adolphus of Beveren at Nicholas of Burgundy's death <sup>7)</sup>. Becker continued at Veere the life of earnest and disinterested study, of which unfortunately he did not publish the results, so that no work of his has come to posterity. Still he must have left several writings, to which John Reygersberch ascribes a good amount of the information he imparted in his *Chronicon Zelandiæ* <sup>8)</sup>. Not only his students, but contemporary humanists testified to his great erudition : Geldenhouwer dedicated to him two of his eight *Satyræ* <sup>9)</sup>, and Erasmus counted him in his *Epithalamium Petri Ægidii*, as one of the four glories

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occupied in Louvain with his brother Philip : it sounds rather strange, too, if this sentence is taken as if Becker had Maximilian with him in Louvain since the autumn of 1522, for he was then only just over eight. Therefore the word '*præsum*' has been taken in a wider sense than a continuous personal teaching, at least for the first years. No doubt Becker took in hand that work after his elder brother's death in Zeeland, and he went with him to Louvain, probably for the beginning of the academical year, October 1526. Cp. before, pp 264-65.

<sup>1)</sup> Basle, August 24, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1860.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter of November 6, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1898.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter of Borsalus to Erasmus, March 25, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1984.

<sup>4)</sup> On Nov. 6, 1527, Becker wrote that, before the end of that year, Maximilian was to enter Cardinal Erard de la Marck's Court, and he himself would return to his *sacerdotium* : Allen, VII, 1898, 21, sq. Still after a long suspense, news came that he was to stay in Louvain with his charge during the year following : March 25, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1984, 21, sq ; in the same letter (ll 27-29) mention is made of Quirinus Talesius, Erasmus' favourite amanuensis, who was to be warmly recommended to the Lord of Beveren at his request : cp. *BatawMart.*, 104.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, V, 1321, 16-26.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, V, 1321, 34-39 ; *HEpM*, 45.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, I, 144, pr ; he was Provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht : Hoyneck, III, i, 233.

<sup>8)</sup> J. Reygersberch, *Chronicon Comitatus Zelandiæ* : Antwerp, 1551 : preface, f B.

<sup>9)</sup> *GeldColl.*, 171, 173.

of Louvain <sup>1)</sup>. Barlandus, who owed to him, to a great extent, his formation, never ceased expressing his deep gratitude : he began his long series of publications with the *Pluscule Esopi*, in the first days of November 1511, dedicated to Becker <sup>2)</sup> ; to him he inscribed on January 5, 1520, as a preface to the *Libelli Tres*, his autobiography, with the list of his literary achievements, which, he said, he owed to his example and encouragement <sup>3)</sup> ; and he offered the last of his works, *De Amplificatione*, April 1536 <sup>4)</sup>, in affectionate homage to the man who had led and promoted his first steps on the field of Philology and Pedagogy, which Humanism had just opened to the workers of our provinces <sup>5)</sup>.

### C. ADRIAN BARLANDUS

There is hardly any doubt possible but Becker, when leaving Louvain for his deanery in Zeeland, recommended as the most qualified person Adrian Corneliszoon, *Cornelii*, Barlandus for the professorate which he could not accept himself, as he had been one of the most zealous and most proficient amongst his pupils <sup>6)</sup>. Nor had it been the hazard that had led those two men together, but the very interest in Latin language and literature. For after his preparatory training by Peter Scotus, in Ghent, Barlandus did not enter the Lily, where he would have found congenial masters and fellow-students, but the Porc, where, about that time, there seems to have been hardly

<sup>1)</sup> EOO, I, 749, A.

<sup>2)</sup> Louvain, November 1511 : Daxhelet, 238-240.

<sup>3)</sup> Daxhelet, 273-76.

<sup>4)</sup> Louvain, Servatius Zassenus : April 1536. — In the dedicatory letter, Adrian Barlandus refers to Hubert Barlandus, and Adrian Ælius Barlandus ; and he addresses his old master as *Decanus Zandenburgensis apud Veriam* : Daxhelet, 330-331.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. for John Becker, *HEpM*, 27 ; Paquot, I, 32-33 ; *NèveMém.*, 119, 130, 132, 139 ; *NèveRen.*, 197-99 ; *ULAnn.*, 1874 : 397-412 ; FG, 306 ; *Cran.*, xxxvii, 12, e, &c ; *MonHL*, 126, 354, &c ; Allen, I, 291, *pr* ; *Busl.*, 341-44 ; Daxhelet, 238, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Mol.*, 604, 881 ; *Vern.*, 125, 133, 145, 309 ; *BibBelg*, 7-8 ; *VAnd.*, 247, 279, 398-99 ; *MotJuris*, 24 ; *LipsE*, 785 ; *Wood*, I, 112 ; *Opmeer*, I, 461, a ; *Cran.*, 62, a-c, 256, a, and sources quoted ; Allen, II, 492, *pr* ; *BB*, B, 250, 7-14 ; *HarvMarg.*, 114 ; *LouvEven*, 282 ; Daxhelet, 1-14 ; *MonHL*, 123, 128, and *passim* ; *Busl.*, 73, 174, 190, 306, 334, 338, 343, 392 ; and before, pp 217-18, 226-31, 234-37.

any interest in the New Studies. No doubt on that account he considered the years he spent as student of the *Artes* as fully wasted <sup>1)</sup>. He was appointed teacher, and in 1509 even *legens*, and took part in that capacity in several academic functions <sup>2)</sup>. Still thanks to the acquaintance he made of Becker, he turned his attention to classic studies, and became so proficient under his able direction that he was chosen as president of the *Quodlibetæ* of December 1512 and turned them into an unequivocal success <sup>3)</sup>. Encouraged by several colleagues he broke off with the time-worn teaching of Latin, and applied to his public lessons the new method which he had already applied most advantageously in his private tutoring. He was heartily helped by John Becker, as well as by Peter of Thienen, *de Thenis*, a most able lawyer <sup>4)</sup>, both of whom showed a brotherly affection to the ardent and zealous professor <sup>5)</sup>.

The result were the performances of several dramas which, in imitation of Dorp's representations six years before <sup>6)</sup>, his *Grex Porcensis* executed on several occasions <sup>7)</sup>. Barlandus, who also produced the *Anulularia*, may have done so as a first experiment, using his cleverer colleague's example <sup>8)</sup>. Still he soon went his own way, abandoning the indecent Plautus for

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. his letter of January 5, 1520, to John Becker as preface to *Libri Tres* : Daxhelet, 273-75.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, 62, a, 256, a ; Daxhelet, 4-6 ; cp. before, p 227.

<sup>3)</sup> Daxhelet, 9.

<sup>4)</sup> Peter van Thienen, *de Thenis*, a native of Louvain, who promoted D. V. J. on January 24, 1485/86, was appointed secondary professor of canon law on Nov. 19, 1485, then ordinary professor of civil law, by 1492 and, finally, primary professor of canon law in succession to Peter l'Apostole on June 10, 1502. He was president of St. Yves' College from 1495 to 1498, and founded a scholarship in it. He resigned his professorship in 1519, and died on December 10, 1523, being buried in St. Peter's : *Mol.*, 539, 630, 762 ; *VAnd.*, 175, 296 ; *Vern.*, 97, 291 ; *LibNomI*, 76, r ; *ULDoc.*, III, 106, 119 ; *FUL*, 1935 ; *Cran.*, 1, a.

<sup>5)</sup> Quoting Virgil's line ' Accepitque manu, dextramque amplexus inhæsit', *Æneis*, VIII, 124, Barlandus adds in his *Versuum Collectanea*, 3rd edition, Eg. de Gourmont, [1516-17], f 1 r : De homine qui officiosius aliquem excoeperit. Vt me iureconsultus inter Louanienses doctissimus, Petrus Theneus quoties ad se inuitat fraterna quadam charitate complectitur.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 215: sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 217, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> *Cran.*, 62, a ; Creizenach, II, 56 ; Bömer, 116 ; Reinhardtstöttner, 36 ; Dittrich, 13 ; Daxhelet, 207-210.

Euripides and especially for Terence <sup>1)</sup>); for although he was not endowed with creative or inventive capacity, he possessed a large amount of patient, conscientiously zealous energy, which turned his initial failings into means to lasting success. He soon found that the plays were merely substitutes for proper instructive texts, which made him start the fine collection of practical and educative handbooks, which proved a most beneficent innovation <sup>2)</sup>). His first attempts, the *Esopi Fabulæ*, showed a deficiency in style and taste which study improved in very few months <sup>3)</sup>, as is amply shown by the remarkable edition of Pliny's *Epistolæ* with his *Scholia* <sup>4)</sup>); they also were marred by an excessive moralizing, but he soon transformed it into a courageous discrimination which heartily welcomed authentic literary texts, but denied any educative value to *Ars Amandi* or to Martial's epigrams <sup>5)</sup>). The study of the dramas of Antiquity also prompted Barlandus to compose his most interesting *Dialogi*, which, in their attractive liveliness, offer an abundance of words and wordings about the many things that make up every-day life <sup>6)</sup>). Those ideal conversations are inspired by a shrewd observation of reality, and yet are replete with sound advice and even with earnest warnings for erroneous doctrines and reprehensible manners and customs, — including even the plurality of the

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<sup>1)</sup> He referred in his *P. Terentii Sex Comoediæ* (Louvain, R. Rescius, October 21, 1530), f 144 v, to the representation by his students of the *Adelphæ* 'magno studiosorum & civitatis concursu'; he must have produced already *Andria* and *Eunuchus* in or about 1515, since Abbot Streysters and Nicolas Beken Clenardus acted parts in it, and the latter promoted M. A. in 1515 being classed the third (*ULPromRs.*, 70; ClenE, 60-61; and before, p 218). Cp. Reinhardtstöttner, 36; Daxhelet, 215-16.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 226-231.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 227-28.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 229.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Daxhelet, 54-56.

<sup>6)</sup> The difference between Barlandus' *Dialogi* and the *Pappæ Puerorum*, 1513, of John Murmellius, as well as Hutten's *Phalarismus*, 1517, and *Febris*, 1519, is that they are neither disguised lists of words and expressions, nor polemics; but easy-going, natural conversations in fine Latin — like his models, the *Pædologia*, 1518, of Peter Mosellanus and Erasmus' *Colloquia*; he evokes real talks between himself or some colleagues, Louvain students and outstanding characters of those days, all seemingly real personalities of various kinds, who devise about topics that sound quite congenial to them: cp. the full analysis in Bömer, 113-127; Daxhelet, 160-171; MosPæd., ix, sq; Massebieau, 65-112.



benefices and the laxity of living amongst the clergy <sup>1)</sup> — in so far that the *Dialogi LXIII* constitute a most interesting picture of life of that period in this country. They must have been of a highly moralizing significance, as well as of exceptional utility to youth <sup>2)</sup>, especially if supplemented by the *Joci Veteres ac Recentes*, which encouraged witty talking and clever acting <sup>3)</sup>, and by manuals of history revealing the present in the past and evoking the examples of the great artisans of the welfare and prosperity of this country <sup>4)</sup>. Nor did Barlandus keep all this grand work to himself : he interested his pupils into it, so that he even inserted their compositions into his books, thus generously providing a most efficient encouragement. Such are the *Ludus Chartarum* by Austin Reymarus <sup>5)</sup> and the witty realistic dialogue between a *Formica* and a *Musca* by Josse Musenus <sup>6)</sup>.

Most of that activity, of which the results were edited in later years, was in full development in the busy months that preceded the foundation of the *Trilingue Collegium* : in 1516 Barlandus published an *Isagoge Rhetorices* <sup>7)</sup>, as well as a bibliographical description of Erasmus' work in the form of a letter which, probably in November 1516, he addressed to his younger brother Cornelius Barlandus <sup>8)</sup>, whilst in the beginning

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Dialogi LXIII* : Antwerp, 1932 : A 2, v, E 2, r, v, E 4, v, E 5, r, v ; Bömer, 115, 122-3, 124.

<sup>2)</sup> Massebieau, 131-157 ; MosPæd., xl ; Bömer, 126-27 ; Daxhelet, 179-180.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 230 : they were in a way the model for Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, and a store room for several similar collections like Ottomar Nachtigall, *Luscinius' Joci ac Sales*, 1525, and John Gast, *Petrosulanus' Convivialium Sermonum Liber*, 1542 : cp. *ErasInvl.*, 30-91, 189-220 ; H. de Vocht, 'Mery Tales, Wittie Questions' and their Sources (in *Anglia*, xxi) : Halle i. S., 1910 : 120, sq, 125 ; Daxhelet, 145-157.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 230-231 ; Daxhelet, 91-128. — Barlandus' notes about the history of Louvain University are referred to by Vern., 14-15, 18, 272, and VAnd., 29, 102, 270.

<sup>5)</sup> *Dialogi LXIII* : Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, June 1532 : ff F 7, v-8, r ; Daxhelet, 160, 178.

<sup>6)</sup> *Dialogi LXIII* (Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1532), ff F 5, r-7, v ; Daxhelet, 178-79.

<sup>7)</sup> Edited in *Libellus de Constructione Octo Orationis Partium* : Louvain, Th. Martens, Sept. 1516 : Iseghem, S, 18-20 ; BB, B, 290, 13 ; NijKron., II, 2893, 2896, 2898.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, II, 492 ; Erasmus, who had been asked before for a list of his works (Allen, II, 450, 52-53), received Barlandus' letter on January 7,

of 1517 he wrote his remarkable *De Ratione Studii* <sup>1)</sup>. It consequently was quite natural that when John Becker judged that he could not undertake the duties of Busleyden's Latin professorate, he recommended the able and most successful master to whose formation he had contributed so largely. Equally natural it was that the executors acted on his suggestion. Their offer was accepted, so that in one breath Dorp could announce to Erasmus Borsalus' leave and Barlandus' appointment <sup>2)</sup>: *Provincia quam coeperat, Latine docendi, mandata est Barlando* <sup>3)</sup>).

## • 4. — THE LESSON OF GREEK

### A. STUDY AND TEACHING OF GREEK

The appointment of the Greek professor proved far more difficult than that of his two colleagues. It was not properly on account of a lack of men acquainted with that language, which might be expected as the result of the widespread axiom: *Cave a Græcis, ne hæreticus fias* <sup>4)</sup>; for there had

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1517; he mentioned it on January 17 to John Watson, and had it printed amongst his *Epistole Elegantes*, Louvain, Th. Martens, April 1517: Allen, II, 510, 512, 29-32; Reich, 201-2; Daxhelet, 265-67.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 234, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Louvain, July 14, 1518: Allen, III, 852, 76-77.

<sup>3)</sup> At the death of Martin van Dorp, and at that of John Paludanus, Erasmus wrote to Barlandus as to a common friend, July 2, 1525 and April 20, 1526: Allen, VI, 1584, 1694. Of Barlandus' letters to Erasmus, one, dated Aug. 14, 1528, is preserved: it was taken to Basle by Nicolas Cannius: Allen, VII, 2025 (: the *res nostratæ*, l 25, can hardly refer to the difficulties of the *Coll. Tril.*, which Barlandus had left since long, but apply to his own writings). — On Febr. 28, 1526, John Oom van Wyngaerden mentioned Barlandus as a friend to Erasmus, to whose attention he wanted to recommend himself and his father: Allen, VI, 1668, 33-38; cp. Ch. XI.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 213, c; *ErAge*, 117-18, 120, 128, 134. — In the late Middle Ages the knowledge of Greek in Western Europe was almost confined to Italy and possibly Spain, where the emigrants of the Byzantine Empire chiefly found shelter. To be true, the Council of Vienne had recommended in 1311 the teaching of Greek and Oriental languages in Bologna, Salamanca, Paris and Oxford (Sandys, I, 607), yet after some initial attempts at realizing those helps toward the unification of all the Christians, the old suspicion got the better of the proselytism, — and Greek, in particular, was again generally impeached of being the

been for several years at least some sporadic learning and teaching of Greek in Louvain. Like in others Universities, some Greek erudites, in search of an employment, had even been doing there some private teaching : 'Johannes Polo de Albo Castro, *nobilis homo grecus*', had been provided for it with a subsidy granted by Philip the Fair in 1498, and so had Alexander Ansain, styled 'chevalier grec de Constantinople', in 1501<sup>1)</sup>: still neither of them made a lasting impression, and they probably had very few pupils<sup>2)</sup>. Before them Cornelius Vitelli, who had taught Greek at Oxford, may have given private instruction in that language from 1487 to 1489, whilst he was professor of poetics<sup>3)</sup>, though the time was not ripe yet. Twenty-five years later, another and more successful attempt was made by Adrian Amerot de Guenneville, from Soissons, who had been Aleander's pupil in Paris, and who had matriculated as student of the Lily in November 1513<sup>4)</sup>. When he promoted Master of Arts in 1516, being classed the first<sup>5)</sup>, he had already taught that language during several months to some of his fellow students<sup>6)</sup> with the hearty

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language of the kingdom of darkness, being used by many heretics and by licentious literators of the Sappho stamp. It follows that few erudites had the courage to study that heterodox tongue, and the only Greek admitted in the schools was, for a long time, the refuse quoted for illustration or for etymology in senseless handbooks like the *Græcismus* and John Garland's *Textus*. In the fifteenth century Greek was brought this side the Alps by natives, who found a shelter in the convents, such as those who taught Wessel, or by erudites like Agricola who had studied it in Italy : their number grew when the century was speeding to its end, and when another dawned : in so far that an Erasmus and a More learned it by toiling for years at translating Greek authors, and men like Colet and Cranevelt started with the rudiments when they had turned forty. Cp. before, pp 82, 140, 151-53 ; *AcArExc.* (for *Græcismus*), 4, 14, 18, 20, 27, 95 ; Specht, 104-107, 284 ; Lomeier, 158-61 ; Sandys, II, 49, 128, 230 ; Colet, 220-21 ; Wolsey, 145 ; Taylor, 44, 361 ; &c.

<sup>1)</sup> *Inventaire des Archives départementales du Nord* : Lille, 1877 : IV, 292, 301, 305.

<sup>2)</sup> Most probably Josse Vroeye was one of them, possibly also John Varennius : cp. before, p 223, and further in this section.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 166-172.

<sup>4)</sup> 'Adrianus de suetione, suetionen. dyoc.' : *LibIntIII*, 198, v.

<sup>5)</sup> Mol., 792 ; *ULPromRs.*, 70 ; *Cran.*, 257, a.

<sup>6)</sup> AleaE, 21-23 : on May 18, 1515 Amerot wrote from Louvain to his former master, then at Liège, expressing gratitude and requesting explanation about the accentuation in Gaza's Grammar ; cp. *Aléandre*, 93.

approval of the *Regens* John de Neve, and with the precious help of his professor Josse Vroeye, of Gavere, who had himself applied to Greek the work which de Neve and de Spouter had done for Latin <sup>1)</sup>. Amerot gratefully mentions both of them in the preface to a systematic handbook which he edited on October 15, 1520, as *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices, perspicua breuitate complectens, quicquid est octo partium orationis* <sup>2)</sup>. That grammar proves that, notwithstanding the beginning of the public lecture of Greek in the *Collegium Trilingue*, Amerot, who had been appointed at once in his Pedagogy after his promotion, had sufficient free pupils for Greek to have his handbook, with the rudiments as he taught them, printed : it gives a clear and most orderly exposition, whereas the treatises of Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris <sup>3)</sup> are vague and confused.

No wonder that Erasmus, on September 24, 1521, writing to Bernard Bucho about studying opportunities in Louvain, recommended him as one of the cleverest teachers there, and praised him for his *exactam utriusque literaturæ peritiā*, as well as for his knowledge of philosophy, for that of jurisprudence and for his exemplary life <sup>4)</sup>. Indeed Amerot had started the study of law after becoming Master of Arts, and had, since then, been promoted professor of philosophy <sup>5)</sup>, which branches he no doubt studied under the guidance of his beloved master Josse Vroeye. Amongst his pupils he had sons of the highest nobility : such as the Antony de la Marck, future Abbot and Count of Beaulieu, to whom was dedicated the *Compendium*, 1520 <sup>6)</sup> ; in the first twenties, he was even taken into the service of the Imperial Secretary, Nicolas

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 223, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Louvain, Th. Martens, *xviii Calendas Novembres*, 1520 : Iseghem, 310-11 ; NijKron., I, 115. In the preface Amerot mentions his friend Paschasius Berselius (cp. Ch. VII).

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Sandys, II, 62-3, 77.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, IV, 1237, 28-31 ; *Cran.*, 257, a.

<sup>5)</sup> *AcArExc.*, 189 ; on June 12, 1522 'Adrianus Amerotus clericus Zwessionensis dioc., artium magister in Facultate graduatus docens aristotelis in physicam' &c, was appointed by the Faculty to the first vacancy at the collation of the bishop of Thérouanne : *LibNomI*, 171, v.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Ch. XXIV.

Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle, as preceptor of his children <sup>1)</sup>). In 1545 he succeeded Rescius in the *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>2)</sup>).

John van der Varen, *Varennius* (possibly de Varennes), was another private teacher who worked in Louvain : he kept a small boarding house, whose inmates he tutored in Latin and occasionally in Greek ; amongst them was John Claray, *Clericus*, appointed Archbishop of Oristano, Sardinia <sup>3)</sup>). *Varennius* was born in Mechlin about 1462, and after his studies in the *Artes*, had applied himself to theology ; about 1520 the abbot of Parc, Ambrose de Angelis <sup>4)</sup>), secured him as lecturer in divinity for his novices. He fulfilled that office until he retired to Lierre, where he died on October 11, 1536. He must have been very expert in his teaching of Greek, for he edited on August 8, 1532, a *Syntaxis linguæ græcæ*, printed by Rutger Rescius for his own and Bartholomew Gravius' account <sup>5)</sup> ; it was dedicated to Philip Clericus, I. V. Lic. <sup>6)</sup> ; he also wrote *Περὶ Προσῳδῶν, sive de Accentibus Græcorum libellus*, published only in 1544. His *Syntaxis* was often reprinted : e. g., at Basle, 1542, with Joachim Cameraarius' notes ; in Paris, 1548, with those of René Guillon <sup>7)</sup> ; it was introduced by John Rhetius as classic manual in the Cologne *Tricoronatum*, and was used there at least till the end of the century <sup>8)</sup>. His treatise about the accents, too, was reproduced several times <sup>9)</sup>).

Less permanent, although more reputed, was the teaching of Richard Croke, *Crocus*, a scholar born in London about 1489, who, after enjoying Grocyn's lessons <sup>10)</sup> and studying in Cambridge from 1506 to 1510, went to Paris and attended Aleander's lectures <sup>11)</sup>. He also corrected there the first edition

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Ch. XVII.

<sup>2)</sup> His life is described further, Ch. XXIV.

<sup>3)</sup> *MonHL*, 470 ; *Paquot*, II, 305.

<sup>4)</sup> *Mol.*, 213 ; *Parc*, 228.

<sup>5)</sup> *NijKron.*, I, 2106.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

<sup>7)</sup> *Mol.*, 607 ; *BibBelg.*, 573, reproducing the epitaph ; *SweABelg.*, 478-79 ; *Paquot*, II, 305-307.

<sup>8)</sup> *Rhetius*, 66, 89 ; *Tricoron.*, 57, 167, 367, sq ; Kuckhoff, 28.

<sup>9)</sup> *NèveMém.*, 329.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. before, pp 169, 171-72.

<sup>11)</sup> *Aléandre*, 93 ; *Allen*, I, 256, 25, sq, in which Aleander recommends Croke to Erasmus, calling him 'communis discipulus noster', and highly praises his proficiency in Greek. Croke wrote in Greek to Budé, who answered on Nov. 3, 1519 : *BudERép.*, 86-87 ; *Renaudet*, 613.

of the *Laus Stultitiæ*, although not to the satisfaction of Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, who recommended him, though, to Colet's generosity on September 13, 1511 <sup>2)</sup>. When in 1512, rumours spread of a war between France and England, Croke resolved to regain his native country <sup>3)</sup>, but was kept in Louvain by the kindness of John Paludanus, and probably taught there Greek for a time <sup>4)</sup>. He left Brabant for Cologne, where he matriculated on March 20, 1515 <sup>5)</sup>, although he seems to have been at work there as early as 1514 <sup>6)</sup>. In 1515 he reached Leipzig, and enjoyed there so much success <sup>7)</sup>, that George Spalatinus wanted him for the University of Wittenberg <sup>8)</sup>, and that of Prague tried to secure him by the most tempting offers, all of which Duke George of Saxony, at the request of Leipzig, equalled and even surpassed <sup>9)</sup>. He had there as student Peter Mosellanus, who became his successor, and Joachim Camerarius. In 1516, when beginning the reading of Ausonius <sup>10)</sup>, Croke pronounced a eulogy of Leipzig Academy,

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, I, p 19, 8; Seeböhm, 204.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, I, 227, 25, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Aléandre, 93.

<sup>4)</sup> R. Croci Britannici *Achademie Lipsensis Encomium Congratulatorium* < Leipzig, 1516 > : f 2, v : Louanij fateor me summa cum humanitate exceptum : opera Iohannis paludani Rhetoris, viri cum ipsa canitie : tum omni litterarum & virtutum cumulo venerandi. — *BudERép.*, 86.

<sup>5)</sup> Keussen, II, 505, 65; R. Croci *Achad. Lipsiensis Encomium* (Leipzig, 1516), f 2, v; *UniKöln*, 195; Krafft, 122, 125-26.

<sup>6)</sup> Peter Mosellanus, who left Cologne by the end of 1514, had attended lectures of Croke in that University : Krafft, 122, 197-198.

<sup>7)</sup> On June 5, 1516 Erasmus wrote — perhaps ironically — to Thomas Linacre : 'Crocus regnat in Academia Lipsicensi, publicitus Græcas docens literas' : Allen, II, 415, 11-12; *CorpCath*, IV, 52; Paulsen, I, 106.

<sup>8)</sup> Letter of George Spalatinus to John Lange, regretting that the University of Wittenberg did not share his eagerness, and the students were so few : March 2, 1515 : Krafft, 135-136, 124, 125; on Whitmonday Crocus thanks Spalatinus, his friend, for a recent visit in Leipzig and mentions a book which he is sending to his Prince, the Elector Frederic : that book is probably the *Tabulæ Græcorum Litterarum*, published in the year 1516, May 12; the letter is reproduced by Clemen in *ZKG*, xxxiii, 432-433.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, II, 415, 11, note.

<sup>10)</sup> The *Opera Ausonii* were edited by him and printed by Valentine Schuman, Leipzig, 1515; the book, a small in-quarto, is printed in Roman letter with Greek passages; the title is adorned by a fine border in woodcut : Proctor, II, 11505 A.

*Achademie Lipsensis Encomium Congratulatorium*, in which he mentions the welcome he had received in Louvain <sup>1)</sup>).

He edited several grammatical works <sup>2)</sup>, of which one was dedicated to Reuchlin <sup>3)</sup>; his outspoken sympathy for the Hebraist, as well as his success in teaching Greek, secured him the friendship of Conrad Mutianus Rufus <sup>4)</sup>, of Ulrich von Hutten <sup>5)</sup> and of other leading humanists; no wonder that he is honorably mentioned in several of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* <sup>6)</sup>. In 1517 Croke returned to Cambridge <sup>7)</sup>; he there promoted Master of Arts, and became Greek lecturer in 1518; he corresponded on affectionate terms both with Erasmus <sup>8)</sup> and Thomas More <sup>9)</sup>, who extolled his erudition; in 1519 he delivered in Cambridge a famous inaugural oration in praise of Greek learning <sup>10)</sup>. Unfortunately he was less great as man

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. above, p 275, note 4. In a dedicatory letter, on f a 1, v, to the Rector, the Doctors and the Masters of Leipzig, he declares that he wants his *oratio* to be prefixed to 'tabellas... de grecorum verborum & nominum formationibus... collectas', which he ascribes to them. Maybe they are the *Tabulæ Græcarum Litterarum*, which were published in Leipzig in 1516, and reprinted in 1521.

<sup>2)</sup> They comprise adaptations of, and comments on, the Grammar of Theodore Gaza (Opmeer, I, 430, b, 432, b) and annotations on Ausonius: cp. Cooper, I, 179.

<sup>3)</sup> Theodori < Gazæ > Viri Vndeque Doctissimi Liber Quartus et Vltimus de Constructione R. Croco Britanno Interpretæ: Leipzig, 1516; he sent that book to Reuchlin with a letter dated September 13, 1516: ReuchlE, 257, 262, 361-62; HutOS, II, 352-53; cp. *BeitClem.*, II, 102, 105, mentioning a letter of 1516 to the Elector Frederic of Saxony.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Mutianus' letters to Petrejus, June 5, 1516, to Reuchlin, Sept. 13, 1516, to J. Lange, April 21, 1517: MutE, 608-9, 616, 645; ReuchlE, 256-57.

<sup>5)</sup> Letters of Ulrich Hutten to Croke, Aug. 9 and 22, 1516: HutE, 123-26.

<sup>6)</sup> HutOS, I, 53, 200, 276.

<sup>7)</sup> 'Rediit aureus ex Lipsia', Erasmus remarked; cp. the *Funebris Oratio* on Mosellanus, by Joh. Muslerus Ottingensis, January 15, 1524: Krafft, 125-126. — Croke came to Louvain on his return journey and brought to Erasmus letters from Jerome Emser, Jerome Dunghersheym and Peter Mosellanus, March 15, 18 and 24, 1517, which highly praise Croke and his teaching: Allen, II, 553, 21, sq. 554, 121, sq. 560, 8, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Letter of April 23, 1518: Allen, III, 827.

<sup>9)</sup> Letter quoted partly in Stapleton, 59-60, belonging most probably to 1519, when More and Pace, recently appointed as Royal secretary, tried to procure a professorship to Croke: *MoreCorr.*, 553.

<sup>10)</sup> *Orationes duæ, altera a cura qua utilitatem laudemque Græcæ linguæ tractat, altera a tempore qua hortatus est Cantabrigienses, ne desertores essent ejusdem*: that book was dedicated to Nicolas West,

than as erudite. Although paid by Bishop Fisher for reading a Greek lecture in St. John's College, he turned against his benefactor in 1529, accusing him of derogating on the honour of the foundress Lady Margaret <sup>1)</sup>. He went to Italy <sup>2)</sup> in that same year as *Joannes Flandricus*, with his intimate friend Thomas Cranmer, so as to purchase the approval of Universities and erudites about the King's 'great cause', and was rewarded on his return by a canonry in King's College, Oxford, and by the rectory of Long Buckby <sup>3)</sup>. Yet in 1555, he was the first witness against Cranmer <sup>4)</sup>. He died in London in August 1558 <sup>5)</sup>.

#### B. A DIFFICULT CHOICE

When writing an introductory letter to Giles de Busleyden in favour of the Hebrew professor on October 30, 1517, Erasmus offers his help to find a suitable professor for Greek : 'De Greco accersendo aut si qua alia de re me voles quippiam facere, manda tuo Erasmo'. And he adds : 'Est hic Rutgerus, iuuenis optimus et eruditior quam præ se ferat ; sed malim rem, vt dixi, per celebres et eximios institui' <sup>6)</sup>.

That young man was one of Thierry Martens' correctors, Rutger Ressen, *Rescius*, also called *Dryopolitanus*, after his native town Maeseyck. He had promoted Bachelor of Arts in Paris between September 1513 and March 1514, and had studied Greek under Jerome Aleander <sup>7)</sup>. After that master's leave in Dec. 1513, he gave private lessons on that language in Paris, amongst others to Ludolph Cock, Kock, *Coccius*, of

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Bishop of Ely, and printed in Paris, Simon de Colines, 1520 : Cooper, I, 179 ; Cheke, 24 ; *BudERép.*, 87.

<sup>1)</sup> Cooper, I, 178 ; cp., for former feelings, ReuchlE, 257.

<sup>2)</sup> Fisher, 184. He met there Reginald Pole : *PoleFr.*, 109, 112.

<sup>3)</sup> Blunt, I, 65, 155 (he is called 'a very unprincipled man') ; Gairdner, 105 ; Strype, I, 225, v, 477 ; Constant, 37, 198 ; *PollCranm.*, 41, 44-5 ; *PollHen.*, 282 ; *OrSchAnC*, 54, a ; *OrSchAnR*, 75.

<sup>4)</sup> Cranmer, I, 535 ; II, 1079, 1080-81 ; *PollCranm.*, 45.

<sup>5)</sup> Wood, I, 85 ; Cooper, I, 177-180 ; Bale, 343 ; *DNB* ; Allen, I, 227, 25 ; Lomeier, 159 ; *HutOS*, II, 352-53.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 14-17.

<sup>7)</sup> *MB*, VI, 333.



Bielefeld, *Bilveldensis*<sup>1)</sup>, and taught it for a time at Alkmaar<sup>2)</sup>, where he made the acquaintance of the famous Barbara Vrye, *Liber*<sup>3)</sup>, and of Alard of Amsterdam<sup>4)</sup>. On October 4, 1515<sup>5)</sup> he matriculated in Louvain, and entered the service of Thierry Martens, in whose house he boarded and lodged for several years<sup>6)</sup>. In March 1516 he took care of the printing of his late master Jerome Aleander Mottensis' *Tabulæ Græcarum Musarum Adyta compendio ingredi cupientibus*, to which he added : *in nominum & verborum declinationes Tabulæ*, according to Theodore Gaza's grammar, as well as a dedicatory

<sup>1)</sup> Ludolph Coccius, who in 1532 was teaching in the *gymnasium* of Osnabrück, wrote from Ratisbon on July 9 of that year to Erasmus, recounting his studies and wanderings and mentioning his friends, the most recently acquired being probably Felix Konings Polyphemus. He had continued studying Greek in Paris under Rescius after Aleander had left; he had visited Rescius in Louvain afterwards and relates that he just received a letter from him, by which he announced that he was printing a work of a Louvain theologian which would take him a year to finish — no doubt John Driedo's *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus Libri IV* (10 June 1533). Cp. *HuMünst.*, 48-49; FG, 207, 29-31, 209, 19-21, 327; Allen, x, 2687; NijKron., 1, 744.

<sup>2)</sup> He was teaching there for certain before 1515, for when his colleague John Murmellius was preparing his *Charoleia* to celebrate the ascent into power of Charles of Austria (January 5, 1515), he addressed a few verses to Rescius to request his collaboration : 'Qui modo Gallorum perdocta ex urbe reversus In patriam, linguæ scis utriusque mela Utere... : Gelder, 106-7, 88-89, 157. — The *Charoleia* was printed by Th. Martens, Louvain, with a dedicatory letter to Abbot Meinard Man of April 24, 1515 : NijKron., 11, 3556, 3588.

<sup>3)</sup> Barbara was the daughter of Antony Vrye, *Liber*, of Soest, *Susatensis*, a friend of Agricola, Wessel, Hegius and Langen, who was trained at Deventer, and studied in Padua. He instructed from 1469 at Groningen, where he married a Bertha, who gave him a son and two daughters. In 1473 he went to Wesel, and after teaching in some other schools, he took service in that of Alkmaar in 1482, and died there in 1506 or 1507. He did not leave a fortune, and his daughter Barbara, who had helped her father by teaching in public, continued tutoring at his death, and had to make money of some of his documents. Later on Alard of Amsterdam reminded Rescius that he must have known very well that *Daphne*, when, in his youth, he taught Greek at Alkmaar : Gelder, 83-86, 130; *ErAge*, 197, 22-25, 201-2.

<sup>4)</sup> Agricola, 11, 171; Gelder, 87-89, 113-14, 130-31; cp. further, Chs. IV, XVI and XXI.

<sup>5)</sup> *Excerpts*, 98 : Rogerius Rescius de Maseike.

<sup>6)</sup> *MotJuris*, 17, 26; Iseghem, 104, 140; Allen, 11, 546, 9, 111, 617, 21.

letter of March 8, 1516, to John Paludanus <sup>1)</sup>. He also corrected the Greek *Horæ in lavdem beatiss. Virginis*, printed in May 1516 <sup>2)</sup>. He thus soon became well acquainted with the printer's great friend and the regular visitor of the office, Erasmus <sup>3)</sup>, as well as with Dorp and Barlandus <sup>4)</sup>, with John Paludanus and Antony Clava <sup>5)</sup>, with Geldenhouwer <sup>6)</sup>, Lambert Hollonius <sup>7)</sup>, Paschasius Berselius <sup>8)</sup> and many more humanists.

Still on account of the lack of years and experience, Erasmus did not seriously think of Rescius as a candidate, for he considered him 'grece magis studiosus quam peritus' <sup>9)</sup>, and there was not wanted a man who merely could train a few newcomers in the rudiments, but a well equipped erudite, able to give enlightenment in any doubt about the meaning of any passage in a source investigated by any of the professors <sup>10)</sup>. Nor would it enhance the authority of the School to get for that most important professorate a printer's assistant. There were candidates, besides, with a far greater erudition and a practice of several years.

There was, namely, the Paris teacher and printer Robert de Keysere, *Cæsareus*, a native of Ghent, brother of the famous miniature-painter Clara de Keysere. He had graduated Master of Arts in Paris in 1496, when he was hardly sixteen. He had taken up teaching in Ghent, where he formed such pupils as Eligius Hoeckaert, *Houcarius*, *Eucharis*, the author of a Latin

<sup>1)</sup> NijKron., II, 2274. An issue of Aleander's *Tabulæ*, which leaves out the tables of Rescius and also his letter to Paludanus, was printed by Martens in December 1518, and, with some alterations, in 1523 : NijKron., I, 67, II, 2275 ; an extract, entitled *Alphabetum Græcum*, was issued by Martens about 1518 ; another, under the same title, by Mich. Hillen, Antwerp, October 1534, and by Rutger Rescius for John Coccius of Antwerp, in March 1536 : NijKron., I, 104, 105, 106.

<sup>2)</sup> Iseghem, 262 ; NijKron., I, 1116 : the title mentions, before the printer's name, that : *Recognoscebat Rutgerus Rescius*.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, II, 546.

<sup>4)</sup> Those two humanists had several of their works printed about that time by Martens : cp. Iseghem, 248, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 617, 21.

<sup>6)</sup> Geldenh., 17.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 904, 18.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, III, 674.

<sup>9)</sup> *MotJuris*, 17, 24.

<sup>10)</sup> Probably for the same reason Erasmus did not think of the candidature of the clever Amerotius, who lived with him in the Lily (cp. before, pp 272-74), as he had hardly any proper experience.

play, *Grisellis*, 1518 <sup>1)</sup>). In Sept. 1503, Erasmus wrote to him, praising him for the progress made by his boys in Latin <sup>2)</sup>, though he seems to have devoted most of his time and energy to printing; on September 1, 1510, he brought out Erasmus' *Concio de Puero Jesu*, with some poems and treatises relating to John Colet's St. Paul's School, in London, and the just mentioned letter of 1503. He went to Paris and started printing there, editing, e. g., the *Asinus Aureus*, with a postscript, dated November 13, 1510, from the Paris College of Tournai, of which he was headmaster, at least for a time <sup>3)</sup>). Indeed in Febr. 1517 he was back in Ghent, and was studying law, which made Erasmus remark: 'Roberti nostri πολυτεχνίαν probō; opinor omnibus tentatis aliquid successurum denique' <sup>4)</sup>). He accepted tutoring Leopold of Austria, a natural son of Maximilian, about the time that he contemplated founding a university at Tournai, which scheme had to be abandoned, at first, on account of the political situation, and, at a second attempt, in 1523, through the opposition of Louvain <sup>5)</sup>). In December 1517, he was studying Greek, and Erasmus, who often heard about him, and sent greetings to him through their mutual friend Antony Clava <sup>6)</sup>, remarked on December 21: 'Cæsari gratulor tantum Græcitatibus. Video quid agat, ambit Græcanicam professionem in hoc nouo collegio, quod ex legato Buslidii Louanii instituetur' <sup>7)</sup>). Still, knowing of his versatility <sup>8)</sup>, he did not want to endanger the fate of his Institute by introducing in it a man who had attempted many

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 221, and further, Ch. XVIII.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, I, 175.

<sup>3)</sup> M. E. Kronenberg, *Nog iets over Robert de Keyser, Drukker in Gent en in Parijs* (in *Het Boek*, xxiv): The Hague, 1936: 41-55; NijKron., I, 796, II, 2887, 3217, 2515, 3215, 3239.

<sup>4)</sup> Erasmus to Clava, c Febr. 14, 1517: Allen, II, 530, 9-10: cp. 524 and 525.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. VI, VII and XI.

<sup>6)</sup> Antony Colve, *Clava*, was a citizen of Ghent, councillor of Flanders, who patronized letters, and even learned Greek in his old age (1522): he died on May 31, 1529: Allen, I, 175, 10, v, 1306, 68-70; VOO, VII, 175. — Cp. Allen, I, 178, 48, n, II, 524, 12, 585, 1-4, III, 650, 9, 665, 5.

<sup>7)</sup> Letter of December 21, 1517: Allen, III, 743, 4-6.

<sup>8)</sup> Even Clava had no illusion whatever on de Keyser's instability: when on June 4, 1517, he announced to Erasmus that their friend had accepted tutoring Leopold of Austria, he maliciously remarked on the eleventh day after he left: *Expectamus eum speramusque propediem ad nos rediturum*: Allen, II, 585, 3-4.

things, and not brought one single to a final success. De Keysere died in 1532, leaving three sons from the marriage he contracted in 1526 <sup>1)</sup>).

Erasmus' sympathy and esteem rather went to a third candidate, — if candidate he may be called, — James Teyng, a native of Hoorn, and consequently called *Hornensis*, or *Ceratinus*. He was then studying in Cologne under the able professor John Cæsarius, who as early as 1513 had taught Greek in Munster <sup>2)</sup>). The young man seems to have made Erasmus' acquaintance probably on the occasion of his passing through Cologne on his way to Basle, and in his correspondence with Cæsarius there was often a reference to the pupil, his *conterraneus*, who even occasionally wrote to Erasmus <sup>3)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> J. Van den Gheyn, *Un Manuscrit de l'imprimeur Gantois Robert de Keysere à la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, & A. Van der Haeghen, *L'Humaniste-Imprimeur Robert de Keysere et sa Sœur Clara la miniaturiste* (in *Annales de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de Gand*, viii) : Ghent, 1907-8 : 89, sq, 325-381 ; Allen, i, 175, pr ; ii, 525, pr.

<sup>2)</sup> John Cæsarius, of Julich (1468-1550), studied in Cologne in 1491 : Keussen, ii, 412, 84 ; later on in Paris (under Faber Stapulensis) and in Bologna, 1508, where he accompanied Herman, Count of Neuenahr, and became Doctor of Medecine. He started teaching Latin and Greek in Cologne, 1510, and formed pupils like Listrius, Glareanus, Mosellanus ; he was one of Erasmus' staunchest friends : Allen, ii, 374, pr. Duke Botho of Stolberg and Wernigerode engaged him as preceptor for his sons, and with two of them, Henry, already Canon of Cologne and of Mayence, and Albert, he resided for a time in Leipzig University : MeEClE., 547. By the end of 1527, he returned with his pupils to Stolberg, where he was most intimately acquainted with the Duke's steward William Reifenstein, who, with the young man educated in his house, possibly his brother John, made life bearable for him : cp. further, Ch. IX ; Krafft, 155-156, 167, sq ; he dedicated the new editions of his *Dialectices*, 1529, 1532 and 1539, to William, the steward's eldest son : MeEClE., 547, 674. Cæsarius spent the latter years of his life in the Convent of the Hieronymites of Weidenbach, for, although he backed Reuchlin, and was a friend of Melanchthon and other Reformers, he remained faithful to the Church. He died in Weidenbach Convent on Dec. 15, 1550 : Trit., 465 ; Knod, 83 ; Keussen, ii, p 306 ; Foppens, 598-99 ; *HuMünst.*, 78, 93, 118 ; *HuMünstCor.*, 10, 11 ; *Langen*, 86 ; Krafft, 61-63, 118-9, 127-30, 133-35, 141, 143, 150-63, 167-74, 177, 187-89, 194, 199, 201 ; *HuNieWe.*, i, 36, 47, ii, 27, 30, 31 ; *HutOS*, ii, 333-35 ; FG, 315 ; Allen, ii, 374, pr ; ReuchlE, 209, 268, 278-80 ; *Reuchlin*, 364, 377 ; *Murmell.*, 52, 79-83, &c ; *Varrentrapp*, 33, 61-63, &c ; *UniKöln*, 191 ; *Rupprich*, 26-27.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter from John Cæsarius to Erasmus, July 20, 1517, and the latter's reply, August 16 : Allen, iii, 610, 48, 622, 31, sq.

The great humanist highly appreciated the young man, who in 1519, went to Paris to attend the lectures of Budé <sup>1)</sup>, thus developing into one of the cleverest Hellenists on this side the Alps <sup>2)</sup>.

Still, whatever the esteem he may have had for the zealous student, Erasmus' views for the chair which at the time had become, to his mind, the most important of the three, were much higher. He wanted a Greek by birth and the executors gave him full latitude <sup>3)</sup>, since the will stipulated that for the first ten years a professor should be demanded from a distance, unless an equally able one was found at hand <sup>4)</sup>.

He was thinking of the great Hellenist of his day, Janus Lascaris, who had become illustrious in the service of Lorenzo de' Medici, of Charles VII and of Louis XII, and who had been for a few years at the head of the Greek College of Leo X <sup>5)</sup>. On April 26, 1518, Erasmus wrote to him, announcing that the Greek chair was still vacant in the Institute founded by Busleyden <sup>6)</sup>; to be true, he did not expressly ask Lascaris to come and occupy the place, but he detailed its advantages

<sup>1)</sup> *BudÉRep.*, 63; Allen, III, 992, 3-4.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Allen, III, 622, 31, n; *Cran.*, 218, a-d; and further, Chs. XI and XIII.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 14, 805, 35-36.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.*, 17-18.

<sup>5)</sup> Giano, or Janus, Lascaris Rhyndracenus, born at Constantinople about 1445, was taken to Venice by his father after the fall of that metropolis; Cardinal Bessarion (Opmeer, I, 424) sent him to Padua to be trained; he entered Lorenzo de' Medici's service as librarian, and was sent to the East in search of Greek manuscripts, 1491-92. He further worked in Florence, and was engaged by Charles VII and Louis XII as librarian; in 1503 he was sent as French ambassador to Venice, where he worked till 1509, amongst others, with Marco Musuro, in Aldus Manutius' Academy; he made there Erasmus' acquaintance in 1508. Being called back in 1509 at the Cambrai League, he did not continue long on good terms with the French Court; he was invited to Rome by Leo X, son of his former protector, and placed at the head of his Greek College in 1513; there he became famous through his lectures, his studies and his editions, and, but for two short stays as papal ambassador in France, in 1516 and 1526, he resided there until his death, 1535: Allen, I, 269, 51; Opmeer, I, 434, b; Lomeier, 199; Sandys, II, 78, &c; Pastor, IV, I, 475-477; Renaudet, 413, 501, 509, &c; *Cran.*, 201, a; *BeitKlette*, III, 78, 82, 127, 168; Nolhac, 48-49, 56, 58; *BalaHist.*, 157, 209; *JovEL*, 59; *Trit.*, 430; *Budé*, 74-5; Allen, V, 1347, 242, VI, 1733, 102, 1794, 7, VII, 1835, 23, 1840, 8, 1842, 31, 2027, 27, 2038, 21, 2040, 22; *BudÉRep.*, *passim*. <sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 836.

with so much insistence, and the further generosity of the patrons ready to be extended 'pro ratione personæ' is affirmed with so much assurance, that there can be no doubt but Erasmus hoped to engage the services of the great erudite for his College, and not those of the candidate that he begged him to send <sup>1</sup>). As Lascaris passed into France that year, the letter, evidently sent to Rome, only reached him after some delay ; which would explain why Erasmus, on receiving no reply, asked his friend Paul Bombasius to go and find the scholar <sup>2</sup>), whom he thought was still in the Eternal City <sup>3</sup>).

## 5. — ST. DONATIAN'S COLLEGE AS SEAT OF THE FOUNDATION

### A. ADVANTAGES OFFERED

In the spring of 1518 Erasmus went to Basle to supervise the second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum* : he left Louvain either on the last days of April or in the beginning of May, arriving at Froben's on May 13 <sup>4</sup>). He intended coming back very quickly, and he had even told his friends not to write to him <sup>5</sup>). Without doubt he was desiring to protect the young College with his prestige in the difficulties which he seems to have foreseen. The first arose when the executors wished to establish their institute in St. Donatian's ; that College belonged virtually to the Faculty of Arts, which was always characterized by being constantly in defiance of all which might interfere with her privileges or her authority <sup>6</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) He closes his letter to Lascaris by these words : Tu cura vt deligas idoneum, ego curabo ne hominem huc venisse peniteat : Allen, III, 836, 19-20.

<sup>2</sup>) Bombasius replied on Oct. 1, 1518 : Lascaris in Gallia nunc agit, propterea que a me conueniri non potuit : Allen, III, 865, 57-58.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, III, 905, 23-24 : Dec. 13, 1518.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, III, 843, *pr*, 848, 1, *sq*.

<sup>5</sup>) On July 14, 1518, Dorp replies to a letter which had been brought to him by James Nepos : Tu vetas tuis literis responderi ? quod videlicet propediem huc sis rediturus, ni res postularit Italiam vt adeas : Allen, III, 852, 54-56.

<sup>6</sup>) The Faculty feared that the New College should become a Pedagogy, with an autonomous right to teach and confer degrees : consequently the executors had to sign, later on, a promise never to attempt such a

The new scheme had not inspired great confidence : its spirit was diametrically opposed to the old traditions which she represented ; she had no voice in the appointment of the lecturers on the languages, who were even chosen outside her professorial corps, although the life or death of the new College was depending on her: Should the Faculty refuse to admit the three professors and the eight bursars to St. Donatian's College, they would find themselves deprived of the building which was to harbour them, of the organisation which was to provide meals and administration, discipline and order, religious services and all that is indispensable to a well-regulated community. It was undoubtedly to avert such a refusal that Erasmus had insisted on the lectures beginning : they would show effectively to all opponents that the new enterprise offered nothing reproachable, and would lead the *provisores* gratefully to accept this new organism, whose success was as a gage of future prosperity and renown to their jeopardized foundation.

The College, which by his deed of August 20, 1484, handed to the notary Josse of Bouchoute before witnesses on August 24, 1484 <sup>1)</sup>, Antony Haneron <sup>2)</sup> had founded in his large house in *Vinearum*, or *Cattorum*, *Strata*, with its extensive garden and its vineyard, reaching to the town wall, was to provide board and lodging to six students in Canon Law, five at the rate of twelve guilders a year, and the sixth, the master, who was to act as president, at the rate of twenty <sup>3)</sup>. A chapel was also erected, and a daily mass provided for by a yearly stipend of twenty guilders, to be celebrated by a priest from one of the Mendicant Orders at the choice of the president <sup>4)</sup>. The deed stipulated that the expenses of the scholarships and the Mass were not to exceed one hundred guilders a year, although a larger amount of revenue was secured <sup>5)</sup>, besides the use and produce of house and garden, and the profit that might

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thing : *Inv.*, f 2, r : Item noch drie papieren cedulen... die derde cedulle es een beworp van zeker geluften waermede die executeurs gelouen datmen van tvoers. collegie gheen pedagogie maken ende sal...

<sup>1)</sup> Schrevel, II, 21-34.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 120-124.

<sup>3)</sup> Mol., 630 ; Vern., 214 ; VAnd., 298 ; PF, \*21 ; BaxH, IX, 87 ; BaxF, III, 129 ; FUL, 2001, sq ; ULDoc., III, 122, sq ; Cran., 56, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Schrevel, II, 23, 27.

<sup>5)</sup> Schrevel, II, 23-24.

be derived from *cameristæ*, or paying students, accepted in addition to the bursars <sup>1)</sup>. The administration of the College, with, as patron, the Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, had been confided to a body of seven trustees : the eldest professor of Canon Law, the dean and the receiver of the Faculty of Arts and the *regentes* of the four Pedagogies. Practically it was thus ruled by the Faculty of Arts, and at the time of Busleyden's death one of the two permanent *provisores* appointed by the founder, Nicolas Viruli, was still alive <sup>2)</sup>. Unfortunately Haneron's wise foresight fell short in the economic perturbation about the beginning of the sixteenth century <sup>3)</sup>, through which the value of the rents on houses and landed property, which constituted the larger part of the revenue, decreased at the same rate as the money, whereas the price of living rose in contrary proportion. Far from being sufficient, the one hundred pounds appointed for the bursars and the Mass, had to be supplemented by the rest of the income, which as years advanced, was not even able to cover the want. New bursars were only admitted after much debating in the Faculty <sup>4)</sup>, which to prevent, a committee was entrusted with that department <sup>5)</sup>. Moreover people on whose estates a rent had been laid, wanted to buy it off since money had lost much of its value, which caused either a grievous loss or an expensive lawsuit to the College <sup>6)</sup>; whereas tax-gatherers exacted heavy contributions for farms and landed property, although they became less and less profitable <sup>7)</sup>. It all caused a growing

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<sup>1)</sup> Schrevel, II, 25; from the beginning there were several rooms at the disposal of such *cameristæ* : in 1785 there was accommodation for 17 paying boarders.

<sup>2)</sup> Schrevel, II, 25-27.

<sup>3)</sup> That disturbance was chiefly caused by the change in value of precious metals and rare materials provided in large quantities by the newly discovered wealth of America : Torfs, I, 184, sq; cp. before, p 13.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 9 (1513), 10 (1514).

<sup>5)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 12 (1515).

<sup>6)</sup> E. g., *ActArtInd.*, 16 (1517); D. præpositus haveren [evidently Haneron], fundator collegii S. Donatiani, reliquit redditum 22 Rhen., ea conditione quod si Capitale non refunderetur tempore vitæ suæ, reditus foret irredimibilis, et Domicella dicta turpijn, debens illum redditum, prætendit refundere Capitale.

<sup>7)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 13 (1516) : Receptor Louaniensis Adrianus vanheylewege nomine regis in taxandis bonis ecclesiasticis, petit... 265 Rhen. ratione Bonorum S. Donatiani, cujus, ut asserit, facultas est proprietaria. —



deficit in the president's yearly account : thus in 1514, when it showed that a considerable amount had been paid out of his private purse, the Faculty decided to stop even more scholarships in order to repay the debts <sup>1)</sup>. It did not help, for in 1516, when the Faculty had to meet other heavy requirements, she could not but grant a loan of 60 Rhine florins, to be refunded from the rents of vacant 'bursæ', because 'Omnia desunt Collegio S. Donatiani' <sup>2)</sup>).

It was that utter destitution of the College which prompted the President to suggest to Jerome de Busleyden the solution which was to save it from its ruin, and, at the same time, help him to reach his aim. John Stercke of Meerbeke was just then entrusted with its management <sup>3)</sup> : he had been appointed on November 24, 1514, — although he was not a student in Canon Law ; and his predecessor, John de Palude, had been enjoined to leave the College before Candlemas of the following year <sup>4)</sup>.

That leave of Paludanus was, no doubt, connected with the sad state of affairs : as he was provided with the two public Latin lessons <sup>5)</sup>, he advanced from his own fund to make up for arrears <sup>6)</sup>. As circumstances did not improve, the debt thus incurred may have grown so considerable after some years that his request to be indemnified by the Faculty, — such as the 60 Rh. fl. advanced in 1516, — caused some discontent or some disagreement, which may have led to the decision of his resigning. Indeed, it does not seem as if the stipulation in Haneron's deed of foundation, according to which presidents

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The Faculty sent a deputation to King Charles, and obtained the exemption from that contribution by means of a free offering.

<sup>1)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 10 (1514) : Præses S. Donatiani reddit computus sui Collegii, quod finaliter remanet computanti obligatum, et ut satisfiat suspenduntur bursæ.

<sup>2)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 13 (1516) : Omnia desunt Collegio S. Donatiani, et facultas dat ei mutuo 60 fl. Rhen. restituendum Facultati ex redditibus bursarum vacantium.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 15, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 11 (1514) : Facultas confert præsidiam S. Donatiani Joanni Stercke de Meerbeke, S. T. L., qui fuit Decanus electus 31 januarii 1512, sub quo renovata fuere Statuta, et injungitur D<sup>o</sup> de Palude antiquo præsidi ut deserat collegium ante festum purificationis : resolutio est de 24 9bris.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 184, sq, 188, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. the quotation for 1514 from *ActArtInd.*, 10 (in n 1).

were not to stay over ten years <sup>1)</sup>, was always strictly observed <sup>2)</sup>; if any exception were made, it surely must have been for Paludanus, who, apparently, as first president, had put the College in working order, and was leading it to its natural development when the economic crisis paralysed all growing force <sup>3)</sup>. He evidently was considered as intimately connected with that institute, which would explain how he was again entrusted with its management when, in October 1520, Stercke left it to become President of the *Collegium Trilingue* : at any rate Paludanus is again mentioned as President of St. Donatian's in 1521 <sup>4)</sup>.

Those conclusions from the scraps of notes of the *Acta* of the Faculty would have been corroborated and enriched, if a kinder fate had befallen the monuments of the early years of St. Donatian's; they also would have provided welcome details about the time, from the autumn of 1502 to the summer of 1504 <sup>5)</sup>, when Erasmus, as Paludanus' guest, boarded and lodged in that College. That residence is implied by the fact that, in 1517, after staying again with his old friend and most generous host from July 1517, Erasmus left him, before the middle of September following, for the Lily, because he could open out there all his books <sup>6)</sup> : if Paludanus' house did not afford much space in 1517, when he was in full prosperity, it cannot have been much wider fifteen years before; whilst, as St. Donatian's President, he could place at the disposal of his great friend the ample mansion of the wealthy Haneron.

#### B. INTERVIEW WITH THE FACULTY OF ARTS

Most probably the first months of 1518 had been taken up with the various arrangements and sales of the property left by Jerome de Busleyden <sup>6)</sup>, and it was not before summer that the executors could turn their whole attention to the arrangement of the College in Louvain. They then appear to have, officially, acquainted the Faculty of Arts with the

<sup>1)</sup> Schrevel, II, 28.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. the list of presidents in *ULDoc.*, III, 130-137.

<sup>3)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 21.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, I, 172, *pr*, 180, *pr*, 181, *pr*.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 607, 1-2, 605, 7-8, 641, 8; *MonHL*, 183-187.

<sup>6)</sup> *Busl.*, 112, *sq*.

intention of the deceased to institute the School for Languages in the College of St. Donatian, which was entrusted to their care <sup>1)</sup>; they requested an interview to discuss the question, which was granted for July 13, 1518. Two deputies of the Faculty, Nicolas Viruli and John Paludanus, had been chosen to examine the matter <sup>2)</sup>, which by then probably had been fully digested by most of the members. To the meeting on the stated day came John Robbyns, Nicolas de Nispen, Adrian Josel, and Bartholomew van Vessem <sup>3)</sup>, but they found hardly any encouragement, as the Faculty insisted on the fact that the testator had been generous with other people's goods.

It was pointed out that the real advantage accruing to the College from the new institution was limited to foundations for Masses and anniversaries, as well as to an increase in the president's salary <sup>4)</sup>. There were so many conditions attached to the other conveniences offered in the will that they became burdensome. The number of bursars was extended, but the indemnity offered for their food and maintenance was insufficient <sup>5)</sup>; the will allowed to accept inmates, *cameristæ*, in addition to the bursars, according to certain stipulations <sup>6)</sup>: but a retribution in money had to be made to the professors, who, moreover, were entitled to part of the profit realized <sup>7)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Six of the seven supervisors of St. Donatian's belonged to the Faculty of Arts, namely the dean and the receiver, as well as the four *regentes* of the Pedagogies: at that time Adrian Barlandus and Josse Vroeve were respectively dean and receiver, having been elected on June 18, 1518 (*LibNomI*, 112, v); the *regentes* were Cornelius Sculteti, of Weert, for the Castle, Matthew Thierry, of Dordrecht, for the Porc, John de Neve, of Hondschoote, for the Lily, and Nicolas Coppin, of Mons, for the Falcon.

<sup>2)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 17: Jheronimus Busledii pro suo collegio fundando elegit collegium S. Donatiani si obtineri possit, et super hoc deputantur Nicolaus Viruli et Jo. de palude Rhetor.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 48, r.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.*, 26-35, 40-42; *MotJuris*, 6, 7.

<sup>5)</sup> *Test.*, 3; *MotJuris*, 8, 9: twenty years later, about 1545, the 25 florins, which in 1517 amply paid for the board and lodging of a bursar during one year, had become quite insufficient, and the *mensæ portio* of each professor, which had been estimated at six pounds (*Test.*, 23), had risen proportionately in value.

<sup>6)</sup> The president had a right to accept 8 boarders at the first table and 4 at that of the bursars: they were to enjoy the advantage of the conversation with the professors: *Test.*, 44-47.

<sup>7)</sup> *Test.*, 44, 47; *MotJuris*, 8, 9.

Finally, the president who up to then had been by himself to administer the foundation, and to receive the profits, had to observe the new regulations prescribed in the will <sup>1)</sup>. In future there would be three other masters to rule with him, and to deduct their portions in all the advantages.

The interview was long and laborious ; it is, indeed, comprehensible that the executors did not accept all those complaints as ready money ; the ruinous state of St. Donatian's College was a patent fact <sup>2)</sup>, and the objections made by the Faculty must have seemed as untimely as those made by a drowning man about the material or the form of the stick held out to save him. Besides, the testator had made the proposition of the grafting of his foundation on a college at the suggestion of John of Meerbeke <sup>3)</sup>, who, as president of St. Donatian's, was more aware than any one of its actual state of decay, and could judge of the efficacy of the remedy proposed ; if the incorporation had been so onerous, he would have been the first to suffer from the consequences. All was useless ; the Faculty undoubtedly presuming that the new foundation could not subsist without College, claimed a supreme authority over it and the assurance of many advantages, which the executors were not able to grant : by way of reply, they made a proposal, which the Faculty desired to deliberate upon during a few days <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Test.*, 40, 44.

<sup>2)</sup> In 1519 the professors of Law, whose students were to enjoy the scholarships in St. Donatian's College, complained that it was tending towards its ruin : *tendat ad ruinam*, and that the president was the only bursar ; they proposed to let the premises, if the evil could not be averted otherwise. In 1521 Archbishop John de Carondelet, who since November 28, 1520, was Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges (*BrugSDon.*, 77-78 ; *Allen*, III, 803, 12 ; *Cran.*, 56, c), and as thus, tutor or patron of the College, claimed an account of its state from the president John Paludanus : on learning that there was no student-bursar, he remonstrated with the Faculty, and offered his help : *ActArtInd.*, 18, 21. Thanks to his generosity the situation became satisfactory by 1538, and through the new scholarships erected by his will of 1544, and put into working order in 1545, he became the second founder of the College : *ActArtInd.*, 47-48, 55 ; *FUL*, 2019 ; *Cran.*, 56, c ; *ULDoc.*, III, 123, 127, 128.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 15, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *Rek.*, 48, r : na vele worden dairom gehadt ende mits dat zij <viz., those of the Faculty of Arts> vele preeminentie ende vordeels hebben

## C. ACCEPTANCE RENDERED IMPOSSIBLE

At the second interview, on Aug. 26, 1518, the Faculty did not show themselves any more conciliating; they wanted to have the foundation entirely at their mercy and claimed more one-sided advantages, as if they on purpose made the conditions for acceptance heavier and heavier as the debate progressed. In consequence John Robbyns, van Nispen and Van Vessem had to return to the executors who had deputed them, without any hope of ever obtaining the incorporation into St. Donatian's <sup>1</sup>).

That persistent refusal, no doubt, was partly the result of a want of confidence concerning the institution projected by Erasmus and by the favourers of 'bonæ literæ': still apart from the theologians and the philosophers of the old school, who did not hide their antipathy, the Faculty included many sincere friends of humanistic learning, such as John de Neve, John Paludanus and Josse Vroeye, although they were only a minority in the vast body of the Faculty <sup>2</sup>). Some opposition came from a jealous fear that their College, whose sole administrators they practically were, was going to escape

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wouden ouer dnyeu collegie dwelck de testamentuers niet passeeren en wilden. was hen een ouerteure gedaen dairop zy hen souden beraden totter naesten vergaderinghen...

<sup>1</sup>) Rek., 48, r, v: Item xxvj augustj dairna zijn de deken van mechelen h. bartelmeeus Nispen wederom gereyst na louen. om te hoiren de Antwoirde vand. vors. faculteyten ende voirts te procederen jnt stuck ten eynde voirs. mair want zij van huer opinie niet scheiden en wilden ende soe lancks soe meer tstuck zwairder maecten...

<sup>2</sup>) Different from the other Faculties, that of the Arts was very numerous, counting besides the *Regentes*, the *Legentes* and lecturers of the Pedagogies, nearly all the Masters of Arts residing in Louvain before they graduated as doctors or were assumed as professors in the 'higher' sciences. Their number varied between forty and fifty, whereas the other Faculties had only from five to ten members. In the Academic Senate the Arts far outnumbered all the rest of the University; still they could not carry the vote on that account, as it always went by Faculties, not by heads. Within the Faculties they voted by heads, and in case of a 'Congregatio' of the University, the results thus obtained in the five separate meetings, were brought out in the general assembly immediately following, which decided the question: cp. H. de Vocht, *Les Halles de Louvain et leur Acquisition par l'Université* (in *ULCinqS.*): 114, sq.

them ; for if the new foundation were to be incorporated with it, the end would be its final absorption, seeing that the administration, the finances and the discipline, even the religious services, would be henceforth regulated according to the stipulations of Busleyden's will. Confident as they were that the College of the Three Tongues would not be able to exist without their consent, they seemed to have benefited by the straits in which the executors found themselves <sup>1)</sup>, to wring from them all the advantages possible ; so that, without losing any of their prerogatives on St. Donatian's College, they hoped to see it revived, thanks to that new Institution which would be subject to them for ever.

The bad reception given by the Faculty of Arts to their request and the subsequent discussions, made the executors understand that a lasting and peaceful existence for their foundation in a college already established was an impossibility. They resolved, therefore, not only to no longer insist on its being inoculated into St. Donatian's <sup>2)</sup>, but they even abandoned the second alternative which the testament offered them, the College of Arras.

That College had as provisors only the two executors of Bishop de Ruter's will, Adrian of Utrecht and John Robbyns<sup>3)</sup> ; and in the absence of his colleague, the latter was practically master over the destinies of that institution <sup>4)</sup>, until the publication of the Statutes, on November 18, 1532 <sup>5)</sup>, which indicated as '*provisores*' the parish priest or *plebanus* of St. Peter's, and the president of the '*Sabbatinæ*', the theological disputes in the College of the Holy Ghost <sup>6)</sup>. With the full freedom of action at his disposal, the Dean of St. Rombaut's did not help to realize the plan of his late friend, because he saw that grafting does not necessarily mean growing ; because

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<sup>1)</sup> The presence of John Robbyns amongst the executors confirmed them, in some way, in their obstinate decision : he would not have exposed himself to a second refusal if he had seen any possibility of incorporating the foundation into the College of Arras, of which he was the organiser and the most influential '*provisor*'.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rek.*, 48, v : zoe hebben de executueren dien aengaende gedelibereert dairaf niet meer te spreken...

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, III, 157.

<sup>4)</sup> *FUL*, 2245.

<sup>5)</sup> *FUL*, 2244 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 157.

<sup>6)</sup> They were, in 1532, Peter de Corte and Ruard Tapper.

he did not wish to create around the incipient Institution, within the encompassing walls, an everlasting atmosphere of insuperable defiance, of continual animosity and of unavoidable quarrels by introducing it into a 'milieu' latently, possibly even openly, hostile; for without any doubt, it would have paralysed all work and study, and would have quickly suppressed all vitality and all force of expansion, which was to be as the essence of Busleyden's Institute.

## 6. — RESULT OF FIRST DISAPPOINTMENT

### A. INDEPENDENT COLLEGE DECIDED ON

The executors at once acquainted Giles de Busleyden, the chief heir, with their first success. He was endowed with the same noble and generous spirit as his brother, and at once proposed founding a college, which should be autonomous, free from all kinds of servitude regarding the '*provisores*' and the Faculty of Arts, and even, to some extent, from the University. That was also the resolution adopted by the three deputies as the outcome of the second interview, in so far that before leaving Louvain, they decided buying a house in which to install the new College <sup>1)</sup>.

That decision entailed heavy consequences; for it meant not only a house, but a well-ordered organisation to board and lodge the professors and the bursars; lecture rooms and a chapel were necessary; a president was required to take charge of order and discipline and to look after revenue and property. The testator had not foreseen such expenses; to be true, the resources he had bequeathed to his College were considerable, but they would only cover the expenses of the bursars and the salaries of the professors.

It thus is perfectly right praising Giles de Busleyden and the other heirs as being in a certain sense the second founders of the College of the Three Tongues <sup>2)</sup>, seeing that they were entitled to take advantage of the refusal of the Faculty of Arts

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<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 48, v : zoe hebben de executueren dien aengaende gedelibereert... seluer een huys te coopen. ende tvoirs. nieuwe collegie daer jnne te jnstituieren ende zijn soe wederomme na huys gereyst...

<sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 17-18, 119; and further, p 305.

and to claim the part of the heritage which was thus practically rejected and made unrealizable by those for whom it was designed. Their example of abnegation in favour of their illustrious relative's great work, was followed by the executors, who devoted themselves, body and soul, to the new enterprise. Canon van Vessem specially distinguished himself through his humility, his aptitude for organizing and his untiring perseverance. He sacrificed several years of his benefice of Aire in order to travel through Belgium and Holland in search of favourable investments <sup>1)</sup>; he resided months and months at Louvain, directing and surveying the building and preparing everything for the housing of bursars and professors. As said before <sup>2)</sup>, it is to the zeal of that intelligent worker, whose name is hardly mentioned in the panegyrics of the College of the Three Tongues, that redounds for the greater part the success and prosperity of the undertaking.

#### B. APPOINTMENT OF RESCIUS

The uncompromisingness of the Faculty of Arts impelled the executors to move up towards their aim without further wavering. They decided to open the lectures for Latin and for Greek within the shortest delay, and lost no time in appointing a third professor. Janus Lascaris had shown no sign of life <sup>3)</sup>, which was rather a favourable circumstance; for as the realization of the plan necessitated unforeseen expenses, they had to economize as much as possible. Instead of paying a very high salary to a professor from Italy, they found it more advantageous to engage one in Louvain itself or in the vicinity of Louvain.

When announcing the complete lack of news concerning Lascaris, Erasmus probably indicated other candidates: a few months previously he had mentioned Rutger Rescius, the corrector of his friend Thierry Martens; and credited him for more erudition than he showed, although he did not seem the

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<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 85, v-86, v: Vutgeuen van diuerse Reysen te waghene ende te peerde bij h. barths. van Vessem... van Johannis xix tot Johannis xxj... de betalinghe vanden gecochte loopende Renten ende oude sculde ghesolliciteert latende dairom zijn Residentie tot arien &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 54-55.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 283.



convenient personage to begin that course <sup>1)</sup>. Undoubtedly he recommended James Teyng, *Ceratinus*, the most able Hellenist of our countries <sup>2)</sup>, one of Budé's pupils <sup>3)</sup>, who, some years later, was said to be worth three, even ten Mosellanus <sup>4)</sup>, and who was just then looking for employment. It is probable that the executors would have appointed him if they had had more abundant resources to dispose of. As Rescius, on account of his youth, of his humble position, and of his want of experience, could not aspire to high wages, the choice fell on him, and he eagerly accepted the coveted post, receiving in return board and lodging besides a yearly stipend of six Flemish pounds, or thirty-six Artois pounds, instead of seventy-two <sup>5)</sup>; at least that was paid to him for the year beginning Sept. 1, 1518; his wages were raised to 8 Flemish pounds, or forty-eight Artois pounds, from Sept. 1, 1519 <sup>6)</sup>.

### C. THE THREE LECTURES STARTED

Since nothing else prevented any longer the realization of Busleyden's plan, the courses for the three languages were opened on Wednesday, the first day of September 1518 <sup>7)</sup>, exactly six days after the second interview with the Faculty of Arts.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 691, 15-17; *MotJuris*, 17-18; and before, pp 277-79.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, 218, a, b; Allen, III, 622, 31; Erasmus had the highest esteem for that man, and recommended him unconditionally in 1525 to Duke George of Saxony: Allen, VI, 1565, 2-38; cp. before, pp 281-2, and further, Chs. XI and XIII.

<sup>3)</sup> *BudÉRép.*, 63; Allen, III, 992, 3-4.

<sup>4)</sup> In the spring of 1525, when Erasmus recommended him to the lectureship of Greek in Leipzig: Allen, VI, 1561, 6-10, 1565, 2-38, 1566, 2-10, 1567, 4, 1568, 10-12; cp. *Erasmiana*, I, 432.

<sup>5)</sup> The will had stipulated that a salary of 12 Flemish pounds (or 72 Artois pounds) was to be paid to the professors of Greek and Hebrew besides board and lodging; as the College could not provide the latter as yet, they received an additional sum of 6 Flemish pounds, or 36 Artois pounds, per year until the time that they were lodged and entertained by the College: *Test.*, 17, 23; *Rek.*, 91, r-v; Rescius was engaged for only 6 Flemish pounds, besides board or lodging, or the equivalent: *Rek.*, 91, v.

<sup>6)</sup> *Rek.*, 92, r; it appears from the account that on Sept. 1, 1519, Rescius was paid 72 Art. pounds (36 for stipend, and 36 for board and lodging), whereas on Sept. 1, 1520, he received 84 (48 for wages, and 36 for the cost of living).

<sup>7)</sup> *Rek.*, 91, r-v.

They had not yet any definite premises, but the Augustine Fathers had graciously offered a room in their convent <sup>1)</sup>, in which Adrian Barlandus and Rutger Rescius commenced their teaching, publicly and gratuitously, whilst Matthew Adrianus continued his in de Beka's house, with the sole difference that his work was not any longer recompensed by his audience, but by the executors in the name of the College of the Three Tongues <sup>2)</sup>, which, from that day, was instituted, and took rank, at least in fact, amongst the organisms of the venerable Brabant *Studium Generale*.

The enterprise succeeded beyond all expectations ; the lectures of Greek and of Latin were attended by a large and zealous audience, surpassing even that gathered by Adrianus. As the latter attached too much importance to his fees, which Dorpius insinuated to Erasmus on July 14, 1518 <sup>3)</sup>, he may have caused some discontent amongst his hearers : yet as there were no longer any fees to keep them away, the disciples flocked in more numerous than ever, causing great pleasure to the friends of the new Institution.

The rancour of its adversaries must have been all the more bitter, seeing that a few days previously, it seemed that the enterprise, if it wished to succeed, would have had to bow to their demands. The Faculty of Arts, who had hoped to utilize it in their favour, saw themselves dispossessed of an advantage which they thought was already assured to them. The enemies of Greek, — who were, undoubtedly, numerous <sup>4)</sup>, —

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<sup>1)</sup> That convent took up the block formed by the Fishmarket, the Dyle and the town wall, Cow Street, and Fishmongers Street ; it was incorporated into the University in 1447, and lived in close connection with that body, the Senate of which held their meetings in one of their rooms for over two centuries. The Augustines were remarkable for their spirit of study, having given several professors to the Alma Mater, as well as for the interest they showed in Busleyden's foundation from the very beginning : FUL, 1992-93, 450, 462-65, 743 ; *LouvEven*, 475-8 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 266, sq ; de Jongh, 47-8, 52, 145, \*7-\*9, \*14, \*16, \*59.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rek.*, 91, r, and following note.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 852, 70-73 : *Linguarum professio pulchre apud nos procederet, si stipendia tandem exoluerentur et doceretur gratis : alioqui scis eo Louanienses ingenio vt ægre quicquam dent. Id quidem male habet Mattheum nostrum, hominem... iratum pecuniæ... ; also 969, 7-8 ; &c.*

<sup>4)</sup> The antipathy felt towards Greek, is illustrated by More having to take its defense in his *Apologia pro Moria* against a humanist like

were alarmed at the teaching in public of that dangerous tongue, which up to then had only been communicated privately and almost secretly <sup>1)</sup>, being looked upon as the source of all heresies <sup>2)</sup>).

Finally the favourers of the old tradition, of the accepted ideas and of the methods which had contributed to their proper development, were disagreeably stirred by this new tendency which was affirming itself most audaciously; indeed, it evidently desired to impose itself on the University without considering the existing organisms, and to revolutionize the teachings of the five Faculties without recognizing any of them. For evidently it was not simply the matter of a few language courses. The new enterprise was in defiance against the way of studying and teaching practised until then. It was an almost brutal affirmation of the valuelessness of the books that had been used, and of the methods that had been followed; it was the proclaiming of the consideration of the object itself or of authentic documents as the only way to reach truth; it was the submitting to criticism of all tradition, and especially of all the statements that masters had transmitted to their disciples during a series of centuries as they themselves had received them in respectful confidence, without ever verifying their worth or reliability.

It was, to say the least of it, an impertinent declaration on the part of those men with hardly any experience and without any authority, who desired, however, to give a lesson to all the Faculties. And amongst the latter that of Theology was alarmed the most; for if the declaration that it was necessary to study Aristotle and Hippocrates in the old Greek tongue, left the philosophers and doctors fairly indifferent, the theologians considered it as heretical to compare the Vulgate with the version of the Seventy or the original Hebrew: it was as doubting its value, just as it was condemning the teaching of

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Dorpius: *MoreLuc.*, 413-17; by the onset made against it in 1526 by Paschasius in St. Peter's, Louvain: *Cran.*, 213, 9-21; by the sallies which escaped as patient and meek a favourer as Clenard: *ClenE.*, 55; *ClenCorr.*, I, 15. Cp. *Cran.*, 213, c; and before, p 271.

<sup>1)</sup> Notwithstanding the opposition, the teaching of Greek was certainly gaining ground: Allen, v, 1390, 131; 1460; *Cran.*, 257, a, 8, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 271; also Allen, iv, 1033, 239: *Græce scire hæresis est*, III, 939, 48, sq, 948, 84, sq, 185, sq, v, 1334, 833-837.

their School if the authority of the Fathers of the Church was called in. It was as sanctioning Erasmus, and his Greek texts of the *Novum Instrumentum*, his annotations <sup>1)</sup>, and his licentious criticisms of the abuses; for it was an open secret that the College of the Three Tongues entered into the reform plan of the great Humanist as a means of bringing back Theology from the muddy marshes of the *Sententiæ* and the *Summæ* to the limpid fountain of Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers <sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Bludau, 74, *sq.*, examines the controversies about the Bible with theologians of the Netherlands, originating from the editions of the *Novum Testamentum*, in which Erasmus offers a rich choice of comments (Bludau, 51, *sq.*), but in which he often expresses his doubts whether the text of the Vulgate can be considered as providing the proof for some dogms for which it is invoked; such as the Gospel of St. John, I, 1, and the *Epist. ad Roman.*, v, 12, ix, 5, *ad Philip.*, II, 6, *ad Coloss.*, II, 9, I *ad Timoth.*, III, 16, *ad Tit.*, II, 11 and I *John*, v, 20. To those who criticized him for thus weakening many demonstrations, he affirmed his belief that dogms have not necessarily to be enounced in the Bible: *Nobis sufficit unicum Scripturæ testimonium*, he writes in his commentary on *Ep. ad Rom.*, v, 12, *interdum sine Scripturis auctoritas Ecclesiæ*: EOO, VI, 590, A; or as Bludau, 52, expresses it, he rejects some generally accepted explanations of passages as proofs of certain dogms, 'von denen er [Erasmus] öfters erklärte, er nehme sie an, weil die Autorität und Übereinstimmung der Kirche ihn dazu bewege, obwohl sie aus der Schrift nicht bewiesen werden könnten'. Thus 'die Paraphrasen und die Ausgabe selbst [verkünden Erasmus'] Liebe zum Bibelstudium und seinen Eifer für die Reinerhaltung des Wortes Gottes für alle Zukunft': Bludau, 145.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter to John Robbyns, March 26, 1518: Allen, III, 805, 31-34: referring to Busleyden's foundation as *pulcherrimum negotium*, he adds: *Hæc una res omnium studia a turbidis lacunis ad divinæ Scripturæ limpissimos fonteis reuocabit.*

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## CHAPTER IV

# DIVINES AND LINGUISTS AT CONFLICT

OCTOBER 1518-MAY 1519

## 1. — OMINOUS CALM

### A. LATENT OPPOSITION

If displeasure was felt at the startling of the lectures in the *Trilingue*, it was not shown or spoken out before several weeks had elapsed, and even then the professors and their teaching were only referred to casually. Criticism and complaints were made only about the spirit of the institution, about which no doubt had ever existed, neither with friends, nor adversaries, and for a long time the opposition seemed to be merely speculative and without any relation whatever to the new College. That apparently composed acceptance was not to be ascribed to equanimity or indifference, but rather to the surprise caused by the completion of the independent, but regular, set of three language lectures within the space of a week, which, under other circumstances, would have seemed impossible. As no principles had been proclaimed, and as the lessons had started as the most natural thing in the world, the opponents were completely disarmed by the matter-of-fact common sense of the enterprise, over which Erasmus did not even cast a shadow, as he was absent when the new, threefold teaching began ; when he did arrive, three weeks later, he was laid up with an illness which lasted almost a month <sup>1)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus left Basle on the first days of September 1518, and reached Louvain by the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month ; he was laid up and staid four weeks at Thierry Martens' house : Allen, III, 867, *pr*, 184-192, 886-893.

The opposition which the development of language study met about that time in Western Europe, had manifested itself first in Cologne University. Peter Tomasi, of Ravenna, a professor of law <sup>1)</sup>, who was on visit there from 1506, presumed that the success which he reaped, allowed him to blame as sinful the custom of letting corpses decay on the gibbet, and to criticize other German usages. The national pride recoiled, and prompted the divines James of Hoogstraeten, the Inquisitor <sup>2)</sup>, and the professor of divinity Gerard of Zutphen <sup>3)</sup> to retort by treatises which turned the controversy from one on nations — Italian *v.* German, — into one on principles, — divines *v.* poets, as the adherents of the eloquent jurisprudent were called. He replied in 1508 to the attacks by a bitter satire, written in the slipshod language and style of his adversaries, providing a model for the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* <sup>4)</sup> : still, though seconded by all the friends of the Renaissance, he had to leave Cologne in 1508, and died for sorrow in 1509 at Mayence, as Reuchlin afterwards wrote <sup>5)</sup>.

Hardly had that controversy taken an end by the order of the Papal Legate Bernardino de Carvajal <sup>6)</sup> when, in 1509, a more vehement one started through the proselytism of John Pfefferkorn, a Cologne Jew, baptized in 1506, who, backed by the Dominicans, especially by James of Hoogstraeten, and the divines headed by Arnold of Tongres <sup>7)</sup>, insistently requested the Emperor's authorization to confiscate and burn all Jewish books. Maximilian asked the advice of some Universities and of some Hebraists, and accepted that of Reuchlin, seconded by Heidelberg, that only those books which attack Christianity, should be confiscated, whereas good ones, like the Talmud, should be returned and even studied. Pfefferkorn and his protectors vehemently protested against that decree, which

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further Ch. VI ; *UniKöln*, 195.

<sup>2)</sup> He was an old student of Louvain who had entered the Dominican Order : cp. further Ch. VI ; he wrote *Defensio Scolastica Principum Alemaniarum*, 1508.

<sup>3)</sup> *UniKöln*, 428 ; Keussen, II, 354, 49 ; he wrote, in 1508, *Tractatus de Cadaveribus Maleficorum Morte Punitorum*.

<sup>4)</sup> It was added to his *Compendium in Materia Feudorum*, 1508.

<sup>5)</sup> Muther, 123.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 400-407.

<sup>7)</sup> Arnold Luyde, of Tongres : *UniKöln*, 428 ; Keussen, II, 392, 67 ; Bianco, II, 1382, sq.

the Cardinal of Mayence put into execution in 1510; they published a *Handt Spiegel* in the spring of 1511, attacking Reuchlin, replying by injuries to injuries, as was the custom then, and calling heretic whoever protected the Jews <sup>1)</sup>. Once again the controversy turned from one on nations, — Jews *v.* non-Jews, — to one on principles — divines *v.* linguists, or *grammarians*, as they were opprobriously called. Reuchlin replied equally abusively by his *Augenspiegel*, Sept. 1511, which was condemned and burned at Cologne; silence was imposed to both parties, which Ortwin Gratius broke by his aggressive verses <sup>2)</sup>. On the Pope's authority, the question was judged at Speyer in the first months of 1514, and James of Hoogstraeten was put in the wrong. He refused to accept that judgment, and appealed in 1515 to Rome, where, once more, he was going to get the worse by the sentence of a committee, when its proclamation was withheld by the Pope on the interference of the Dominicans and, amongst them, Silvester Prieras <sup>3)</sup>, Leo X's confessor. In their disappointment Reuchlin's friends took the law in their own hands: they covered their adversaries, and especially the volunteer Ortwin Gratius, with an avalanche of ridicule in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* of the autumn of 1515 <sup>4)</sup>. Unfortunately to that first series Ulrich Hutten added another, in which he poured out all his virulent hatred of Rome and the Pope <sup>5)</sup>, changing what was meant as a reproach of the vanity, as well as the lack of understanding and perspicacity, amongst other evils, in some servants of the Church, into a denegation of the truth and the essence of the Church itself.

Without doubt the trouble caused by those controversies

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Ch. VI.

<sup>2)</sup> In August 1512 appeared his *Articuli siue Propositiones de iudaico favore nimis suspecte ex libello theutonico dñi Joannis Reuchlin*: it brought the Latin translation of passages from the *Augenspiegel* (1511) and his comments, preceded by 13 distichs which are particularly offensive: HutOS, II, 78-79; Gratius also translated some German libels of the controversy into Latin: *Grattus*, 51, sq; HutOS, II, 381-83.

<sup>3)</sup> Lauchert, 7, 8, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *UniKöln*, 195-96; Bianco, I, 372, sq; *Grattus*, 28-64; *Reuchlin*, 205-454; *Rupprich*, 28-29; and Ch. VI.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. HutOS, I, 206, sq, II, 678, sq; *Hutten*, 111-12, 177-89, 512-13; W. Brecht, *Die Verfasser der Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*: Strassburg, 1904; Merker, 290-314.

was not limited to Cologne University : it explains the distrust about the study and teaching of languages and the animosity against their promoters in Louvain, where on July 28, 1513, an unfavourable advice was formulated against Reuchlin's book <sup>1)</sup>. It explains the significance which Erasmus, the leader of the linguists in Louvain, attached to the fact, that during his illness <sup>2)</sup>, he was visited in the house of Thierry Martens, not only by his friend Martin van Dorp, but also by some of the latter's colleagues of the Theological Faculty and, even by the veteran and acknowledged chief of that body, the Vice-Chancellor Briart <sup>3)</sup>.

#### B. JOHN BRIART OF ATH

That leader of the Louvain theologians at the period, John Briart, was born at Belœil, near Ath, *Athenis*, in 1460 <sup>4)</sup>. He had studied the *Artes* in the Falcon, as an inmate of which Pedagogy he matriculated on August 30, 1478 <sup>5)</sup>. According to a biography by his pupil Gerard Morinck <sup>6)</sup>, he was classed the first at his promotion as Master of Arts <sup>7)</sup>, which must have taken place from 1479 to 1482, for which years the lists do not exist any longer <sup>8)</sup>. He started the study of theology

<sup>1)</sup> *Sententia Lovaniensis facultatis Theologiæ contra Speculum Oculare* : HutOS, I, 133-34 ; on May 23, 1515, the University wrote to the Pope against Reuchlin's books, and on April 21, 1514, as well as on May 16, 1515, Adrian of Utrecht asked Cardinal de Carvajal to proceed against the Hebraist and to help Hoogstraeten : *BeitFried.*, 111-12 ; HutOS, I, 150-52 ; in Allen, VII, 1804, 215, Erasmus throws the blame of Adrian's intervention on James Latomus ; cp. ReuchlE, 205-6, 231, 242, 266.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 867, 207-12 : he had invited the *Hebræus professor* to examine him : Adrianus gave him the assurance that nothing serious was the matter.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 867, 255 (letter to Beatus Rhenanus, about Oct. 15, 1518), 878, 11 (to Herman of Neuenahr, Oct. 19, 1518), IV, 1225, 78 (to Peter Barbirius, August 13, 1521), VI, 1581, 280 (to Natalis Beda, June 15, 1525).

<sup>4)</sup> VAnd., 97 ; de Jongh, 149.

<sup>5)</sup> *LibIntII*, 135, r : 'Jo briart de ath camerac. dyoc. de falcone. — A 'Iohannes bryaert de Valenchienis camerac. dioc. pauper' was inscribed on Jan. 15, 1487 : *Excerpts*, 90.

<sup>6)</sup> He was a theologian first in the service of the St. Gertrude's Abbey, later on in that of St. Trudo's, at St. Trond : cp. *MonHL*, 461-99 ; and Chs. XV, XXII.

<sup>7)</sup> *Briart*, 393, v.

<sup>8)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 59.



whilst teaching philosophy at his Pedagogy <sup>1)</sup>, in consideration of which the University admitted him to her Council on Oct. 1, 1492. At that date he had been two years in the service of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy ; having entered her *familia* in 1490 as chaplain and confessor, he afterwards became her Councillor, serving her fourteen years <sup>2)</sup> to the great advantage of the Church and the University, since as adviser of the powerful Duchess, who took a great interest indeed in the welfare of her adopted country, he could suggest and provide help and assistance wherever it was needed. He probably thus proposed her to defray the expense of the solemn doctorate of divinity of his friend the brilliant scholar Adrian of Utrecht, who promoted on June 21, 1491, and was thus started on his way to greatness <sup>3)</sup>. She also paid the cost of his own doctorate in divinity on February 11, 1500 <sup>4)</sup>.

After having seen to the execution of her will at her decease, November 23, 1503, he returned to Louvain where, in 1506, he succeeded as professor of divinity to John Bourgeois, who, as Bishop of Cyrene, had been appointed suffragan of the Bishop of Liège <sup>5)</sup>. He was one of Adrian of Utrecht's oldest and dearest friends <sup>6)</sup> ; after that great man's leave for Spain, he was considered as the most important member of the Faculty of Theology, thanks to his erudition and his experience <sup>7)</sup>. Although eager to learn and to encourage others in their intellectual pursuits, he was not free from prejudice against innovations, and as he suffered no contradiction, it often seemed as if he were the cause of opposition, which, if gone into, might have been found to be merely an unripe judgment,

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<sup>1)</sup> He was one of the professors of James of Hoogstraeten, who already promoted M. A. in 1485 : *ULPromRs.*, 60 ; *Briart*, 393, v.

<sup>2)</sup> *Briart*, 393, v ; *MonHL*, 403-404.

<sup>3)</sup> *Busl.*, 314.

<sup>4)</sup> That date was provided by a list of promotions to doctor in theology which was added to a manuscript copy of the *Statuta Facultatis S. Theologiæ*, which was MS 975 of Louvain University Library before the fire of August 1914.

<sup>5)</sup> *VAnd.*, 78, 93.

<sup>6)</sup> *Cran.*, 76, a, 81, a, 213, d, e.

<sup>7)</sup> He replaced Adrian of Utrecht as Vice-Chancellor of the University, and as uncontested chief of the Theological Faculty until his death on January 8, 1520 : cp. de Jongh, 149-151 ; Allen, III, 670, pr ; *Cran.*, 24, a, 152, 2 ; Friedensburg, 29 ; *MonHL*, 194, 198-200.

as soon repented as spoken out, or the suggestion of a familiar friend taken too earnestly. Erasmus was several times in disagreement with him, and although the clash of the first moment embittered him, in so far that he explained his name *Athenis* as connected with "Ατῆ, *Atensis*, and called him *Noxa*, yet, after a while, calm and mutual esteem was brought about by an outspoken interview. Thus Erasmus found out that he had incited Dorp to attack him for his *Moriæ Encomium*, and his forthcoming *Novum Instrumentum* <sup>1)</sup>; yet Briart saw his mistake when the work appeared, and he made up for the past suspicion by having Erasmus accepted as a member of the Faculty <sup>2)</sup>.

From then on the great Humanist made it a point to consider Briart as his preceptor and his protector <sup>3)</sup>, and there is hardly any doubt possible but the influence of the chief theologian refrained many an outburst of discontent or personal grievance amongst his colleagues and the members of the orders connected with the Faculty, even although he could not prevent all suspicion and temporary frictions <sup>4)</sup>. That state of mutual condescendence, illustrated by the repeated visits of Briart and of several theologians to the ailing Erasmus, was most beneficial to the growing and the development of the *Collegium Trilingue*, which was spared all direct attacks, for it was evident, that, at least at that period the 'conservative' party did not want to come to open hostility <sup>5)</sup>.

#### C. RATIO VERÆ THEOLOGIÆ

That desire for calm and quiet amongst the theologians appeared most evidently when, in the course of November 1518,

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, II, 337, 24, 348-74, 876-92; even Thomas More seems to have had a similar suspicion: Allen, II, 304, 50-59; *MonHL*, 144, 309-11.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 663, 101-104.

<sup>3)</sup> Thus on July 14, 1518, Dorp writes to Erasmus that he had communicated his greetings *Venerabili domino M. N. Atensi*, who, glad to hear his name, requested to have them returned, praising the Humanist and promising *de se omnia*: Allen, III, 852, 62-67; Erasmus mentions him as a friend in several letters: Allen, III, 922, 23-24, IV, 1225, 16-18.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 196, 310-11.

<sup>5)</sup> On October 19, 1518, Erasmus wrote to Judocus Jonas, that, although his *Novum Testamentum* was blamed by some, never a word was said to him: *hactenus in absentem omnia, coram nemo verbum*: Allen, III, 876, 13.

Erasmus brought out his famous *Ratio Sev Methodus compendio perueniendi ad veram Theologiam*, printed by Thierry Martens <sup>1)</sup>. It was the enlargement of the rather short preface to his *Novum Instrumentum* of February 1516, dedicated from Basle, February 1, 1516, to Pope Leo X <sup>2)</sup>. That *Ratio* was intended as introduction to the second edition of the *Novum Testamentum*, and also as separate treatise in the idea of the author <sup>3)</sup>. Besides a virtuous life, which is as the first necessity to those who want to devote themselves to that holy subject, he indicates several preliminary attainments which he deems indispensable. First amongst those, he requires in a theologian an efficient knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, without which it would be senseless to undertake a study, as the text of the Bible, which has to be thoroughly understood, is written in those languages; and just as he who ignores the meaning of the letters, cannot read what is written, so he who ignores those languages, does not understand what he reads. The testimony of St. Augustine is quoted as proof, and as no knowledge is required *usque ad eloquentiæ miraculum*, but one that is *sufficiens ad judicandum*, Erasmus contends that, with a good will and an able master, that knowledge of the three languages would be gained sooner and easier than, up to then, had been gained that which he calls *unius semilinguæ miseranda halbuties* <sup>4)</sup>. He shows that no translation comes up to the original; and even St. Jerome's rendering, besides being far below the first authentic text, has been corrupted by copyists, and has to be restored; moreover, everyone is liable to mistakes: the greatest amongst the ancients, St. Augustine, as well as the greatest amongst the modern, St. Thomas Aquinas. To that study of the languages three men have greatly contributed: first, Jerome de Busleyden, whose memory should be sacred to all scholars, and especially

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<sup>1)</sup> Louvain, Th. Martens, 'M.D.XVIII. Mense Novembri': Iseghem, 291-93, S 23. It was reprinted at Basle by John Froben, January 1519, and in 1520 by A. Pafraet at Deventer: NijKron, I, 861, 862, II, 2973, 2974; BB, E, 1125-42. A new and somewhat enlarged edition was published by J. Froben, Basle with a dedicatory letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, of June 1, 1523: Allen, V, 1365, *pr*, 1372, *pr*, 42.

<sup>2)</sup> *EraBib.*, II, 57; BB, B, 1125, 4-5.

<sup>3)</sup> EOO, V, 75, A, B; BB, B, 1125, 4.

<sup>4)</sup> EOO, V, 77, E-78, B.

to all *Theologiæ candidatis* : *qui fraudatis etiam hæredibus, ingentem pecuniarum vim in hunc usum legato reliquit, ut honesto salario pararentur, qui Lovanii tres linguas profiterentur*. The second is Jerome's brother Giles, *qui sic favet fratris testamento, imo sic litteris ipse litteratissimus, ut malit eam pecuniam juvandis studiis omnium, quam suis scriniis augendis dicatam* <sup>1)</sup>. Their eminent example is followed by the third, Stephen Poncher, the learned Bishop of Paris, the future Archbishop of Sens <sup>2)</sup>).

He then proceeds to explain his contention by various illustrations, and indicates the many requisites which help towards a better understanding of the texts, such as the knowledge of the various uses and customs at the diverse epochs ; a thorough understanding of the laws of the different nations at the successive stages ; an acquaintance with the places and countries in which they lived ; the study of nature : as well that of the heavenly bodies as of the precious stones, that of the animals as of the plants ; music and arithmetic, and all arts ; so that not any allusion, not any detail should fail to produce in the reader all that the Sacred Author meant by what he wrote down. Further the right sense has to be brought out of every passage with the assistance of sound logic, and of a thorough knowledge of rhetoric and literature, so as to know where the figure ends, where the allegory and the parable are leading to, and what was in the mind of the writer. All those requisites are shown by fit examples to be of efficient utility in making the meaning arise from the text in all its truth and riches, which would remain a hidden wonder if, instead, one had only as means of understanding the *celarent* or *baroco* syllogisms of stubborn and quarrelsome dialecticians, or the despicable acquaintance with the language that had been prevailing so long <sup>3)</sup>).

Although more than one of Erasmus' assertions sounded as a challenge to some of the theologians, yet there is no trace of any dissension or disagreement in the first weeks after the appearance of the *Ratio*. Most probably they were aware that

<sup>1)</sup> EOO, V, 77, f-78, A ; cp. before, pp 246, sq ; *Busl.*, 17, 18, 20, 118-9.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, II, 529, pr, IV, p xxvi ; Renaudet, 250, & *passim*.

<sup>3)</sup> Bludau, 84 ; *BB*, E, 1125, 10 ; *BibRefNe.*, III, 12 ; *Pompen*, 214 ; *bef.* p 83.

the booklet was a mere repetition and enlargement of a similar introduction to the *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516. If that had passed without contradiction, there was no reason at all to find fault with this treatise, the more so as Erasmus never had made any mystery whatever of his opinions about what seemed to him the right method of studying theology <sup>1</sup>).

## 2. — THE FIRST ENCOUNTER

### A. MOSELLANUS' ORATIO

Notwithstanding the semblance of concord, an opposition was smouldering : it was dreaded that an increasing danger was lurking in the study and teaching of languages ; ever since Luther started his rebellion <sup>2</sup>), Greek and Hebrew had become highly suspicious, and were considered, more than at any past period, to have heresy as unavoidable concomitant <sup>3</sup>). That hostile diffidence was suddenly set aglow when news reached Louvain of the exposition of the humanistic programme in the oration by which Peter Schade Mosellanus had started his lectures of Greek in the University of Leipzig in August 1518.

Peter Schade was born in 1493 or 1494 at Bruttig, near Coblenz, on the Moselle, which gave him his name. He studied in the Universities of Treves and of Cologne <sup>4</sup>) : in the latter he was one of John Cæsarius' pupils for Greek <sup>5</sup>). With his friend Caspar Borner <sup>6</sup>), he left in December 1514 and hoped to get an appointment in the school which John Rhagius

<sup>1</sup>) E.g., in his letter of Aug. 9, 1519 to Nicolas Berault : Allen, IV, 1002, 8-18.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. Opmeer, I, 454, b, 456, b ; Allen, III, 933, *pr*.

<sup>3</sup>) All those who studied languages and literature were considered to be necessarily favourers of the Antichrist and of the rebellious Monk, as results *e. g.*, from several passages in Erasmus' correspondence : Allen, III, 934, 3, *n*, 936, 40-41, 939, 48-57, 967, 69-70, IV, 1006, 328-336, 1007, 36-39 ; &c.

<sup>4</sup>) On January 2, 1512 'Petr. Schayde de Proythgen' matriculated in the University of Cologne as a student of the Arts ; he passed his *actus determinantis* on November 11 of that same year : Keussen, II, 493, 2 ; Krafft, 118-127.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. before, p 281.

<sup>6</sup>) Cp. Kallsmeyer, *Caspar Borner* : Leipzig, 1898 : 10, *sq* ; Keussen, III, p 93 ; Krafft, 120-25, &c.

Aesticampianus <sup>1)</sup> had opened at Freiberg, Saxony <sup>2)</sup>. Still their expectations were disappointed and they consequently went to Leipzig in search of employment. Here Mosellanus matriculated in the summer of 1515, and started teaching Latin : for the use of his pupils he composed his *Pædologia* <sup>3)</sup>, a small collection of dialogues, which was several times reprinted before he issued it in 1520 with two additional dialogues <sup>4)</sup>. Meanwhile he continued his Greek studies, attending the lectures of Rich. Croke <sup>5)</sup>, and preparing editions of texts like Aristophanes' *Plutus*, 1517 <sup>6)</sup>, which he evidently read with his students in private lessons. His proficiency was such that at Croke's leave, in 1517, he was appointed as his successor. To the larger part of the University the teaching of languages and the upward movement of sciences was not welcome, as results from the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* <sup>7)</sup>, as well as from the writings of Humanists <sup>8)</sup>, criticizing the opposition of the *sophistæ* to the right studies, which, however, were strongly upheld by the town council and by Duke George of Saxony with his nobility. Although he thus felt backed by authority, Mosellanus tried to improve his position in the University, and whilst devoting himself entirely to his pedagogic work and to the formation of several distinguished pupils <sup>9)</sup>, he also wished to gain at least some authority by

<sup>1)</sup> John Rack, *Rhagius*, of Sommerfeld, *Aesticampianus*, 1457-1520, was one of the most famous of the 'wandering' Humanists and pedagogues of Germany : *CeltE*, 401-402, &c ; *Celtis*, 39 ; *CorpCath.*, IV, 52.

<sup>2)</sup> *MosPæd.*, viii ; *Krafft*, 137, sq, 199, sq ; *Rhegius*, 23-24 ; — Rack died in Wittenberg on May 31, 1520.

<sup>3)</sup> *Pædologia Petri Mosellani Protegensis in Puerorum usum conscripta* <: Leipzig, October 1518> : *MosPæd.*, xvii-xli ; Bömer, I, 95-107, 92, II, 113, 126, 199 ; *Daxhelet*, 171-74, 179, 295 ; *Massebieau*, 65-112 ; &c.

<sup>4)</sup> That edition was printed in Leipzig by Melchior Lotther, in 1520, and was reproduced nearly 80 times in the 16<sup>th</sup> century : *MosPæd.*, xlii-xliii ; it was translated into Greek by the Antwerp schoolmaster Judocus Velaræus : *AntDiercx.*, IV, 19.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 271-77.

<sup>6)</sup> *Krafft*, 133-135 ; *Iseghem*, 279-281 ; *NijKron.*, I, 134 ; he also prepared Latin class-texts, such as the *Pædologia*, on Quintilian's authority : cp. letter of Amerot to Tapper, further, Ch. XX.

<sup>7)</sup> *HutOS*, I, 200, 276 ; cp. *Allen*, III, 911, 16, sq, 948, 15, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Hutten writing to Herman de Neuenahr, April 3, 1518 : *HutE*, I, 168, 5-6.

<sup>9)</sup> Such were Julius von Pflug (cp. *Knod*, 406), who held his *Oratio Funebris* (*MosPæd.*, xv), and John Musler, of Öttingen, who also

preparing for the promotion as Master of Arts, which degree would allow him to enter the academic senate and to start theological studies <sup>1</sup>). For he was both a correspondent and a great admirer of Erasmus <sup>2</sup>), who evidently encouraged his untiring intellectual activity. The opening of the Greek lectures was for him more than a festive inauguration : it was an opportunity to declare his sympathies and his ideals in his *Oratio de Variarum Linguarum Cognitione Paranda*, issued in August 1518 <sup>3</sup>).

He proclaims in it the principles of the new movement, although he knows that his contradictors will scrutinize his

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pronounced a solemn eulogy in his memory, on January 15, 1524, in Leipzig : Krafft, 118-127 ; also Christopher von Carlowitz, George Agricola, Joachim Camerarius and Christopher Hegendorfer : *MosPæd.*, xv ; *UniFrankf.*, 72.

<sup>1</sup>) He promoted Master of Arts on January 3, 1520, but the professors only granted him the entrance into the 'Fürsten Collegium' on the insistent request of Duke George, who afterwards had to protect him again when his colleagues suspected him of Hussitism. He promoted Bachelor of Theology on August 20, 1520, and was elected Rector in that same year and in 1523. He held on June 27, 1519, an oration *de Ratione Disputandi, præsertim de Re Theologica* : (probably printed at Leipzig, 1519 ; Iseghem, 299 ; Allen, III, 948, *pr* ; he also wrote *Progymnasmata, seu de primis apud Rhetorem Exercitationibus* (Leipz., 1523), besides *Annotationes in Quintiliani Institutiones* (Cologne, 1532) and *Tabulæ de Schematibus*, to which he already referred in his letter to George Spalatinus of July 7, 1516 : Krafft, 146-147. He died before his time, on April 19, 1524 : *fuit... summum Lipsiensis Gymnasii decus*, Duke George of Saxony wrote to Erasmus on May 21, 1524 : Allen, v, 1448, 58. — Cp. *MosPæd.*, v-xvii ; Allen, II, 560, *pr*, III, 948, *pr* ; Keussen, II, p 689 ; Bianco, I, 761 ; HutO, III, 75 ; HutOS, II, 422-23 ; MutE, 606, &c ; *Hessus*, 228, 254, 358, 382 ; Krafft, 118-127, 146-50, 194-201, &c ; *ZwiOZ*, VII, 136 ; Lomeier, 159 ; G. Müller, *Epistolæ Petri Mosellani, Jani Cornarii*, &c : Leipzig, 1802 ; *RhenE*, 180, 205, 221, 238. James Micyllus recorded his untimely death in a beautiful poem : *Micyllus*, 32-33.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. their correspondence (from March 24, 1517) : Allen, II, 560, III, 911, 948, IV, 1123.

<sup>3</sup>) *Oratio de Variarum Linguarum Cognitione Paranda Petro Mosellano Protegente auctore Lipsiæ in Magna Eruditorum Corona pronunciata*. — Lipsiæ an. M.D.XVIII. Mense Augusto in Officina Valentini Schumann (in 4° ; A<sup>4</sup> B<sup>6</sup> C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>4</sup> ; the last page and the verso of the title are blank). The *Oratio* is dedicated to Duke George of Saxony by a letter dated 'Lipsiæ tuæ Calendis Augusti Ann. M.D.XVIII.' It was attributed by several people to Erasmus : Allen, III, 967, 139-146.

speech <sup>1)</sup>). He first declares that the study of languages brings man nearer to God. Language, he says, is the radiation and the 'formator' of reason, as the word *λόγος* implies. God knows all languages, which makes it indifferent in which language prayers are said. Angels also understand several tongues, and so do saints, as otherwise their invocation would be of no avail; consequently the more languages one knows, the better one represents God's image, and one of heaven's blessings will be the widening of that knowledge <sup>2)</sup>). Thus the curse of the Tower in Sennaar's plain has become a blessing, for the Holy Ghost, descending on the Apostles in the form of tongues, communicated the gift of languages to them and to others amongst the first Christians for the welfare of their brethren. Yet now languages are condemned as bad and heretical, because they are ignored; it would be foolish, though, to expect that God should multiply the miracle of Pentecost; consequently earnest study becomes a necessity <sup>3)</sup>).

A second point in Mosellanus' speech treats of the indispensability of the knowledge of languages, especially Latin, Greek and Hebrew, for all human sciences; he maintains that, without such knowledge, no proper science can be brought to perfection. That was shown for theology at the descent of the Holy Ghost; it was so well understood by the Fathers of the Church that, in addition to the works of Quintilian and Pliny, they studied Greek and Hebrew, notwithstanding their advanced age. Since their times, a large part of the preparation of a theologian is taken up by Aristotle: whereas the Apostles and their disciples converted the world with only the *gladius spiritus* and the *tunica*, by their preaching and their holy example, without any knowledge of Aristotle, a great part of humanity has now fallen from the faith, notwithstanding Aristotle, notwithstanding the iron sword and the fire with which it is defended <sup>4)</sup>). The Fathers of the Church and

<sup>1)</sup> *MosOratio*, B 1, r, v.

<sup>2)</sup> *MosOratio*, B 2, r-B 3, v.

<sup>3)</sup> *MosOratio*, B 3, v-B 6, r.

<sup>4)</sup> *MosOratio*, B 6, r-C 2, r; from C 1, r to C 3, v, Mosellanus introduces St. Jerome as speaking to recommend especially the study of Greek, and to praise Erasmus for collating the New Testament with the Greek manuscripts: *MosOratio*, C 3, r-C 3, v.



Clement V prescribed the study of Greek and other tongues <sup>1)</sup> : yet now monks inveigh in the pulpit against Erasmus and against all those who want to revive that study of languages which has so long been neglected. The same Fathers, and amongst them especially St. Jerome and St. Augustine, advised to correct the Latin text of the Bible by comparing it with the Hebrew and the Greek <sup>2)</sup> ; such a collation — no doubt Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* is referred to <sup>3)</sup> — is moreover recommended by St. Jerome's example, as well as by Cardinal Bessarion's approval <sup>4)</sup> ; it cannot be waived on account of the suspicions raised about the authenticity of the Greek texts, which can hardly have been corrupted, as they are spread over several countries ; besides, that suspicion has little claim to attention, as it is brought out just by those who almost glorify in their complete ignorance of Greek <sup>5)</sup>. The study of languages is quite as necessary for jurisprudence : for Greek texts or words frequently occur in the Codex Justinianus, and the meaning of several passages has to be deducted by study from the authors of antiquity <sup>6)</sup>. The most reputed treatises of medicine are in Hebrew or in Arabic, and even Galenus and Dioscorides require an acquaintance with the Greek originals since the renderings are unreliable <sup>7)</sup>. Similarly Hebrew sects and Hellenic philosophy are calling for the attention of the erudites <sup>8)</sup>, who are finding out that the principles attributed to the Greek sages are very different from those which they embodied in their writings <sup>9)</sup>. Even the names used in mathematics and in music are Greek, what then of the arts themselves ? From a comparison of the two great peoples of the ancient times, the Hellenes appear to be far superior in

<sup>1)</sup> *MosOratio*, C 1, v.

<sup>2)</sup> That statement is put in St. Jerome's mouth : *meo & Augustini mei consilio etiam Pontificijs decretis cautum est, ut veterum librorum fidem hebræi, ita novorum græci sermonis normam desyderare* : *MosOratio*, C 1, v.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus' eulogy for his study of the New Testament is attributed by prosopopoeia to St. Jerome : *MosOratio*, C 3, r-v, C 4, r, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 1, r.

<sup>5)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 1, r-v.

<sup>6)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 1, v-D 3, r.

<sup>7)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 3, r-D 5, r : Mosellanus praises the studies of Pico della Mirandola, of Niccolo Leonicensi, of William Copus, of Thomas Linacre and of John Ruellius.

<sup>8)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 5, r.

<sup>9)</sup> *MosOratio*, D 5, v.

their culture, in their literature, in their arts, and even in their language, compared with which Latin proves poor, in so far that Greek is of foremost importance in etymology <sup>1)</sup>. As to the objection which Cato started by his famous 'oraculum': *ut ubi Græcorum gens literas suas dederit... simul omnia corrumpat*, he himself studied Greek in his old age, and thus showed that his oracle only applied to Greek morals, and not to the language <sup>2)</sup>.

Moreover Greek is not so difficult, provided earnest efforts are made, and help is supplied in the shape of able professors <sup>3)</sup>. That is being done in several countries by Princes and Monarchs: by Pope Leo X and by the Emperor Maximilian; Charles of Burgundy favours Erasmus and endows Louvain with a *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>4)</sup>, and George, Duke of Saxony, has just added to the Latin lesson which he founded in the University of Leipzig, this new lecture <sup>5)</sup>, inaugurated by this *Oratio de Variarum Linguarum Cognitione*. In the dedicatory letter to Duke George, Mosellanus recalls the change from the decadent studies of an Ebrardus and a Peter Hispanus, instead of real languages and sound theology, to the study of the *Tres Linguae*, consecrated by the inscription on the Cross, which study, now made possible thanks to the invention of printing, follows the injunctions and examples of Clement V and Nicolas V, of Nicolas de Cusa and Bessarion, for the benefit of the Church and of humanity at large <sup>6)</sup>.

#### B. THE IMPRESSION IN LOUVAIN

Mosellanus' *Oratio* was probably brought to Louvain by the booksellers returning from the Frankfurt autumn fair, although it seems to have spread slowly: no sign of any

<sup>1)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, D 5, v-E 1, r.

<sup>2)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, D 4, v.

<sup>3)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, E 2, r-E 3, r; amongst the leading Hellenists of his time Mosellanus names Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, John Reuchlin, Bilibald Pirckheimer and Jerome Aleander.

<sup>4)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, E 3, v: Hortatur & maximus ille Burgundionum princeps, Hispaniarumque Rex Carolus, qui præterquam quod linguarum peritos fouet multos, atque imprimis vnicum illud πολύγλωττον Theologiæ decus Erasmus Roterodamum, Academiam suam Louaniensem trium linguarum doctoribus magnifice instruxit, adornauitque.

<sup>5)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, E 3, r-v.

<sup>6)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, A 2, r-A 3, r.

trouble appears before February 1519. On January 6, 1519, Mosellanus wrote to Erasmus, referring to a letter which he had received from him; yet he mentions the Greek lectures which he is delivering publicly in Leipzig, thanks to the generosity of George, the prince of Meissen, as if it was a first announcement <sup>1)</sup>. Possibly he joined to his letter a copy of his inaugural speech: at any rate Erasmus greatly praises it in his reply of April 22, 1519: *simulatque legissem orationem illam tuam... tantam spem de tuo ingenio concepi vt vix de quoquam alio parem* <sup>2)</sup>; he approvingly mentions the lively oration, the fluent style, the solid arguments, which are shrewdly conceived and cleverly proposed, as well as the great and various erudition, which is surprising in a youth <sup>3)</sup>. When Erasmus wrote that eulogy, Latomus' reply must already have appeared: for he announces in that same letter that several suspect that the first half of that reply is directed against Mosellanus' *Oratio*, although the much larger second is indirectly aimed at himself <sup>4)</sup>. A few weeks later, on May 18, 1519, he wrote to Cardinal Wolsey that the Louvain theologians attributed to him the speech by which Mosellanus protects the *tres linguae* against the *γλωττομάστιγας*, although he did not know even that the speech had been delivered <sup>5)</sup>.

From those and other allusions in Erasmus' letters, it seems as if the Leipzig *Oratio* had either warned for a hidden meaning of the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, or drawn the attention to the growing danger which was threatening the Church with heresy under the attractive appearance of the literary writings and linguistic studies. At any rate no distinction was made any longer between the humanistic eulogy of Greek and the rebellious attack on the teachings of the Church. One

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 911, 17, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 948, 6-10: still this 'simul atque legissem' may refer quite as well to the months of September-October 1518 as to January or February 1519, and Erasmus may have read the speech within a few weeks of its appearance; to Wolsey, however, he stated that, when the Louvain theologians ascribed the *Oratio* to him, he did not know it had been made: Allen, III, 967, 140-141.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 948, 10-14.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 948, 39-41, 934, 3-5.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 967, 139-141, 934, 3. The *Oratio* is analysed in the introduction to Latomus' *Dialogus*, in *BibRefNe.*, III, 13-19.

was considered as the natural result of the other. Nor did it last long before the writings of Erasmus were scrutinized and any uncommon representations or new expressions of the old articles of the Creed were pointed out with vivid horror, but vindicated with as much animosity, in the growing controversy between divines and linguists.

### C. ENCOMIUM MATRIMONII

Matters were precipitated to a crisis on February 21 at the *actus licentiatatus* in divinity of John Robyns, a Carmelite <sup>1)</sup>, when John Briart held an oration before conferring the degree, and referred to Erasmus' *Encomium Matrimonii* <sup>2)</sup>, which praised marriage as superior to celibacy. He named neither book, nor author : still there was hardly anybody in the numerous attendance who did not know whom he thus condemned as a heretic. That was as a signal for monks and theologians to inveigh against the Humanist in their talks and in their sermons, in so far that even the authorities were informed <sup>3)</sup>. Erasmus, who had been present, approached Briart on the subject, and, being seconded by Martin van Dorp <sup>4)</sup> and Giles of Delft <sup>5)</sup>, he had no difficulty in convincing

<sup>1)</sup> de Jongh, \*44 ; EOO, IX, 106, f : in actu publico, quo *Carmelita* quidam Theologus, proximis diebus donandus esset honore, quem vocabulo recepto verius quam Latino, *Licentiatum* dicunt...

<sup>2)</sup> That memoir was written for Mountjoy when he was Erasmus' pupil in Paris, 1498-99 : Allen, I, 79, pr ; it was first edited by Martens, in the *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami*, March 30, 1518 (Iseghem, 282-3 ; Allen, III, 604, 10 ; 799) ; Froben reprinted it in August 1518 on the occasion of a relative's wedding ; it became in 1522, Chapter XLVII of *De Scribendis Epistolis*, as an *Exemplum Epistolæ Svasoriæ* : EOO, I, 414, E, sq ; *EraBib.*, I, 55, 84.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, IV, 1225, 100-104.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. V.

<sup>5)</sup> Ægidius Delphus, or of Delft, who was Rector in Paris University from Dec. 1486 to March 1487, and became Doctor of Theology in 1492, spent the greater part of his life in the Sorbonne, although he occasionally visited Bruges and Ghent ; in 1519 he stayed for a time in the Lily, where he dated the preface to his *Conclusiones in Sententias*, May 31, 1519 ; Erasmus praised him repeatedly for his easy versification, which he used to put the Scriptures into metre ; he died in the Sorbonne on April 25, 1524 : Allen, II, 456, 87, & I, 95, 21, IV, 1196, 489 ; EOO, I, 1013, f, IX, 753, f ; *BibBelg.*, 25 ; *Balbus*, 420 ; de Jongh, 107 ; Iseghem, 233 ; Imbart, II, 384 ; Renaudet, 129, &c ; *MonHL*, 194, 296, &c ; B. Kruytswagen, *Handelingen van het 9<sup>e</sup> Nederl. Philologencongres*, 1919 : 71-74.

him that the *Declamatio* had been written twenty years before as an *epistola suasoria* to a boy who had been made to marry a girl under age, without receiving her as wife <sup>1)</sup>, being the only son of a noble stock which had to be perpetuated <sup>2)</sup>; moreover, that the *coelibatus* was far from being identical with *virginitas*. Briart, who seems to have made his criticism by a report of a book which he had not read, withdrew his words <sup>3)</sup>; he even proved to have been mistaken in the meaning of *declamatio*, which he took for sermon, instead of a literary composition, as well as of *coelibatus*, for virginity, instead of bachelorship <sup>4)</sup>: he therefore acknowledged his error. Still, as the attack had been made in public, Erasmus wrote a short and very calm *Apologia pro Declamatione Matrimonii*, which was dated March 1, and was published by John Froben in May 1519 <sup>5)</sup>.

#### D. EXCESS OF ZEAL

Although that dissension was very shortlived amongst those between whom it had originated, it occasioned, however, amongst their friends and followers a most excited altercation, in which the professors of Busleyden College took part the more eagerly as their interests were at stake. The excitement grew to such extent that, on February 22, both John Robbyns and Bartholomew van Vessem arrived at Louvain to look out for another house where Matthew Adrianus could teach, and to settle a quarrel. They had much trouble to solve the great controversy, as the records state, which had arisen between

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<sup>1)</sup> Before William Blount came to Paris, he had married Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir William Say by his second wife: as the first wife was still living on April 10, 1478, the girl cannot have been old enough to be given to a husband in 1497: Allen, I, 79, *pr*, 105, 3.

<sup>2)</sup> EOO, IX, 106, F-107, E. On July 31, 1520 Erasmus wrote to Herman v. den Busche: Porro matrimonio adeo non detraho, vt apud Louanienses in publica schola theologorum satis odiose notatus sim, quod in declamatiuncula quadam generis suasorii plus satis tribuerim matrimonio: Allen, IV, 1126, 191-194.

<sup>3)</sup> EOO, IX, 107, D, 110, D, 770, B.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 194.

<sup>5)</sup> EOO, IX, 105, F-112, A; *EraBib.*, 13; Allen, III, 670, *pr*, 916, *pr*, V, 1410, 30.

the professors and the theologians <sup>1)</sup>: In all probability, the argument had been embittered by some hasty remark uttered by at least one of their teachers of languages at his lectures, to which Erasmus evidently alluded in his letter to Duke Frederic of Saxony, April 14, 1519; he declared, namely, that it was a dreadful disgrace and a crime almost as wicked as heresy, to call the divines brawlers, or *matæologi*, viz., *ματαιολόγοι*, instead of *theologi* <sup>2)</sup>; although in their sermons they treat as heretics and antichrists whomsoever they are incensed against <sup>3)</sup>. In 1521, Erasmus declared that tragedies

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<sup>1)</sup> Item dairna xxij february anno predicto xviiij stilo gallicano zijn gereyst de deken voirs. ende h. bartolomeeus tot louen nadat zij geaduerteert waeren datmen een ander huys moest hebben om de lessen te doen mits dat hen thuys van Beka opgeseet was <possibly as a result of animosity, the use of the house was no longer granted> ende oick vanden grooten twiste die was tusschen de professeurs ende de theologiens tot louen om die neder te legghen by goede communicatie ende middel gelyck dat gedaen was / voer de costen aldair gedaen ende voer de wagenhuier van mechelen gaende ende keerende vacerende iij daighen... 'Rek., 48, v.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus had communicated that pun to Peter Mosellanus about the end of 1518, as results from his reply of January 6, 1519: 'Est hic sophistarum et, vt tu recte pariter ac facete vocas, ματαιολόγων ingens turba': Allen, III, 911, 5; probably it was originally his. — When on March 19, 1520, Boniface Amerbach refers to Dorp's change in favour of 'fine letters', he congratulates Erasmus: ex sophistis homines, ex mathæologis theologos facis': Allen, IV, 1084, 32. By the end of that year, December 1520, Erasmus declares that the Dominican Laurent Laurentii: non poterat ferre vnam vocem 'matæologi' tortam oblique in Egmondanum: letters to the Rector Godschalk Rosemondt, and to Francis de Cranevelt, December 18, 1520: Allen, IV, 1172, 11, 1173, 112-113. Referring to Lee's attack, Conrad Mutianus informs John Lang, May 24, 1520: Quis enim nostri ordinis (de literatis loquor) levis bardi præstigiis exoculatus non intelligat mathæologorum instinctu rem geri? MutE., 652; on May 31, 1520, Hedio declared to Zwingli: Ferendum nonnihil a Matæologis ob honorem Christi: ZwiOZ., VII, 136; and Rhenanus announces to James Spiegel on June 14, 1520: Constat eum Lovanii conductum a quibusdam matæologis: EpErVir., f x 2, v. Announcing to Pirckheimer Eck's disputation in Vienna, Bernard Adelmann wrote: Matæologus iste, ut audio, Viennam nauigavit... disputaturus de umbra asini: Heumann, 145; Adelmann, 54; CorpCath., VI, xvii. Cp. Quintil., Inst. Orat., II, XX: Ματαιολογία; MutE., 395: *theobardi*, instead of *theologi*.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 939, 59-65: Atroce[m] contumeliam, imo facinus hæresi proximum ducimus, si quis theologum rabulam, quales sunt non pauci, pro theologo matæologum nominet: ipsi nobis ignoscimus, cum apud

had been roused on account of one word said by the Greek professor <sup>1)</sup>, and twenty-five years later, in the proceedings of Curtius and Ruard Tapper against Rescius, it is stated that the latter had been most immodest and temerary from the very beginning of his professorship, since in full auditory he had declared that all the Louvain theologians were *matheologi*; and that he had been obliged to unsay his words to his great confusion <sup>2)</sup>. It is evident that the incident had happened in February 1519, and thus had caused the trustees to come to Louvain to intervene. Most likely they found that Rescius had been too outspoken, and that he had endangered the very Institute by his imprudence; they managed to placate the Faculty without too much difficulty, evidently by an unconditional withdrawal, and on the third day after their arrival, on February 25, they returned to Mechlin, leaving behind them at least a temporary peace <sup>3)</sup>.

### 3. — AN UNSEASONABLE INTERFERENCE

#### A. ALARD OF AMSTERDAM

In consequence of the over-excited zeal of Alard of Amsterdam, another of Erasmus' admirers, in the controversy, a step was taken which jeopardized the fate of the *Collegium Trilingue*: it turned the momentary calm into a straightforward quarrel.

That Alard, or Allard, son of Conrad, born in Amsterdam about 1490 <sup>4)</sup>, had enjoyed the lessons of William Herman of

frequentem populum hereticum et Antichristum vocamus cuicumque succensem.

<sup>1)</sup> Letter to Nicolas Everardi: quum tantas excitarent <theologi> tragoedias ob vnam voculam a Græcæ linguæ professore dictam, quæ tamen ad nullius contumeliam pertinebat: Allen, IV, 1238, 93, sq: <October,> 1521.

<sup>2)</sup> *MotJuris*, 40: ab initio sue professionis tam erat immodestus et temerarius quod ausus sit publice in pleno auditorio omnes theologos Louanienses appellare et dicere matheologos, quod latine sonat vanos siue inutiles theologos, quod cum pudore postea coactus fuit reuocare.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 48, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Miræus, II, 37; *BibBelg.*, 34-36, 856; Paquot, XI, 57, 227, 404-16; Gabbema, 96-97; FG, 291; Allen, II, 433, *pr*, III, p xxv; VII, 1889, 18, 1978, 16; *HEpH*, 125; *BW*; Hurter, II, 1446; Lindeb., 218, sq; *Cran.*, 96, a-f; *MonHL*, 406-8, &c.

Gouda, one of Erasmus' school-fellows and earliest friends <sup>1)</sup>. He taught for a while at Alkmaar <sup>2)</sup>, where Barbara Vrije <sup>3)</sup> interested him in the literary inheritance of Rudolph Agricola <sup>4)</sup>, whose complete works he published in 1539 <sup>5)</sup>. He matriculated as paying student of the Arts in Cologne on September 12, 1515 <sup>6)</sup>, which did not prevent him from residing very often in Louvain : in January 1515, he stayed there to supervise his edition of Agricola's *Dialectica* <sup>7)</sup>; he also witnessed Charles of Austria's solemn entrance into that town on January 23 <sup>8)</sup>. He dated from there two letters to Erasmus, one on July 1, 1516, another on November 11, following <sup>9)</sup>, by which he evidently wanted to ingratiate himself with the great Humanist, as he had already done with Martin van Dorp <sup>10)</sup> and other promoters of the new movement. In one of the letters he offered to Erasmus a Latin rendering of his Greek Ex-Voto-poem to Our Lady of Walsyngham <sup>11)</sup>, and in the other he announced his finds of manuscripts in his quest for Agricola's writings; he had also secured a volume of poems and compositions written by Erasmus and William Herman in their early schooldays <sup>12)</sup>, from which he afterwards edited the *Carmen Bucolicon Pamphilus* <sup>13)</sup>. Nor seemed Erasmus to be displeased with that ingratiating, for he dedicated to Alard his *Epistola Eucherii ad Valerianum*, 1517 <sup>14)</sup>.

When Erasmus settled in Louvain, Alard, too, came to live

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, I, 33, *pr*, II, 433, 37.

<sup>2)</sup> Gelder, 89, 130-31; he had there as pupil Peter Nanning : AgricO, II, A 2, v, 171; Polet, 4, 8, 239-40.

<sup>3)</sup> Daughter and assistant of Antony Vrije, *Liber*, of Soest : cp. Gelder, 83-86, and before, p 278.

<sup>4)</sup> *AgriCorr.*, 308, *sq*; AgricO, II, 171.

<sup>5)</sup> *Rodolphi Agricolae Lucubrationes* (2 volumes): Cologne, J. Gymnich, 1539; *AgriCorr.*, 302-309.

<sup>6)</sup> Keussen, II, 507, 54; on September 17, 1516, John Murmellius dedicated to him there his edition of Persius : *Murmell.*, 104, 160.

<sup>7)</sup> It was issued on January 12, 1515, by Thierry Martens : Iseghem, 248; NijKron., I, 45; *AgriCorr.*, 304.

<sup>8)</sup> Gachard, 14, 55.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, II, 433, 485.

<sup>10)</sup> Allen, I, 78, *pr*; LipsE, 706, 759; *Cran.*, 96, *e*.

<sup>11)</sup> EOO, V, 1325, A-c; EE, 1560, c-1561, c.

<sup>12)</sup> *AgriCorr.*, 306; Allen, II, 433, 38; I, *pp* 581, 610; that collection is now in the Gouda Library, MS. 1323.

<sup>13)</sup> Leiden, P. Balenus, 1538 : NijKron., I, 786.

<sup>14)</sup> Allen, III, 676; Iseghem, 288.



there, earning his bread by private lessons. No doubt he mixed up with most of the various protagonists of humanism, such as Adrian Barlandus <sup>1)</sup>, Rutger Rescius <sup>2)</sup>, and Martin Lips <sup>3)</sup>, and he even occasionally worked as one of Thierry Martens' correctors <sup>4)</sup>.

#### B. A NEW LECTURE ANNOUNCED

The controversy which had arisen in February between the adherents of the new movement and those of tradition, had made so deep an impression on Alard, who just then intended starting theological studies, that he at once decided to tilt at the old methods, and to contribute his share to the success of the *Collegium Trilingue* : on March 6, 1519, he affixed to the gates of St. Peter's <sup>5)</sup> a notice announcing that on Thursday, 10 March <sup>6)</sup>, he would start a lecture on a book by Erasmus under the auspices, and as part, of Busleyden College <sup>7)</sup>. The book is not named, but described as being, not literary, but theological, which evidently points at the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ* : for certain Alard was greatly interested in it, as follows from the verses at the end of Martens' edition, by which he recommended it to all students of divinity, insistently advising them to follow Erasmus' method <sup>8)</sup>. Although Alard's zeal for a cherished cause suffices to explain his spontaneous interference, he may have hoped to gain that way some right to consideration if ever a vacancy should have to be filled ; in fact he offered his services in the last part of November to replace Adrian Barlandus. The off-hand way in which Erasmus treated him then <sup>9)</sup>, is a sufficient proof that he was not bound in any way to the young man, which would have been the case if he had instigated or even encouraged him to undertake that lecture. Cautelous as he was, he most probably would have prevented Alard's attempt, which was against

<sup>1)</sup> *Cran.*, 62, a ; Daxhelet, 277-81, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *AgricO*, II, A, r, a 2, r.

<sup>3)</sup> *LipsE*, 702, 706, 754-59.

<sup>4)</sup> *Iseghem*, 141, 292, 323.

<sup>5)</sup> All University notices and proclamations were to be affixed ' *ad calvas Sti. Petri* '.

<sup>6)</sup> ' *altera die Cinerum* ' : Ashwednesday fell on March 9 in 1519.

<sup>7)</sup> *Iseghem*, 291-292.

<sup>8)</sup> *Cp. de Jongh*, 200, \*11-\*13.

<sup>9)</sup> *Allen*, IV, 1051 ; *Cran.*, 96, d ; *cp. further*, Ch. VII.

all the academic regulations, if he had known of the plan beforehand; though the event cannot have displeased him, as it was a means to counterbalance, within the very University, the influence of the favourers of the traditional scholastic theology, who occupied most of the professorial chairs.

#### C. ALARD'S LECTURE PROHIBITED

As can easily be conceived, those adherents to the old order, up to then in uncontested power, were highly incensed at the audacity of one who did not belong to the Faculty, and apparently contemned her monopoly of teaching for the sake of an adversary. As it was soon found out that Alard had not even matriculated, they had the University regulations on their side: no one was allowed to teach in public except the duly inscribed *suppositi* of the Alma Mater, and even they wanted the previous permission of the Rector and University, and especially that of the Faculty to which the matter to be taught belonged; students who attended unauthorized lectures were punished by one year's exclusion <sup>1)</sup>.

The Faculty of Divinity, whose interests were at stake, assembled and decided not to allow Alard's lectures, but to apply to the University Council. The latter congregated on March 7 <sup>2)</sup>, in the upper Chapter-house of St. Peter's, and the

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<sup>1)</sup> The text of that regulation in the Statutes made up before 1459, is as follows (§ 4 of chapter XIII: *De hiis qui noviter ad Studium Lovaniense veniunt*): Item quod in dicta nostra universitate nullus doctor, magister, licenciatus aut baccalareus admittatur ad legendum, disputandum, repetendum, determinandum aut aliquem actum scolasticum faciendum, nisi prius fuerit intitulatus, super quo nullatenus poterit dispensari, sed post intitutionem poterit, de licencia rectoris et universitatis et precipue illius facultatis in qua illos actus facere pretendit, seu illos actus exercere. Quod si aliquis contrafecerit, nullus de gremio universitatis dicto actui audeat interesse sub pena privationis ab universitate per annum pro juratis, et pro non juratis ut infra biennium non admittantur: *ULStat.*, 633-34. The Statutes of 1565 have a similar regulation, which, however, is divided between *Tit. XXIII*, § 7, and *Tit. XXIX*, § 3: *Mol.*, 923, 928; cp. *ULDoc.*, II, 199.

<sup>2)</sup> The report of that meeting, copied by H. de Jongh from the *Liber V Actorum Universitatis* (which was destroyed in August 1914: de Jongh, \*11, sq), mentions: 'Die lune octava mensis martii', which is a mistake, as March 8, 1519 was a Tuesday.

Rector John Stevens, *Stephani*, of Nivelles <sup>1)</sup>, intimated that lectures had been announced by Alard, who had neither requested, nor received the necessary licence, nor had even matriculated; and how Latin, Greek and Hebrew were now publicly taught, although never a permission had been granted for those lessons. The eldest professor of divinity, John Briart, then communicated what had been decided upon in his Faculty, and after due deliberation it was agreed that the University regulations were to be adhered to punctually; that Alard must not lecture without licence, and that the executors of Busleyden's will were to be requested to come and arrange with the Rector and the Deputies about the permission necessary for the lessons of languages, which, pending a decision, would be suffered to go on: 'conniventibus oculis... permittantur' <sup>2)</sup>.

That decision of conferring with Busleyden's executors instead of prohibiting at once the lectures of the three languages, may have been the result of the difficulty of making out to which Faculty they exactly belonged <sup>3)</sup>: Hebrew and even Greek seemed to refer especially to Divinity, at least in the spirit of the contending parties. Without doubt, the high character and the ascendancy of Giles de Busleyden, of Antony Sucket, as well as of John Robbyns, had a considerable influence on that solution.

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<sup>1)</sup> John Stevens, Etienne, *Stephani*, of Nivelles, was pensionary of Louvain; he was licentiate in Laws, and was appointed in 1505 extraordinary, in 1517, ordinary, professor of Civil Law; from 1511 to 1517 he also taught Feudal Law; he became D. V. J. on Aug. 18, 1517, and died on Oct. 27, 1520; he had been elected Rector on Febr. 28, 1519: *Mol.*, 543; *Vern.*, 97; *VAnd.*, 41, 155, 157, 180, 182; *Anal.*, xxxix, 287-293; *ULDoc.*, 1, 263.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*13; *VAnd.*, 357; and further, Chs. VII and XVI. — The *Alardica tragoedia*, to which Erasmus occasionally referred in his correspondence (*Allen*, v, 1437, 28, 1436, *pr*), was not the difficulty caused by the Faculty on account of this projected lecture, but, without doubt, the quarrel arisen at Goclenius' appointment: cp. further, Ch. VII.

<sup>3)</sup> A year later, in March 1520, Vives humorously remarked on that difficulty with regard to the licence he had requested to lecture on the *Somnium Scipionis*: cp. *VAnd.*, 357-58; *Cran.*, 2.

## D. TRANQUILLUS ANDRONICUS

Without disparaging in any way the decision of the University to stand by her privileges about the right of teaching in public, it is most interesting to note that Alard's initiative, on the other hand, must have seemed quite natural, and even praiseworthy, to those who were acquainted with academic uses in other countries : it was then generally accepted that any doctor had a right to read and teach in any university, and the authorities were only too pleased to welcome a foreign erudite of some renown <sup>1)</sup>. It happened that a few weeks after the incident, there arrived ἀχαίρως in Louvain Tranquillus Andronicus, a native of Ragusa, in Dalmatia, the country of the *Partheni*, which gave him the name of *Parthenius*. He was a very witty Latin poet, who after having studied at several Italian Universities, came to Germany, where he made the acquaintance of Joachim von Watt, *Vadianus* <sup>2)</sup>, John Eck <sup>3)</sup> and Urbanus Rieger, *Rhegius* <sup>4)</sup>. He seems to have lectured on Quintilian and Cicero in Vienna in 1517, and in Ingolstadt in the winter semester of 1517-18 ; in the summer of 1518 he was in Leipzig, where he delivered an *Oratio De Laudibus Eloquentiæ*, Aug. 23. He was appointed to explain Quintilian in the winter term, but he highly discontented Mosellanus by stating that Greek study was of very small, if any, advantage

<sup>1)</sup> Kaufmann, I, 368-71 ; *UniKöln.*, 112, sq. To be true, Alard was neither a renowned erudite, nor even a 'doctor' : he had been teaching since several years, but had probably not promoted even in the Arts, as he was inscribed for that Faculty on Sept. 12, 1515, in Cologne, where no record seems to be of any tests satisfactorily passed : Keussen, II, p 752. Louvain was very particular for that matter, since dispositions were taken on August 19-31, 1457, against the *bullatos* and others provided with a degree which had not been obtained after a regular attendance of lectures and severe proofs : cp. before, pp 165-66.

<sup>2)</sup> CeltE, 616, &c ; Th. Pressel, *Joachim Vadian* : Elberfeld, 1861 ; E. Götzinger, *Joachim Vadian von St Gallen* : Halle, 1895 ; E. Arbenz, *Joachim Vadian im Kirchenstreit* : St. Gallen, 1905 ; Rupprich, 53.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. studies on his works by J. Greving, Th. Virnich, B. Walde : *CorpCath.*, I, VI, XIII ; on his life and books by J. Greving, O. Hartig, in *BeitSchlecht*, 141-156, 162-168 ; — *HebStud.*, 104 ; Allen, III, 769, pr.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Gerh. Uhlhorn, *Urbanus Rhegius* : Berlin, 1861 ; H. G. Heimbürger, *Urbanus Rhegius nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen* : Gotha, 1851 ; Allen, II, 386, pr.

to the knowledge of Latin <sup>1)</sup>. He left Leipzig <sup>2)</sup> and journeyed by Erfurt to Louvain in the hope of seeing Erasmus, and lecturing in the University. Unfortunately Erasmus was at Antwerp <sup>3)</sup>, occupied in *negociis molestissimis* <sup>4)</sup>, so that when it was announced to him that a haughty busy-body wished to see him, he refused to receive him ; on which, in great displeasure, Andronicus left. Erasmus soon learned whom he had sent away unheard, and wanted to retain him in Louvain until his arrival. He found only two poems, in which the stranger had poured out all his indignation, since after a long and weary journey, he was not even allowed to see the man for whom he had come from so far. He, moreover, was highly incensed because the lectures, which other universities tried to get at a high expense, and which he had offered freely, had been ignominiously spurned by the Louvain academic authorities. On June 28, Erasmus tried to placate him, and to make him see that he had no right in calling the treatment he had received, barbarous and inhuman. He pleaded ignorance in his own case, and he explained how, on the other hand, he had come at the worst possible moment to lecture on literature in Louvain, — evidently alluding to the difficulties about the teaching of languages. He described the opposition to the new movement, which frightened some, since it had already got foot in many universities and even in the Courts of Princes. The trouble had started from insignificant and ungrounded suspicions, which had been exaggerated,

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<sup>1)</sup> On January 6, 1519, Mosellanus wrote from Leipzig to Erasmus about the wrong done by some men formed in Italy, who prove to be enemies instead of helpers : *Cuius farinae impium quendam nebulonem nescio quis malus Aquilo in hanc scholam nobis ex ipsa vsque Dalmatia inuexit* : Allen, III, 911, 40-46.

<sup>2)</sup> He had also been in Nuremberg, where he had been Bil. Pirckheimer's guest ; he thanked him for his hospitality on January 3, 1519 : Heumann, *li*.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus was at Antwerp that year from April 2 to 14, and from about May 15 to May 20 ; also from May 25 to June 1 : Allen, III, 936-939, 964-969, 973-985.

<sup>4)</sup> Probably the indecision about accepting the place of preceptor of Ferdinand of Austria, which had been offered to him : Allen, III, 917, a letter of Febr. 13, 1519, to John de la Parra, Ferdinand's physician, by which he excuses himself, and proposes Vives, whom William de Croy, however, did not want to lose.

in so far that they were believed to threaten the whole institute. Yet although the authority of the University, of the Rector and of the Faculties is invoked, the whole movement is the work of only a very few contrivers, who probably had suspected Andronicus to be his, Erasmus', emissary, to inveigh with poetic freedom against the divines, who repeat grinning throughout the town the verse which he wrote in his disappointment :

Cernere non licuit facundum pectus Erasmi.

Indeed the University does not deserve Tranquillus' disdain : for there is an abundance of clever men and erudite scholars, who deserve that honour were given to them, which unfortunately is refused by the invidious enemies of good studies, who are the only ones to merit the poet's invectives. Certainly there are some *semideos*, whom it is no wonder that *tales habeat propugnatores pristina barbaries* ; *esto sane*, he concludes, *fac vel cruce dignos : at te meminisse volo quid his dignum sit qui literas eas profitentur quæ humanitatis titulo commendantur* <sup>1)</sup>.

It is not known whether Andronicus wrote a reply to that letter, which was sent to Paris, where he must have met Vives <sup>2)</sup> ; after an allusion to his name, Parthenius, in the *Convivium Poeticum*, of 1523 <sup>3)</sup>, he disappeared from Erasmus', and, probably, from the literary, circle in general, and by 1530 he appears in the diplomatic career <sup>4)</sup>.

#### E. TRUCE

The formal inhibition made to Alard, no doubt, had the desired effect ; nor was it likely that either Erasmus, or the patrons of the College could uphold him against the University without harming the new Institution, which, in fact, was not

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, III, 991, especially 69, 75-84.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 991, 85-89, 987, 992.

<sup>3)</sup> That *Convivium* was first printed in the *Colloquia* published in August 1523 : Basle, John Froben : BB, E, 448.

<sup>4)</sup> By 1527 he published a dialogue *Sylla*, in defence of Diocletian, dedicated to John Lascaris. In June 1530 and Oct. 1531 he is recorded as ambassador of John Zapolya in Constantinople ; in 1543 he was secretary of Ferdinand of Austria, who sent him to England in June-August, and to Cracow in May 1545, to ask for help against the Turks : Allen, III, 991, *pr*.

founded for anything except for the teaching of languages. If Erasmus, in his heart of hearts, could hardly blame his young friend's attempt, he was too prudent to show any resentment, and he evidently continued the apparently calm and friendly intercourse with the members of the Faculty of Divinity, which does not even seem to have been troubled by his growing dissension with Edward Lee <sup>1</sup>). He was absent from Louvain in the first days of March, and again from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month, when he is recorded to have been in the Court at Mechlin <sup>2</sup>).

It probably made matters easy, and avoided a crisis, for, without doubt, some of the theologians must have resented the criticism of the *Methodus*, which was not less pointed for being general, and which had even nearly found a herald within their hearing. The absence of any direct attack on Erasmus' side made them keep at least an outward equanimity, and commanded an impersonal and calm reply, if any. That reply — for their discontent was evidently too acute to allow the *Methodus* to pass without any contradiction, — was James Latomus' pamphlet *De Trivm Linguarum & Studii Theologici Ratione Dialogus*, which was published in March 1519.

## 4. — LANGUAGES PROCLAIMED UNNECESSARY

### A. JAMES LATOMUS

James Masson, *Latomus*, or *Lathomus*, a native of Cambron, near Mons, had studied in Paris in the College of Montaigu,

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<sup>1</sup>) Edward Lee, an English M. A. and B. D. of Cambridge, who matriculated in Louvain on Aug. 25, 1516 (*Excerpts*, 98), had been Erasmus' friend until the spring of 1518, when he seemed to have grown colder after having been requested to criticize the *Novum Instrumentum*. As Erasmus did not seem to acknowledge or appreciate his remarks, discontent induced Lee to censure his editing and his interpretation of the New Testament in private and openly, thus creating an atmosphere of diffidence and of outspoken distrust, against which Erasmus felt all but powerless under the circumstances : Allen, III, 765, 750, 15, 843, 886, 58, 898, 5, 899, 12, 908, 20, 922, 29, &c, 972, 2, 973, 3, &c, IV, 1053, 292-298 ; Lomeier, 174.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, III, 917, *pr*, 927, *pr*, 952, 61 : his visit was, no doubt, connected with the offer of Ferdinand's preceptorship : *cp.* before, p 232.

renovated by John Standonck of Mechlin. He had promoted Master of Arts when, about August 15, 1502, he was entrusted with the direction of the Louvain *Domus Pauperum* <sup>1)</sup>, which Standonck had founded in 1500 <sup>2)</sup>, and which had been managed up to then by Jasper Andreae, a Frenchman <sup>3)</sup>. According to the custom of the first times of the Congregation, a 'Pater' was only left three years in office <sup>4)</sup>: in fact, Latomus was succeeded about Pentecost of 1505 by Johannes Volucris, de Voghel <sup>5)</sup>. As the *Domus Pauperum* was the owner of the *Pedagogium Porci* <sup>6)</sup>, Latomus stayed in one institute and taught in the other, whilst continuing his studies in theology: on November 3, 1510, 'Jacobus Lathomi in theologia licenciatus' requested to be received into the Academic Council *ex facultate artium*, and was accepted <sup>7)</sup>. It implies that he had lectured on philosophy for some time; he also taught Latin, and one of his most famous students was the Nicolas Beken *Clenardus*, of Diest, who matriculated, as a rich student of the Porc, on August 31, 1512 <sup>8)</sup>, and who in his letters from Portugal and Marocco to his former preceptor, frequently alludes as well to the slight chastisements <sup>9)</sup> he once received, as to the lessons of rhetoric <sup>10)</sup>. By the middle

<sup>1)</sup> Godet, 37, 125-127, 129.

<sup>2)</sup> FUL, 2022-2033; Godet, 124, *sq.*, 208, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> FUL, 2033: List of the first *Patres* with annotations, April 1500 to 1520: Jasper Andreae, *Francus*, was Pater from April 1500 to August 15, 1502.

<sup>4)</sup> *ULDoc.*, iv, 456, 458.

<sup>5)</sup> FUL, 2033; *ULDoc.*, iv, 458.

<sup>6)</sup> FUL, 2031, *sq.*

<sup>7)</sup> Note taken from *LibActV*, 205, v (a volume destroyed in the fire of Aug. 1914); cp. de Jongh, 173.

<sup>8)</sup> *MonHL*, 411: Nicolas Beken *Clenardus* resided in the Porc at least until his promotion in 1515. Cp. further, Ch. IX.

<sup>9)</sup> *ClenE*, 17.

<sup>10)</sup> In his letter written at Fez, on April 9, 1541, *Clenardus* apologizes for his indifferent Latin to his 'charissimus præceptor': 'si vnquam, he writes, fui malus orator, certe in præsentia mihi dabis veniam': and he proceeds explaining that two years' travelling and mixing up with 'barbari', have not improved his style. In that same letter he refers to 'scholastic' and 'literary' Arabic, and, as comparison, mentions that divines do not use the literary *Latinum armatum*, except one or other such as Latomus or Dorpius: *ClenE*, 44, 45, 46. That reference is the only one which praises Latomus' ability as Latin linguist; yet it loses some of its value as it is expressed in a letter to him, and can be checked by his several writings.



of 1518, Francis Titelmans, of Hasselt <sup>1)</sup>, entered the *Domus Pauperum* : in after life, he became famous through his writings and his controversy with Erasmus ; he repeatedly testified to the influence which Latomus had exercised on his formation. That influence seems to have been less linguistic than theological <sup>2)</sup> ; for, since 1517, Latomus had taken a prominent part in the opposition to Erasmus, and to the innovations which he tried to introduce into the study of divinity, in so far that the great Humanist considered him as the cause of the trouble he experienced, and the instigator of most of the animosity against the *Trilingue* <sup>3)</sup>, which was looked upon as the embodiment of the humanistic principles expressed in the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, besides being a constant danger of heresy, which was then regarded as the natural consequence of the study of Greek and Hebrew.

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<sup>1)</sup> He became a Franciscan, Minorite, and was appointed lecturer in the Louvain Convent, where he started attacking Erasmus in his lessons, as he afterwards did in his writings : cp. *BN* ; *TypMus.*, 13. Still a letter which he sent to Erasmus from Louvain by 1527, sounds like a meek apology after a hot quarrel : Allen, vii, 1837<sup>a</sup> ; yet Erasmus was not placated, but continued complaining about him : no doubt the past offences had hurt so that healing was hard.

<sup>2)</sup> Latomus *may* have had, in after life, a rudimentary knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and *may* have then encouraged the study of those languages ; for certain in 1518, he did what he could to discourage it, asserting its sheer uselessness ; nor does there seem to be any outspoken testimony about his proficiency as linguist at that period : cp. further, p 327. In that respect the *Dialogus* loses much of its significance, as it thus proves, in a way, to be a mere apology for his deficiency : judging from the style of his *Dialogus*, he appears to have had hardly any claim to be considered as an authority on the subject. From other sources it results that, whatever may have been his motives, he was prejudiced against Erasmus, to say the least : an impartial witness like Vives, who was certainly informed of all the circumstances of this controversy, and who cannot be taken as an unjudicial admirer of Erasmus, was so sadly impressed with Latomus' unfair bias that he thoroughly disliked the man : *Cran.*, 46, c, 18 (1523) ; it even displeased his sedate colleague, the theologian Peter de Corte : *Cran.*, 152, 2, and it may safely be accounted as one of the chief sources of the difficulties encountered by Erasmus and by the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain. Nor is it at all unlikely that Latomus communicated his aversion to Titelmans, and other Louvain theologians belonging to Orders, and that he roused at times the hasty and excitable Briart, whose dutiful '*cliens*' he was in his last years : *Briart*, 397, r.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. VI and VIII.

## B. DE TRIUM LINGUARUM RATIONE

The first sign of open hostility of Latomus, who was then preparing his doctorate in divinity <sup>1)</sup>, was the *De Trium Linguarum & Studii Theologici ratione Dialogus* <sup>2)</sup>. The book is dedicated to Cardinal William de Croy <sup>3)</sup> by a letter <sup>4)</sup> in which Latomus explains that although he rejoices in the revival of the *liberales disciplinae*, yet he regrets that so many authors despise the *scholasticæ exercitationes* and the *doctores scolastici* on account of *stili humilitatem et ieiunitatem*; in defence of the traditional teaching, he has brought out this *Opus* in two books, calling it *Opus arduum, et difficile, non tantum ob scientiæ, et stili inopiam ... sed quod ab amicis quibusdam erit dissentiendum*, and, most of all, as he is afraid of the *adolescentum imperitorum turba* who will criticise him for disputing *de tribus linguis ... qui ne vnam quidem nouerit* <sup>5)</sup>. The work consists of two dialogues,

<sup>1)</sup> Latomus promoted Doctor of Divinity on August 16, 1519, and was allowed to lecture on September 30 following; although he was often absent from Louvain, the authorization of teaching was regularly granted to him until September 30, 1528: de Jongh, \*43, \*44, \*46, \*49, \*52, \*53, \*54. He was entrusted with the private teaching — evidently of theology — of Robert and of Charles de Croy: *Cran.*, 23, a-c, 62, d, and when the former became bishop of Cambrai, he received from him, in 1526, a prebend in Our Lady's of that town, where he spent the greater part of his time, until, in 1535, he succeeded John Nys Driedo, of Turnhout, as (primary) professor of theology and as canon of St. Andrew's Altar in St. Peter's: *VAnd.*, 78; he remained in that office till his death, May 29, 1544: cp. *FUL*, 1101, 1666, 2079, 4481; *VAnd.*, 104-5, 271-72; *Vern.*, 273; *Mol.*, 515; *ExTest.*, 179; *BibBelg.*, 416; *Paquot*, XIII, 43-57; *ULDoc.*, IV, 458; *FG*, 380; *BB*, L, 609, sq; *BibRefNe.*, III, 19-28; de Jongh, 173-80; *Allen*, III, 934, 3; *Cran.*, 46, b-c; *MonHL*, 195-99, 211, 230, 283-4, 413, 465, 500, 507, &c; *Godet*, 37, 126-29; *CorpCath.*, XVIII, 6.

<sup>2)</sup> Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1519: *BB*, L, 609; *BibRefNe.*, III, 28-39 (analysis), 41-84 (reprint); de Jongh, 174-75; *NijKron.*, I, 1326.

<sup>3)</sup> William de Croy, Archbishop of Toledo (cp. before, p 51), was never Latomus' pupil, as de Jongh, 174, supposed on account of a hasty reading of a manuscript afterwards edited in *Allen*, VI, 1695, 22: *Cran.*, I, d.

<sup>4)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 43-45.

<sup>5)</sup> That unasked for acknowledgment of Latomus' diffidence about his mastery of Latin, which he expects to be criticized by the *adolescentum imperitorum turba*, — viz., those of the students who attend the lessons of the *Trilingue*, and stand by Mosellanus and other young innovators, — can hardly be attributed to humble shyness, but strangely confirms

between a favourer of the languages and literature, *Petrus* <sup>1)</sup>; an adherent of the traditional scholastic divinity, *Joannes* <sup>2)</sup>, and *Albertus*, a student who wants to form an opinion before starting the study of theology. The two dialogues offer a most striking contrast in language and tone; the first is couched in an ungainly, intricate, abstruse wording, whereas in the second, with the exception of perhaps two or three lengthy passages, the phrase is clearer and easier <sup>3)</sup>. The first dialogue is occasioned by Peter of Mosellanus' eulogy of the study of languages <sup>4)</sup> in Leipzig; it relates some of the ideas developed in that speech, which are scornfully criticized and jestingly waived by *Joannes*. In the second dialogue *Petrus* does not appear any more, but *Joannes* expresses his admiration for a *senex doctus*, his former preceptor, whose views on different aspects and parts of theology are expounded for the benefit of *Albertus*, who in conclusion, wants to go and avail himself of that much vaunted theologian, if he is still alive <sup>5)</sup>. The tone is calmer, the views proposed are broad-minded, and the opinions dear to the new movement are treated with equanimity and appreciation, except towards the end, where the 'humanistic theology' is sketched with bitter irony <sup>6)</sup>.

That duality of the book has roused the suspicion that the *Dialogus* was the work of several theologians: whereas it is quite consistent to accept both parts as actually written by

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his indifferent knowledge of languages: cp. before, p 326; even with due allowance for a natural self-distrust, it flatly contradicts the assertion of John-Cornelius Loos, *Callidius*, that Latomus was '*Græce & Hebraice doctus*': Paquot, xiii, 49. As that wayward theological author was born about 1546 at Gouda, and studied philosophy in the Falcon, Louvain, so as to promote Master of Arts in 1564, his knowledge of Latomus' abilities is necessarily second- or third-hand; he even left Louvain at once, and studied theology in Mayence; he lived in the Rhine-lands, from where he was banished for his opinions about magic: he returned to Brabant in 1592, and he died in Brussels in 1595: Paquot, xiv, 428-48; *ULPromRs.*, 255.

<sup>1)</sup> Probably an allusion to Peter Mosellanus' name.

<sup>2)</sup> Maybe to recall the much praised *Joannes Briart*.

<sup>3)</sup> That difference of language was already pointed out by Thomas Carinus, who edited this *Dialogus* in Paris in 1519, with some comments: *BibRefNe.*, iii, 28-29, 65.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 301-03.

<sup>5)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 84.

<sup>6)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 80-83.

Latomus, although in different times and moods. The second part, which evidently testifies to a more mature composition, was conceived and written first, and was designed to be an answer to Erasmus' *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, issued by Thierry Martens, in November 1518, which must have been somewhat offensive to the older professors of divinity <sup>1)</sup>. Latomus, who had been studying theology in Louvain ever since 1502, and who proved most enthusiastic about the veteran of the theologians John Briart, of Ath <sup>2)</sup>, could not give a better reply than by explaining his views and his method <sup>3)</sup>. As, however, that favourite master was liable to exception, on account of his most excitable and irascible nature, with all its consequences, as was too well known <sup>4)</sup>, his name was not mentioned, especially since his quarrel with Erasmus about the *de Matrimonio* had been satisfactorily settled <sup>5)</sup>.

The dialogue opens with some general principles of the *senex*, which cannot but produce an excellent impression :

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 303-06.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 301-03. In the last years of his life, Briart was the centre of a small group of students and old students, who surrounded him with veneration and concern : they were the Dominican John Arnoldi, of Valenciennes, who promoted Doctor of Divinity on July 6, 1518 : VAnd., 104, and Julian de Gavre, of Ath, who had become Licentiate of Divinity in 1516 : *MonHL*, 283-84, 464-65 ; *LibNomI*, 109, r ; chief of all Briart's admirers and favourites were James Latomus and Ruard Tapper, of Enkhuysen, who both became Doctors of Theology on August 16, 1519 : VAnd., 104-06 ; *Briart*, 397, r.

<sup>3)</sup> There is nothing to substantiate a suspicion that Briart should have suggested attacking Erasmus ; it looks rather as if Latomus, who, as yet, had no personal authority, wanted to counteract the influence of the *Methodus* just issued, opposing to the 'Erasmian theologian' a vivid sketch of Briart, a typical orthodox divine, attributing to him as wide and as liberal views as the Humanist glorified in.

<sup>4)</sup> *Briart*, 396, r.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 313-14. Erasmus was not at all unsympathetic or ill-disposed towards Briart : in April 1518, before he left for Basle to supervise the second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, he had an interview with him, at which were present Vives and Nicolas Bæchem ; and he then asked him what should be corrected ; Briart replied that he had criticized it only on what he had heard of it, and he advised him to continue with his *sanctis laboribus* : *ErasJort.*, II, 500. Later, on Aug. 13, 1521, Erasmus declared to Peter Barbirius : *Cum Ioanne Atensi... mihi facile conuenisset si placari potuisset vnus aut alter Carmeliticus Dominicalisque sodalitiis theologus* : Allen, IV, 1225, 16-18, 58-75.

the person should always be spared, although his error be criticized ; no science should be rejected, but truth in all its forms should always be loved <sup>1)</sup> ; even poetry is to be recommended, provided it does not offend Christian piety or morals : therefore pagan poets should not be used in the first stage of the instruction of youth <sup>2)</sup>. Languages, according to the *senex*, are not bad, but they are not necessary ; one can know a thing although ignoring the name, whereas the knowledge of a name does not imply necessarily that of the object so called ; science should be gathered from real things, although words and names are not superfluous <sup>3)</sup>. Still they should always be kept in their subordinate rank, just like *grammatici*, useful in teaching languages and correcting texts, should never interfere with higher sciences <sup>4)</sup>. Languages are certainly not necessary for the knowledge of theology : St. Augustine attributed some use to Greek, but only to judge the value of the numerous translations of the Bible ; nowadays that judging is no longer necessary, as there is only one version, and a collation with the *primum exemplar* is of no use, as there may be errors in common with the renderings <sup>5)</sup>, which only an exceptionally well equipped interpreter might detect <sup>6)</sup>. If there should occur any difficulty, arising from words or terms of another language, St. Augustine recommends either interviewing a man who knows that tongue, or learning that language, or rather comparing simply the various commentators. That brings the *senex* to the conclusion that languages are not necessary to the theologian, for there is now ample occasion to find natives who speak the various

<sup>1)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 58-60.

<sup>2)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 60-61.

<sup>3)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 61-63 ; the remark : *naturam enim penitus inspicere, fecit scientiarum et artium primos inuentores* (*ibid.*, 62), almost sounds as an Erasmian principle.

<sup>4)</sup> *Sunt... habendæ gratiæ hijs qui linguis docendis, et codicibus emendandis, honesta studia adiuuant, modo ne suum laborem ita æstiment, vt melioribus quibus insudat afferat detrimentum : LatoDial.*, 63 : — viz., Erasmus can be borne with as long as he keeps to linguistic precepts and to textual criticism ; but he has no right to meddle with theology : *ne sutor ultra crepidam !*

<sup>5)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 64-65.

<sup>6)</sup> *Augustino teste, plærumque a sensu auctoris aberrat interpres, nisi sit doctissimus : LatoDial.*, 64 : it seems to have been Erasmus' only aim to form such 'doctissimi interpretes'.

tongues, whilst commentators abound <sup>1)</sup>, and, above all, St. Augustine provides an apodictic proof, for, ignoring Hebrew, he wrote on the Genesis and other books of the Old Testament <sup>2)</sup>).

After that argument, the views of the *senex* are quoted for the various conceptions and methods of theology : it must be remembered that the substance of the Gospel does not consist in the knowledge of characters or points <sup>3)</sup>, nor in the Bible itself, since even heretics and schismatics get their arguments from it <sup>4)</sup>. The right interpretation, with God's promised assistance, is far better than an acquaintance with many languages <sup>5)</sup>. Nor is it true that, as Mosellanus had stated, the neglect of linguistic study was the cause of the prevailing miserable state of Church and clergy <sup>6)</sup>. There are two kinds of theologies ; one is popular, and is sufficient for the ordinary man : it certainly requires no languages <sup>7)</sup>. The other is intellectual, spiritual, and even for that, only just the *reading* of the Bible is recommended <sup>8)</sup>. Should a passage prove difficult, it is better to apply to the commentators and their glosses than to the languages <sup>9)</sup>. Even the Fathers of the Church are not as good for that interpretation and for theology in general, as the scholastic authors, like Peter Lombardus, by whom the matter is ordered and studied in all its parts, in such a way that all errors are evaded, and that the teaching is kept up to date ; moreover, and above all, they provide a philosophical explanation of all things, which neither St. Paul, nor the Apostles were able to give <sup>10)</sup>. That leads the '*senex*' to praise the great advantage of studying various philosophical

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<sup>1)</sup> *Primo possimus scientes linguas interrogare, qui hoc tempore solito plures sunt, secundo linguas discere, tertio interpretationes conferre, et tandem ex istis non concludi theologo linguas simpliciter necessarias : LatoDial., 64. — Similarly the knowledge of theology does not seem to be simpliciter necessaria to a divine : for he can always apply to those who have that knowledge ; he can, if need be, quickly learn what is necessary, and if certitude is not reached, he can content himself with comparing what various divines or would-be divines say.*

<sup>2)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 65-66.

<sup>3)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 64.

<sup>4)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 64-65.

<sup>5)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 66.

<sup>6)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 66-67 ; *MosOratio*, C 1, v, C 2, r.

<sup>7)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 67-69.

<sup>8)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 69.

<sup>9)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 70-71.

<sup>10)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 72-73.

sciences, — of course excluding languages <sup>1)</sup>). To be true, some theologians go too far in that respect, and attribute such an importance to dialectics that they become sophists <sup>2)</sup>). Still quite as bad as these, are the pseudo-theologians — no doubt Erasmus and his adherents, — who want to introduce Rhetoric, Literature and Linguistic study within that sacred science, and wish to give the lead to those disciplines, in so far that they claim a greater liberty of opinion, a wider scope of principles, and, for certain, the renouncing to all coercitive measures used up to then towards heretics <sup>3)</sup>).

Compared with that programme of the *senex*, the first part of the *Dialogus* seems mere quibbling : what Peter relates about Mosellanus' speech is simply derided : the statement that Pope Clement V wanted languages to be taught and studied, is jestingly applied to the idioms of Goths, Vandals and 'Garamantes' <sup>4)</sup> ; every argument in his *Oratio* is scornfully disfigured : viz., the allusion to the three languages on the title of the Cross <sup>5)</sup> ; the teaching of Greek in schools, as it would take too much time <sup>6)</sup> ; the advantage of understanding the meaning of many terms in sciences and arts, — as one can be a good painter and musician without knowing what the most usual technical terms mean <sup>7)</sup> ; the correcting of interpolated texts in the Vulgate, — as all emendations are not only dangerous, but perfectly unnecessary <sup>8)</sup>), for even the Bible and its interpretation is as useless to a man who has

<sup>1)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 74-77.

<sup>2)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 78-81.

<sup>3)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 82-84.

<sup>4)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 48-49.

<sup>5)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 49 : St. Augustine refers to those languages on the Cross in his *Sermo CCXVIII* : AugO, v, 1085.

<sup>6)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 49-50.

<sup>7)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 51-53 : no doubt, there is here, as throughout this dialogue, a mischievous misinterpretation, for the knowing or not knowing of the meaning of a foreign term connected with painting or music, leaves the ability of the artist indemn, as the *art* consists only in the felicitous mixing of colours and sounds, so as to produce the representation which the craftsman wants to impart to onlooker or hearer ; in the science of theology it is of the utmost importance, however, to understand thoroughly all the words and sentences of a text or a testimony : there a nice discriminating sense of the words is the only source of the knowledge that builds up the science. — Cp. before, for Erasmus' reply to this argument, and its application to Poppenruyter, p 58.

<sup>8)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 54-57.

faith <sup>1)</sup>, as the scaffold is to a house of which the building is completed <sup>2)</sup>.

That last bit of criticism of the first part, to be true, stopped Peter's mouth and sent him off; yet it seemed so unjust even to John that he had to rectify the statement in the second dialogue. It is an example of the ambiguousness on which this *Dialogus* is built: Erasmus never proclaimed the necessity of language for the simple faith, for what Latomus calls *theologia popularis*, although it is only '*theologia*' in a certain sense; but for scientific theology — *theologia spiritualis*, — and, even then not for the dogmatic, ethic or liturgic theology, but for the mere study of the Bible. The 'Rhetoric, Literature and Linguistic study', which he wanted to introduce, were not meant for those disciplines themselves, but for the methods of scrutiny and research, already most efficiently applied to literary works of antiquity and to the writings of the Fathers of the Church. He wished to study Holy Scripture as 'books', examining their age and authenticity, their language and their text, their message and their meaning, preparatory to the authoritative interpretation of the Church. Unfortunately the Biblical research, which he wanted to be as a source of study, and of a better acquaintance with the teachings of the Depositary of Faith, was scornfully waived for wasteful disputations and barren controversy. Had his advice been followed, it would not have been necessary to wait three and more centuries for proper 'Biblical Criticism', which demonstrates to all evidence that Erasmus may have stumbled or wavered in immaterial details, but was showing the glorious way to progress and truth by word and deed, even though unmistakably vilified by a Latomus.

Judging from the tone and style, the two parts of Latomus' *Dialogus* were written in a very different frame of mind. He probably first wanted to make a match to Erasmus' *Methodus* of November 1518, and he therefore introduced an older and more experienced student, who highly praises his master,

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<sup>1)</sup> *Pijs hominibus non sunt linguæ et sacræ literæ necessariae*, says John: *LatoDial.*, 57; just as in the second part he declares: *Homo... non indiget scripturis, nisi ad alios instruendos*: *LatoDial.*, 63; yet that instruction of others seems to be as one of the chief '*raison d'être*' of theology.

<sup>2)</sup> *LatoDial.*, 58.



the *senex* Briart, to a newcomer, which gave him the occasion to produce his eulogy as *the* Theologian : the appreciation of the good parts of Adrian of Utrecht's old friend, and the absence of an open criticism of Erasmus, — at least in the larger part of the composition — confers to it a calm and sensible tone. When some time afterwards, — possibly in the first weeks of 1519, — Latomus obtained the text of Mosellanus' *Oratio*, of which he no doubt had heard, he at once jotted down a reply in the form of a conversation : to the two collocutors of Briart's eulogy, he added a third, Peter, who is represented as coming most enthusiastically from Mosellanus' inaugural lecture : so the tone is not any longer didactic, but highly aggressive on the part of the elder student, John, whereas his contradictor is represented as shrinking together miserably under his bitter taunts. When, in the first days of March, Alard roused the theologians by his bold attempt to lecture on the *Methodus*, it was at once decided to have the reply of Latomus to that *Methodus*, and that to the extravagance of the linguists, printed at once. They were arranged in all haste into one pamphlet, which Hillen brought out within a few days at Antwerp.

#### C. ADRIANUS' REPLY

The pamphlet had hardly reached Louvain when it was answered in public by the oldest of the three professors of the *Collegium Trilingue*, Matthew Adrianus. On St. Benedict's feast, March 21 <sup>1)</sup>, he interrupted the course of his teaching of Hebrew by an oration intended to encourage his audience in their study of languages <sup>2)</sup> ; judging by the numerous allusions to assertions made in Latomus' *Dialogus*, it must have been meant as a rejoinder.

Matthew Adrianus opened his speech with the remark that, although everyone justly extolls his own profession, it is not

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<sup>1)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 129-130.

<sup>2)</sup> The text of his *Oratio*, which was printed at Wittenberg in 1520, is reproduced here in this volume, line by line and page by page, as APPENDIX I ; reference is made to it as *MAdriOr.*, with the number of the lines.

right to revile those of others <sup>1)</sup>. A University counts many honest disciplines, which should live in peace with one another, so as to contribute to the general welfare, as is done by Apollo and the nine different Muses, and as is so fitly taught by the old fable of the revolt of the parts of the human body <sup>2)</sup>. If an adept of one branch abuses any of the others, he harms the University and himself <sup>3)</sup>. In Italy whoever offers an honest lecture is certain of the hospitality of the schools <sup>4)</sup>. In Paris a man, with as difficult a character as Fausto Andrelini, was not only borne with, but adorned with honour <sup>5)</sup>. In Louvain the teaching and study of languages is bitterly criticized. And yet Origen judged that if he had any authority in theology, it was only through his knowledge of Hebrew <sup>6)</sup>; whilst St. Jerome learned that language when already advanced in age, notwithstanding difficulties and opposition <sup>7)</sup>; similarly St. Augustine repeatedly stated that an acquaintance with the three languages is required for the study of Scripture <sup>8)</sup>; whereas the Council of Vienna and Clement V prescribed the teaching and the study of languages in Rome, Bologna, Oxford, Paris and Salamanca <sup>9)</sup>.

Adrianus further pointed out that Leo X had recently called to Rome some professors of languages <sup>10)</sup>, amongst whom was Marco Musuro, whom he created Archbishop <sup>11)</sup>; how the

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<sup>1)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 27, sq : sceleratum est laudandi genus sic tua tollere, vt cæteris honestis disciplinis facias iniuriam. — In the *Dialogus*, grammarians and text-editors are represented as mere servants of higher sciences, who should never presume to judge their work except as the last and the humblest : *LatoDial.*, 62-63.

<sup>2)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 33-43.

<sup>3)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 56-60.

<sup>4)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 60-61 : evidently a hint at the prohibiting of Alard's lecturing : cp. before, pp 319, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 170-71 ; *MAdriOr.*, 62-64.

<sup>6)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 64-80.

<sup>7)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 81-89.

<sup>8)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 89-100 ; *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xiii, 2 ; *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, xi ; *Enarratio in Ps CXVIII*, xiv, 2 ; AugO, III, 42, VII, 453, IV, 1539.

<sup>9)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 100-115.

<sup>10)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 118-122 ; cp. p 282.

<sup>11)</sup> Marco Musuro (c 1470-1517), a native of Retimo, in Crete, was Giano Lascaris' pupil in Florence from 1486 ; he afterwards taught Greek at Padua. From 1498 he aided Aldus Manutius in the preparation of his *editiones principes* of Aristophanes, 1498, of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, 1499, of Euripides, 1503, of Plato, 1513, of Athenæus, 1514, of Hesychius, 1514, and of Pausanias, 1516. In Venice, where he had met Erasmus, he

same was done in France, England and Germany <sup>1)</sup>; whilst Jerome de Busleyden disinherited his brothers to found a new College for that purpose <sup>2)</sup>. He answered the objection that St. Jerome had already done the necessary work for the Bible, so that the study of several languages was not any longer indispensable, by recalling how that great Exegetist, far from being satisfied with the renderings of the Seventy and those of more recent Latin translators, made himself a new version from the Hebrew <sup>3)</sup>. In consequence the orator recommends the study of Hebrew, which language is the most venerable, being the oldest in human history, and the source for Greek philosophy, besides being used for the greater part of Holy Scripture <sup>4)</sup>. In a language nothing is useless, he observes, and mysteries are often found in words and points, and in the peculiarities of the idiom <sup>5)</sup>. If a theologian ignores that language, he exposes himself to be deceived by the trust he places in others, for he has to let himself be guided by somebody else's mind <sup>6)</sup>. Nor can it be seriously urged that there is no time for learning Greek and Hebrew, unless there

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lectured in 1513, and a beautiful poem prefixed to the edition of Plato, pleased Leo X to such extent that he invited him to Rome in 1516 to begin with Giano Lascaris a school for Greek and Latin, the *Medicea Academia*. Musuro was appointed, in 1516, archbishop of Monembasia (Napoli di Malvasia); unfortunately the 'exactæ diligentiae grammaticus et raræ felicitatis poeta', as his epitaph in S. Maria della Pace calls him, died in the autumn of 1517: Pastor, iv, i, 475-477; Sandys, II, 78-79; Allen, I, 223, 4, II, 574, III, 868, 52-61; in a letter to Henry Afinius, February 1517, Erasmus described 'Musurus gente etiam Grecus est, eruditione Grecissimus': Allen, II, 542, 35.

<sup>1)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 120-124.

<sup>2)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 124-126: no doubt he repeats Erasmus' statement, in his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, with reference to Jerome de Busleyden: qui fraudatis etiam hæredibus, ingentem pecuniarum vim... legato reliquit, ut &c: EOO, v, 77, r; cp. before, p 305. Adrianus substituted *fratribus* for *hæredibus*, although there was only one brother left.

<sup>3)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 140, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 126, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 151-163, 171-173: that assertion contradicts Latomus' statement that one, 'apices illos aut literas nesciens', could easily be an excellent theologian: *LatoDial.*, 64.

<sup>6)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 173-75: Adrianus here answers Latomus' argument that the knowledge of languages is not *simpliciter* necessary to a theologian, as he can apply to natives or compare commentaries: *LatoDial.*, 64.

should not be any time either to learn Christian doctrine <sup>1)</sup>, especially at that period, when there were so many natives ready to teach those idioms. The three languages have been as if consecrated by the title on the Cross, Hebrew occupying the place of honour <sup>2)</sup>: why then begrudge them the glory of being taught, and why begrudge the advantages which their knowledge affords to a University, which is hardly second to any other <sup>3)</sup>? He concludes his speech by proposing to his auditors to outdo one another in zeal, he in teaching and they in studying <sup>4)</sup>.

That *Oratio* was published in 1520 in Wittenberg <sup>5)</sup>, where Adrianus had gone to after leaving Louvain <sup>6)</sup>. He inscribed it to George Spalatinus <sup>7)</sup> by a dedicatory letter, in which the zeal of the students in Saxony is said to be so great that it has to be moderated, whereas that of his Louvain auditors

<sup>1)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 163-167: it answers the objection in *LatoDial.*, 49-50, that the study of languages would require too much time, as now several years already are taken up by that of Latin.

<sup>2)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 180-182. He thus replies to the very disparaging jest in *LatoDial.*, 49, that the lance and the impious soldiers are even more consecrated by the touching of Our Lord's Blood. St. Augustine wrote in his *In Psalmum LVIII Enarratio, Sermo 1*: *titulus inscriptus est a Pilato et positus, Rex Judæorum, tribus linguis hebræa, græca, et latina: quæ linguæ toto orbe maxime excellunt*: AugO, IV, 692; Luke, XXIII, 38, — which shows that at least the tradition of the 'consecrated languages' is very old. There is a similar mention in his *Sermo CCXVIII*, vi: AugO, V, 1085.

<sup>3)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 182, sq, 198, sq; he expresses his regret, however, in his dedicatory letter, that in Louvain there is much opposition to the teaching of languages: see p 338, n 1.

<sup>4)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 209-211.

<sup>5)</sup> It has as title (A i, r) the address of the Dedication: VENERABILI SIBI IN DOMI / NO, MAGISTRO GEORGIO / SPALATINO ILLVSTRIS. / PRIN, FRIDERICI &c. / a sacris & Epistolis Ma / theus Adrianus M. / doctor, Christi / miles, / sacrarumq; literarum professor, / Salutem in / Dño. — That address is repeated on A i, v. The colophon, on A 4, v, reads (ll 131-133): ¶ VVITTENBERGAE, / per Ioh, Grunenberg. / M, D, XX. — Cp. de Jongh, 175.

<sup>6)</sup> Adrian left Louvain in November 1519: cp. further, Ch. V, 3, b.

<sup>7)</sup> The letter (*MAdriOr.*, 7-26; 1-6 being a repetition of the address used as title,) is signed 'Vuittenbergæ, M. D. XX.'; no doubt George Spalatinus had caused Adrianus to be appointed in Wittenberg.

had to be spurred on <sup>1)</sup>). To his oration he added a postscript <sup>2)</sup> stating that it was spoken to recommend the study and the knowledge of the three languages to the students of theology, since their masters had incited James Latomus *communi Consilio* to compose an *Apologia* for the barbarousness of language and for the hostility to erudition in general <sup>3)</sup>). Unfortunately, Adrianus adds, Latomus found neither authorities, nor reason for sciences, *artes mechanicas*, so that to prove his contention, he argued from a comparison with fine arts : yet they and languages are not of a similar nature, and, for certain, the Holy Ghost did not want to turn the Apostles into singers and painters as well as into orators : painting and music, in fact, have hardly anything at all in common with the study and knowledge of languages <sup>4)</sup>).

#### D. RESULT

When, shortly after March 21, 1519, Erasmus returned from Mechlin to Louvain <sup>5)</sup>, he found the atmosphere heavy

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<sup>1)</sup> Adrianus writes : in hac insigni florentissimaque Academia, literas sanctas profiteor, foeliciore vt spero, sorte quam Louanij professor fuerim, quum hic & gratiores inuenio auditores, tum nullos prorsus hostes, vniuersos autem pene insanos linguarum amatores, deus bone quantus hic ardor, quantusque impetus discendi, vt quod Louanij egi quo accenderem animos, hic prope agendum sit vt refrigerem, & vt illis opus fuit calcare, ita his freno opus esse videatur : *MAdriOr.*, 17-23. — It must not be forgotten that Adrianus had had to leave Louvain ; nor did he stay very long amongst the exceptionally eager students of Wittenberg : cp. Ch. V, 3, b. <sup>2)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 212-30.

<sup>3)</sup> Adrianus adds that the *Magistri Nostri* of Louvain, — with Dorp's exception, — had also taken care of the printing of the *Apologia* in all secrecy in Antwerp, — no doubt for fear of difficulties in Louvain : *MAdriOr.*, 214-219, 225-226.

<sup>4)</sup> *MAdriOr.*, 220-224 ; Adrianus thus replies to Latomus' argument about the connection of the knowledge of languages and the ability in arts and sciences : *LatoDial.*, 52-54 (cp. before, p 332) : in that passage Latomus refers to two contemporary Louvain painters, Roger and John, and to the legend that the robbers who had attacked one of them in a wood, were recognized from the faces of the evil-doers of his picture in Our Lady's Church, and punished : one of the artists is for certain Roger van der Weyden, the other, most likely, John van Rillaer : cp. further, Chs. VIII and XXI.

<sup>5)</sup> Erasmus had gone to Mechlin at the request of his friends who wanted him to accept the office of preceptor to Ferdinand of Austria :

with storm. Latomus' *Dialogus* had come out, and Matthew Adrianus had answered it. If the Hebrew professor had not said anything except what was printed in 1520, there was hardly any reason of discontent with such a calm and dignified reply; nor is it at all likely that he should have attenuated any expression or passage in his speech when publishing it, as he then was part and parcel of the University of Wittenberg, which was in open hostility with that of Louvain. Still it may have added some fuel to the discontent caused in some circles by the bold attempt of Alard, which had most probably precipitated the editing of Latomus' *Dialogus*.

To a clear-sighted unprejudiced contemporary that *Dialogus* must have looked what it now looks to any one who carefully examines it, much ado about nothing. It contains no end of quibbling or ambiguous remarks and a scathing sketch of what was accounted Erasmus' 'ideal theology', but as to what is promised by the title *De Trium Linguarum et Studii Theologici Ratione*, there is hardly anything, except the application of the passage from *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, xiv, where St. Augustine suggests a few ways to get at the meaning of some unknown words or locutions: *Ignoti verbi et ignotæ locutionis unde eruenda cognitio*; if the terms should be foreign, he advises to apply to those who know that language, or learn it oneself; he adds that the collation of several manuscripts and the discussion of the interpreters also greatly helps <sup>1</sup>). From that chapter, which only applies to strange and unknown terms, Latomus builds up an argument which is as long as it is useless <sup>2</sup>).

Indeed, the solution is proposed by St. Augustine for the explanation of an occasional strange word or term: Latomus extends it to the entirety of the method of study, concluding that the knowledge of languages is not *simpliciter necessaria* for a theologian, since he can make use of a 'vicarious knowledge', that of one or more men who are acquainted with those tongues, to whom he can apply. That quaint process might be extended even to the very theology, for which one

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he wrote from there to Vives on March 17, and to Budé on March 21: Allen, III, 927, 930, 952, 61-62, 917, *pr*. He had certainly returned to Louvain by the 25<sup>th</sup> of that month.

<sup>1</sup>) AugO, III, 45-46.

<sup>2</sup>) *LatoDial.*, 63, *sq.*

could also refer to somebody else, who fully possesses that science<sup>1)</sup>: once again the title *theologus* is used ambiguously; instead of being given to a man who really studies divinity, it is also applied to a dispenser or a retailer of what he has heard or learned from others. It is evident that by admitting that, for the understanding of the Bible, one has to call in the help of those who know languages, the knowledge of those languages is proved to be indispensable<sup>2)</sup>. And that indispensability is not limited to a few exceptional words, but extends over the whole text, as St. Augustine apodictically asserts in passages of the same *De Doctrina Christiana* — for which Latomus wilfully closes his eyes. A few lines higher the great Church Doctor declares: ‘*latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad Scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, hebræa scilicet et græca; ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit latinorum interpretum infinita varietas*’<sup>3)</sup>. And a few lines lower: ‘*Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in latinis varietatibus titubat, græcis cedere oportere non dubium est*’<sup>4)</sup>.

Without doubt the almost complete absence, not only of all efficiency, but even of consistency and common sense, in this pamphlet, cannot have escaped any perspicacious reader, even if he was not as disdainful in his judgment as Hutten<sup>5)</sup>, or as sarcastic as Thomas Carinus, who edited the *Dialogus* in Paris in 1519 with a few comments<sup>6)</sup>. Its spirit strangely

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<sup>1)</sup> In his *Apologia* Erasmus suggests having dialectics and philosophy also studied ‘vicariously’ so as to lighten the work of divines, who would have more time for theology: *ErApol.*, G 4, c (93), sq.

<sup>2)</sup> There is no need to point out the immense advantage for every scholar to judge by himself of the comparative value of terms in two or more languages, instead of recurring to the help of a ‘native’, who may be completely ignorant of the matter, and even of the niceties in the expressions.

<sup>3)</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, xi: *AugO*, III, 42.

<sup>4)</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, xv; also *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 43: *AugO*, III, 46, VII, 603-604.

<sup>5)</sup> On June 5 <, 1519>, he wrote to Erasmus: *Legi dialogum Latomi et risi*: *Allen*, III, 986, 25.

<sup>6)</sup> *BibRefNe.*, III, 28-29. Carinus closes his *Annotationes* by these remarks: *Tales libros scribunt qui veram didicerunt dialecticam, sic ratiocinantur subtiles et speculativi Theologi. Quis non contemnat*

contrasts with that of Leo X, in whose name Peter Bembo wrote to Musuro that he wished most earnestly to make alive again, for as far as was in his power, the Greek language and literature, of which the knowledge had nearly vanished, and that in order to promote all sciences <sup>1)</sup>; it led to the founding of his linguistic institute, with John Lascaris as leader. Nor was it necessary to wait several centuries to find that the study of the Bible had to be based on a thorough knowledge of the language, and consequently of the cultural history, of several peoples of antiquity, — as Erasmus taught and as has been accepted since long. Even Latomus found unequivocal proofs in his close vicinity that he had advocated the wrong position: his favourite student Titelmans, although attacking Erasmus, followed his example and studied languages preparatory to exegesis <sup>2)</sup>. And the letters which, between 1535 and 1541, his famous pupil Clenardus sent to his former master, must have been like burning coals on his head: in them Latomus had to read effusions like: *Mundus cœpit Græcari & Hebraicari, sane ornamentum accessit hominibus studiosis. Verum si hac via prorogata fuissent Christianæ religionis pomœria, vera gratulandi esset occasio*; or like: *Sine linguarum præsidio bellum <adversus errores> geri non potest* <sup>3)</sup>; — whilst at every page is expressed the conviction that it is only through the thorough knowledge of Greek or Arab that Christian religion can be vindicated against a Luther or a Mahomed, and that nations, now severed from the Church, might be brought back again to faith and truth <sup>4)</sup>. If his disciples of predilection thus judged the opinions expressed in the *Dialogus*, it may be expected that in many an average

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*poetas, oratores, ac veteres Theologos omnes, cum liceat huiusmodi dialogis oblectare animum? Et hij sunt qui se faciunt censores alienorum operum, hi se putant esse idoneos, vt ipsorum iudicio Christiani simus aut non simus. Sed vale lector, iam totus frigeo, ex huius libri lectione, qui quamuis superat glaciem (LatoDial., 84)!*

<sup>1)</sup> *P. Bembi Epistolarum Leonis X nomine scriptarum Libri XVI*: Basle, 1547: iv, 8; H. Vast, *De Vita et Operibus J. Lascaris*: Paris, 1878: 82, sq; Pastor, iv, i, 476.

<sup>2)</sup> *BN*, xxv, 345, sq; Allen, vii, 1823, pr.

<sup>3)</sup> *ClenE*, 43, 52 (Fez, April 9, 1541); *ClenCorr.*, i, 154, 157, 159-60, 172, sq, 177, 180, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *ClenE*, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, sq, 35, sq, 40, 42, sq, 47, 48, 52, sq.



reader, the pamphlet will have suggested a conclusion diametrically opposed to that for which it had been written.

## 5. — LANGUAGES PROVED INDISPENSABLE

### A. ERASMUS' REACTION

Erasmus apparently estimated the pamphlet at its right value. He felt that, as he wrote to James Banisius, apostolic protonotary and imperial diplomatist <sup>1)</sup>, it turned against its author and thus gave joy rather than annoyance <sup>2)</sup>. It named no names, although nobody could be for one moment at a loss to know whom it was aimed at. The trick which Latomus evidently devised to secure a greater freedom of criticism and to prevent retaliation, gave to Erasmus the opportunity to disculpate himself where he seemed to be attacked, and to lay all the blame on his, also unnamed, adversaries. Instead of answering straightway to the charges brought in against him, and thus opening a bitter and endless debate, he did neither reply, nor argue, which would have made it appear as if he were in the wrong <sup>3)</sup>. He wrote an *apologia*, not against Latomus, nor his adherents, but against those who surmised that the *Dialogus* had been written against him. That way he calmly waived aside the greater part of the criticism aimed at him, and justified his views, mentioning wherever he could his intention to promote truth and faith and progress : it thus became evident that he did far more good to science and to the Church than his opponents, who obstinately refused to abandon the old beaten track. Without naming any one, and even passing by Latomus, whom Zwingli called an *infans* as late as 1522 <sup>4)</sup>, he directed the

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, III, 700, *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> Letter of May 21, 1519 : Ausus est quidam et libellum aduersus me scribere, sed magno suo malo, mea summa cum voluptate : Allen, III, 970, 11-12.

<sup>3)</sup> On April 2, 1519, he wrote to Bishop Fisher, referring to Latomus' libellus : Decreueram omnino non respondere libello, sed vicit amicorum sententia : quanquam ita respondi vt videar non respondisse : Allen, III, 936, 46-48.

<sup>4)</sup> In his letter to Beatus Rhenanus of March 25, 1522 : RhenE, 301.

greater part of his vindication against the *senex*, whom he called Nestor, thus availing himself to the full of the excellent occasion to make a thorough scrutiny of the teaching and the principles of John Briart, who was as the backbone of the Theological Faculty. With all that, he could keep within a calm equanimity, and proffer his opinions and his arguments as if he were a complete stranger to the dissension, so as to prevent that the *Collegium Trilingue* should suffer from the altercation. No doubt the *Dialogus* had been devised against Busleyden's Institution and against the teaching of languages; but by the shrewd move of Erasmus, it merely harmed the opponents, as it provided the occasion to a clear and, if indirect, yet most appropriate exposition.

#### B. THE 'APOLOGIA'

Erasmus set to work at once, and after three, possibly two days <sup>1)</sup>, he composed the reply which he dated from Louvain, March 28, 'v, Cal. Apriles Anno M.D.XIX.' Two days later he sent Latomus' pamphlet to Martin Lips by Rutger Rescius, calling it '*eruditum et elegantem*' (to which Lips noted: '*Yronia*'); he mentions that some suspect it was made by the general body of the theologians. He himself judges it proper to Latomus, but not to the *commune theologorum suffragium*, whereas he does not consider himself worthy of what is written in it <sup>2)</sup>: evidently, he means that, as a criticism of his *Novum Testamentum* <sup>3)</sup>, of his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ* and of the principles on which he wanted the *Collegium Trilingue* to be founded, it is far too lenient, as he knew very well that, in some quarters, no condemnation was too heavy for him. He therefore wanted an unobjectionable reply for as far as personal considerations went. He kept to a calm stating of facts and to an objective judgment of things.

<sup>1)</sup> In his letter to John Becker, April 24, 1519, he stated: *Apologia... vix mihi tridui tempus absumpsit*; in that to Mosellanus, April 22, 1519: *libello bidui labore effuso verius quam scripto*: Allen, III, 948, 42-43, 952, 19-20.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 934: this last sentence is marked by Lips in his copy: '*yronice*'.

<sup>3)</sup> It must have been a surprise for Erasmus to find that his *Novum Instrumentum* was hardly referred to in Latomus' *Dialogus*.

He even seems to have avoided that copies should have been available prematurely, and went to have his *Apologia* printed at Antwerp, where the *Dialogus* had been published. Lips added to a letter of April 1519 in his collection the comment that Erasmus had come to see him on his return from Antwerp where '*ipse ... libellum suum excudi curarat*' <sup>1</sup>). That edition is a mystery, for it is so carelessly printed that it makes reading a real work of patience : even a few lines before the place where he reproaches Latomus to have written *acturum* instead of *agere* <sup>2</sup>), he prints himself : *fontes lacrimis ... prætuli*, for *fontes lacunis ... prætuli* <sup>3</sup>). If there were not Lips' note on the subject, it would be far more consistent with the nice taste of Erasmus and with that of his numerous Antwerp friends ready to oblige him, to suppose that the *Apologia* was first printed, correctly, in Louvain by Martens, and was afterwards reproduced with surprising inaccuracy by John Thibault <sup>4</sup>). The title reads : ERASMI ROTERODAMI / APOLOGia refellens suspiciões / quorundam dictitantium dialogũ / D. Iacobi Latomi de trib<sup>9</sup> linguis / & ratione studij Theologici / Cõscriptum fuisse aduer / sus ipsum. /// Cum gratia & Priuilegio — The colophon reads : Antuuerpiæ per Iohannem Theobal / dum ad insigne viri viridis. <sup>5</sup>)

He first declares that he wishes to contradict the rumour that Latomus should have written the *Dialogus* against him, although there are points in which they differ in opinion : indeed, his contradictors would have too ample a harvest of criticisms and calumnies, if they thought that all was meant for him. He then examines each of the various points referred

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, III, 955, *pr.*    <sup>2</sup>) *LatoDial.*, 47; *ErApol.*, 10.    <sup>3</sup>) *ErApol.*, 7.

<sup>4</sup>) An edition of 1519 is recorded in Iseghem, 297, S, 24, amongst the publications of Martens, but as Latomus' *Dialogus* is joined to it, it looks a reprint; moreover, the note of Lips is conclusive. It may be the *Apologiæ duæ nunquam antehac excusæ* (viz., this *Apologia*, that about Briart : cp. p 314, and Latomus' *Dialogus*), without printer's name or date, in *CatSél.*, 333-34. That bundle of, at the earliest, May 1519, was perhaps reprinted with Carinus' notes in Paris by H. Estienne for Conrad of Basle : *BibRefNe.*, III, 28. Of this *Apologia* there is a (correct) reprint by John Froben, Basle, May 1519 : *EraBib.*, I, 11.

<sup>5</sup>) In-4°; sign. A<sup>4</sup>-G<sup>4</sup>H<sup>6</sup> : A 1, v has a large imperial coat of arms with a crown; the text starts on A 2, r and ends on H 5, v; H 6, r is blank, H 6, v has 'Iehan Thybault's mark. Cp. *NijKron.*, II, 2850.

to in the *Dialogus*, providing 122 replies, which, compared with Latomus' remarks, leave hardly anything standing. With his sharp insight and his incisive, although seemingly equanimous, arguing, havoc is made not only of the quibbling first part <sup>1)</sup>, but especially of the more didactic second, in which Erasmus forgets Latomus all together, and breaks down the over-estimated authority of the *senex*. He does not require a good style as indispensable to good theology : yet a clearly expressed explanation is far more beneficent than a dark or ambiguous one. Languages are not indispensable for all parts of theology, but they are necessary for the study of Scripture. It is moreover far more advisable to judge for oneself of the meaning of words and of locutions, than to make use of one who knows the foreign languages, — at least as long as the hostility to languages has not quite suppressed those helpers <sup>2)</sup>. Erasmus represents the learning of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, not as a part of theology, but as a preparation, as a *progymnasma*, necessary to make able divines, like the apprenticeship makes able tradesmen <sup>3)</sup>. As to the dialectics and other disciplines, Erasmus points out that the *senex* seems to try and attract as many students as possible by praising the studies as they have been practised up to now as if they were the best, whereas he should rather try and find out which, after all, is the best method <sup>4)</sup>. Since Erasmus wants the theologian to study and to compare for himself the various Bible-texts, and to familiarize himself with the great authors, he requires a far greater mental

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus argues that in many cases the difference between his views and those of Latomus and the *senex* are only apparent, as he proves by referring to his *Methodus* ; he does not condemn the studies as they are carried on, but he wishes to better them : *ErApol.*, 2, by drawing all the attention to the great authors like Thomas, Bonaventura and others : *ErApol.*, 5, 6. He remarks on the tasteless answers by which Latomus replies to his contradictor : *ErApol.*, 7, 10, and expresses his disgust at the disgracing joke about the languages on the title of the Cross, which attains even St. Augustine, and he asks what the over-particular *senex* thinks of such an impertinent jest : *ErApol.*, 15-16. He shows that he is much more appreciative of scholastic theology, which he is far from finding fault with, although the divines try to expel professors of languages from the University : *ErApol.*, 24 ; cp. Allen, iv, 1002, 8-12.

<sup>2)</sup> *ErApol.*, 56-59.

<sup>3)</sup> *ErApol.*, 17, 34, 112.

<sup>4)</sup> *ErApol.*, 77.

effort, but can ensure, in consequence, as results, a deeper knowledge and a greater devotion than is produced by learning the glosses and comments of the Scholastics, and by the useless questions of the dialecticians, which simply waste many human lives <sup>1)</sup>. On that head he repeats what he stated in the *Methodus*, that theological studies should be arranged in such a way that they transform men into followers and imitators of Christ rather than prepare them for an endless wrestling about insoluble questions <sup>2)</sup>, or serve as a means to conquer an undeserved fame, — as one of his opponents was just then aiming at <sup>3)</sup>.

### C. ITS RESULT

No evidence has reached us about the impression caused by the appearance of the *Apologia*. As can be expected it was the object of contradictory comments : it will have encouraged all those who favoured the study of languages in Louvain, as it did those spread over the whole of Western Europe <sup>4)</sup>. It seems as if the *senex* himself was not at all badly disposed by it, for in May Erasmus wrote to Lips that the report about the *Apologia* he had heard, was untrue, and that it was even approved of by Briart, and was selling well <sup>5)</sup>. Latomus seems to have been offended only by the rumour mentioned in the final sentences of the *Apologia*, according to which his colleagues had had a share in composing the *Dialogus* <sup>6)</sup>. He denied it in a reply, *Apologia pro tribus Linguis*, which, far from inveighing against Erasmus, shows, in its turn, how little he differed from his views. That

<sup>1)</sup> *ErApol.*, 78, 79, &c, 96, 97 ; cp. for the inanity of the debates of the dialecticians, *MoreLuc.*, 373, *sq.*, and the letter of Valentine Tschudi to Zwingli : Lefranc, 60-63.

<sup>2)</sup> *ErApol.*, 120.

<sup>3)</sup> *ErApol.*, 120 : that was evidently meant for Edward Lee, who wanted to gain renown by opposing Erasmus on the instigation, it was thought, of some of the Louvain theologians.

<sup>4)</sup> On June 5, 1519, Hutten praises the *Apologia* : *id nobis magni lucri vice fuit* : Allen, III, 986, 27.

<sup>5)</sup> *De Apologia falsum est : imo probata est ab Atensi et venditur* ; Allen, III, 960, 6.

<sup>6)</sup> *ErApol.*, p II 5 v : <rumor> libellum non vnus esse Latomi, sed communi opera Theologorum esse conflatum ; cp. Allen, III, 934, 4-8, IV, 993, 32, 998, 47.

reply was occasioned by his wish to contradict his adversaries who accused him of being partial to corrupt practices and to tradition, and of being averse to every form of progress ; possibly it was written at a later date, and even may never have been printed in his lifetime. At any rate Erasmus, far from answering, never referred to it ; in fact, its existence might have been ignored if it had not been published by his nephew, also a James Latomus, in the posthumous edition of his complete works <sup>1</sup>). At the appearance of the *Apologia*, however, Latomus must have been most incensed ; he had no difficulty in rousing the faction of theologians opposed to Erasmus and to the *Collegium Trilingue*, and those who seconded the turbulent Lee. When Mosellanus, in his letter to Erasmus, mentioned the *Dialogus*, he seems to have been too favourably impressed with the calm and considerate way in which he had formulated his attack. It occasioned an outburst of indignation in Erasmus' letter of July 31, 1520 : In superioribus literis tuis videbare nonnihil blandiri Hephestio <sup>2</sup>). Sed is est vnus qui Noxum <Briart> instigauit, quique nunc est huius tragoediae caput, homo mire virulentus ac pertinax : tales esse solent qui emergunt e sterquilinio <sup>3</sup>). It

<sup>1</sup>) *Jacobi Latomi... Opera, quæ præcipue aduersus horum temporum hæreses... conscripsit... Quibus accesserunt ejusdem Auctoris alia quædam Opuscula nunquam hactenus typis excusa... : Lovanii, Barth. Gravius, 1550 : 169-171. Cp. Paquot, xiii, 57, 58-62.*

<sup>2</sup>) The name *Hephestion* which Erasmus gave to Latomus, is not a Grecized form of *Masson*, ἐφέστιος, *domesticus*, as de Jongh, 176, suggested : Allen, iv, 1123, 17, 1113, 12-14, but the diminutive of ἥραϊστος, the limping Vulcan ; indeed Latomus was lame (Allen, iv, 1088, 14, v, 1256, 24, vii, 1804, 210), and was moreover of small stature, so that Erasmus called him 'little Vulcan', *Hephestion* — which explains the initial H, and is far more appropriate than *Masson-domesticus*.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, iv, 1123, 16-19 : the last sentence alludes to the low family of Latomus, who was one of John Standonck's poor boys. In his letter to Thomas More, March 30, 1527, Erasmus charges Latomus with having excited Adrian of Utrecht against Reuchlin, and Dorp as well as Lee and Beda against himself ; he also led Briart : Harum omnium technarum artifex primarius est claudus ille Latomus... Ille effecit vt Adrianus taxaret libellum Capnionis, ille Dorpium instigabat in me. Nam et hunc et Atensem, nunc blandiens nunc minitans, non aliter quam bubalos trahebat naribus. He further mentions his belonging to Standonck's *Domus Pauperum*, like Beda : ex eodem nido <ac Beda> prodiit et hic infaustus pullus. Venit ad nos famelicus et pannosus, sed contraxit amplas opes, et sperat mitras : Allen, vii, 1804, 210-220.

explains the spiteful reference to his opponent in several letters of that period <sup>1)</sup>, during which the controversy was rendered most disagreeable to Erasmus by the rapidly embittering disposition of some theologians and of some members of the Orders, whose animosity impaired into maliciousness.

## 6. LANGUAGES AND HETERODOXY

### A. ERASMUS COUPLED WITH LUTHER

In one of the last sentences of his *Apologia*, Erasmus had expressed his apprehension that what had been said in the *Dialogus* about Luther and Mosellanus, Hutten or any other, might be applied to him <sup>2)</sup>. He seems to have been right in his presentiment, for opposition became more outspoken and more intense about Greek and the evils inherent to the study of languages <sup>3)</sup>, and instead of suspicion, assurance was pronounced about his connection with the Wittenberg revolter, whom the University of Louvain had been the first to suspect earnestly of heterodoxy : it is recorded that the Faculty of Theology sent to that of Cologne, on February 22, 1519, several extracts from Luther's writings, and requested their opinion. A Louvain professor, belonging to the Dominican Order, also applied to the Cologne divines, asking for their judgment about one of the innovator's books, which, as he thought, contained great errors. The Cologne Faculty censured Luther's doctrines on August 30 following, of which their

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus explained the controversy in his letter to Bishop John Fisher, April 2, 1519 : Allen, III, 936, 36-51 ; he also referred to it in several letters already mentioned : Allen, III, 934, 3, 948, 36-43, 952, 17-21, 970, 11-12.

<sup>2)</sup> *ErApol.*, p H 5, v : he edits, he writes, this *Apologia* for fear that the reader, noticing that some of Latomus' remarks apply to him, should think that all the rest also is intended for him : quæ fortasse in Luterum, aut Petrum Mosselanum, aut Huttenum, aut alium quompium distrinxit...

<sup>3)</sup> That the study of languages is reputed to be a necessary cause of heresy, is mentioned in several letters of the period, in which Erasmus relates the difficulties he experiences : thus in the letter to Duke Frederic of Saxony, April 14 (Allen, III, 939, 55-56), to Mosellanus, April 22 (*ibid.*, 948, 85-93), to Wolsey, May 18 (*ibid.*, 967, 69-70), to Banisius, May 21 (*ibid.*, 970, 4-10), to James van Hoogstraeten, Aug. 11 (Allen, IV, 1006, 333, sq), &c.

Louvain colleagues were at once informed. The *Condemnatio doctrinalis Lutheri* by the two Universities was issued in February 1520 <sup>1</sup>).

In their eagerness in censuring the pamphlets of the Wittenberg monk, some of the Louvain divines thought they saw some analogy in his opinions with those of Erasmus, so that in consequence their names were coupled together, first in private talks and interviews and, later on, even in public preachings <sup>2</sup>). It went so far that, soon after his return from Antwerp by the middle of April <sup>3</sup>), Erasmus felt it necessary to complain in a letter to his 'præceptor', a professor of divinity, — evidently Briart <sup>4</sup>), — that a Licentiate of Theology had slandered him in Louvain, in Mechlin and in Antwerp <sup>5</sup>), for which he requested him to interpose his authority, with Dorp's help. He formally declares that he does not want either to cause or to occasion any dissension <sup>6</sup>), and refers to his controversy with Latomus as being carried on *summa lenitate*,

<sup>1</sup>) *UntKöln*, 83; H. Keussen, *Protestantische Regungen an der [Kölner] Universität*, (in *Monatsheft für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte*, XXV), 1931 : 129-138.

<sup>2</sup>) Erasmus bitterly complains about those attacks, e. g., in his letters of April 24, to John Becker, and of May 21, to James Banisius : Allen, III, 952, 19-35, 970, 4, *sq.*

<sup>3</sup>) He was at Antwerp from April 2 until April 14 : Allen, III, 936, 939, 955, *pr.*; he was still in Louvain on April 1, and had returned there on April 17 : Allen, III, 934, 940. He saw his *Apologia* through the press during that stay : Allen, III, 955, *pr.*

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, III, 946 : the date is approximately April 22, and the addressee doubtlessly Briart, as Allen suggests.

<sup>5</sup>) That 'N. licentiat' was not Ruard Tapper, as Allen suggests : Allen, III, 946, 3, since he was very quiet, and certainly not eloquent, and only became Licentiate on June 3, 1519 : *BN*; *MonHL*, 197; but, most probably, the Carmelite John Robyns, who had obtained the degree of Licentiate on February 21, 1519 : John Briart had made an oration on his promotion (cp. before, *pp* 313-14), which suggests a certain connection between the master and the student; it explains why Erasmus applied to Briart in that instance, although he was not the Dean of the Faculty. As there were Carmelite Convents in Mechlin and Antwerp, it is natural that he should have preached there soon after his promotion; and his connection with his confrater Nicolas Baechem of Egmond, who was at the head of the Louvain Carmelites, abundantly explains his animosity against Erasmus : *MonHL*, 197-198.

<sup>6</sup>) *Dissidii causa nolim esse, cauebo pro virili ne sim occasio* : Allen, III, 946, 7.



without the least desire to give offense. He particularly insists on not being given out as a heretic, which some do, as will result from an interview which he requests <sup>1)</sup>. A letter of about the same date, April 22, to Mosellanus <sup>2)</sup> provides more particulars about that charge of heresy : referring to the enemies of humanism, Erasmus also mentions that there has been active lately a '*theologus*' in Louvain who had tried to make Luther's cause as odious as possible, calling him a heretic, an Antichrist, and a danger of Christian faith ; he also mixed with his cause that of languages and that of more refined literature, pronouncing them the sources from which heresies spring ; as if, Erasmus added, eloquence formerly belonged more to the heretics than to the orthodox, or as if lately the authors of heresy had not been quite like infants and tongueless people ; or as if Luther had been marshalled by polite literature, and not by scholastic writings or at least what they called scholastic at that time <sup>3)</sup>. That *theologus* was probably the Licenciatus about whom he complained to John Briart, and, as the past tense is used <sup>4)</sup>, it seems as if his letter had been successful and his detractor reduced to silence.

#### B. ERASMUS' LENIENCY TOWARDS LUTHER

The unpleasant treatment which Erasmus experienced from theologians on account of his zeal for study and research, without as much as a suspicion of a tendency towards reprobate opinions <sup>5)</sup>, must have profoundly influenced his judgment about Luther. The outcry against his 'confrater' in the Order of St. Augustine probably left him rather indifferent in the beginning, as he knew what extravagant attacks he had been exposed to himself and still had to contend against.

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<sup>1)</sup> Nullum conuicium non feram, etiam falsissimum, modo ne falso traducar hæreticus : quod a nonnullis fieri præsens doleo : Allen, III, 946, 12-14.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 948.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 948, 83-93 ; cp. also 939, 43-57.

<sup>4)</sup> 'Fuit et hic quidam eiusdem farinæ theologus' : Allen, III, 948, 83.

<sup>5)</sup> To John Briart he wrote in April 1519 : Me mea conscientia non remordet, quod scriptis meis vsquam offecerim Christianæ pietati... Christum mihi iratum imprecor, si quid affecto quod Christo displicere sciam : Allen, III, 946, 6-12.

Moreover Luther's opposition had started on account of a corrupt practice, to which the secular antipathy amongst rival Orders had added much animosity, which had even led many people to believe that the whole affair was merely a quarrel amongst monks of different denominations <sup>1)</sup>. As Luther raised his voice against corrupt practices, he could not but be welcome to a man like Erasmus, to whom the reform of the Church had since long become the chief aim of his efforts and of his life. To be true, there were errors in his doctrine ; yet they found a ready excuse, first in the absence of clear definitions on the subject by the Church, and further in the eagerness of the controversy, which soon turned into bitterness as the opponents were ill-advised enough to doom at once as heresy what had been imprudently advanced in the heat of the debate <sup>2)</sup>, without trying persuasion or without waiting for the more judicious sentence of the Church. No wonder that Erasmus felt some sympathy with Luther <sup>3)</sup>, although keeping aloof from his cause, and even ignoring his tenet, as he purposely abstained from studying his writings <sup>4)</sup>. He found that, at Margaret's Court, some conspicuous men did not side with the monks and the theologians in the growing controversy <sup>5)</sup>, which was not surprising since Luther purposely abstained from all hostile expressions against spiritual and civil authorities <sup>6)</sup>, and since he, moreover, readily acknowledged the 'levitas' and 'præceps temeritas' of his fateful theses <sup>7)</sup>, as well as the over-excitability and wildness of his own character <sup>8)</sup>.

On that account it remained for a long time an undecided

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<sup>1)</sup> Mourret, 307.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 939, 51-57, 81-83, 103-128 ; 967, 91-103.

<sup>3)</sup> Mourret, 319.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 967, 79-89, 947, 34, 980, 17, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> In his letter to Luther, Louvain, May 30, 1519, Erasmus wrote : 'Theologi sunt hic aulicis inuisi', and he even added that, amongst others, Erard de la Marck, Prince-Bishop of Liège, favoured him : Sunt et hic, quorum est Episcopus Leodiensis, qui tuis fauent. Afterwards he left out the name, and tried to give the impression as if he had not mentioned it : Allen, III, 980, 27, 36-7. He probably had learned that piece of news on his recent visits to Court : cp. before, pp 322, 324, 338, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Grisar, I, 341.

<sup>7)</sup> Letter to J. Lang, November 11, 1517 : Enders, I, 124.

<sup>8)</sup> Enders, II, 329 ; Grisar, I, 340.

question in the eyes of many amongst the most noble and erudite contemporaries whether Luther was a right man or not; and numerous adherents were gained to him amongst the well-meaning <sup>1)</sup>, who did not all of them find their way back after the real aim of the new movement had become clear <sup>2)</sup>. Especially the humanists hailed his energetic outspokenness, not merely as it helped them in their struggle against prejudice and evil practices, but as it seemed to proclaim their ideal, the liberty of the intelligence, and to promote the light of noble and humane culture against the darkness of a still prevailing tyrannical barbarism. It was not long, however, before they saw that they had been totally mistaken, and that Luther proved a most bitter adversary of the rights of free intelligence and of humanism on account of his conception of faith <sup>3)</sup>. In the beginning, however, he did his best to hide the abyss that separated them, eager as he was to secure the services, or at least the sympathy, of any man who could as well harm his cause by squibs or epigrams as assist it powerfully by gaining for him the intellectual and distinguished part of the nation <sup>4)</sup>. No wonder that Luther sought to secure the favour of the greatest and most influential amongst them, Erasmus <sup>5)</sup>; on March 28, he wrote to him a

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<sup>1)</sup> Amongst those who favoured Luther in the beginning, but abandoned him afterwards, were men like Crotus Rubianus, Bilibald Pirckheimer, Henry Glareanus, Beatus Rhenanus, Christopher Scheurl, George Wicelius, and, if one can rely on John Froben's statement of February 14, 1519 (Enders, I, 421), even Christopher von Utenheim, Bishop of Basle, and Cardinal Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sion, later on Papal Legate. Cp. Köstlin, II, 321, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Grisar, I, 341.

<sup>3)</sup> Grisar, I, 331; from the very first Luther felt a dislike for Erasmus, whose erudition, however, he admired; on March 1, 1517, he wrote to John Lang that the more he read of him, the less he liked him: Enders, I, 88, and although he praised him for his clever and learned writings, which he esteemed as high as St. Jerome's, he found him lacking in theology, and even in Christian sense and piety: letters to Spalatinus, Nov. 1517, Jan. 18, 1518: Enders, I, 121, 141, *sq.*; Meyer, 15-20.

<sup>4)</sup> He had soon secured the friendship of Conrad Mut, Mutianus and Crotus Rubianus, who afterwards left him, as well as of Eobanus Hessus and Ulrich von Hutten. He also bound to his party very promising young men, like Philip Melancthon and Justus Jonas: Grisar, I, 331.

<sup>5)</sup> Grisar, I, 331; Mourret, 306; Allen, III, 910, 22-23: letter of Philip Melancthon to Erasmus, Jan. 5, 1519; Meyer, 13-24.

most humble and submissive letter <sup>1)</sup>, which refers to their common friends Capito, Melanchthon and Carlstadt, as well as to what he considers an allusion to his 'nugas indulgentiarum' in the preface to the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, dated August 14, 1518 <sup>2)</sup>. The repeated praise and the most flattering remarks in the missive were evidently calculated to coax the father of Humanism on this side the Alps into a friendly or at least a neutral position, which should be most helpful to him in the policy of temporizing which he had found so successful against Cardinal Cajetan <sup>3)</sup>. That courtly application for benevolence from the man who was daring Church and State, was followed a few days later by an insidious letter from Wolfgang Capito, April 8, 1519 <sup>4)</sup>, beseeching him not to oppose Luther <sup>5)</sup> and promising him the allegiance of Germany and Saxony <sup>6)</sup>, — which cannot but have flattered Erasmus' pride. Still his opinion was probably made up before those messages reached him : for on April 14, he had written a letter to Duke Frederic of Saxony <sup>7)</sup> to dedicate to him an edition of Suetonius' *Cæsarum Vitæ* <sup>8)</sup> : he dwells on the wild attacks on the *bonæ litteræ*, and he blames those who consider the latter as the causes of heresy ; Luther is pitilessly assaulted and doomed as heretic, whereas it would be more Christianlike to bring him to the right opinion, and even to protect him against all untimely con-

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 933 ; Meyer, 2, 3, 19, 20.

<sup>2)</sup> Dedication to P. Volz : Allen, III, 858, 405, sq ; cp. for theories about corrupt practices, the following passages of the same letter : 87-89, 203-205, 330, sq, 415, sq, 443, sq, 489-515.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Mourret, 307-312 ; Allen, IV, 1033, 48, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 938.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 938, 5 : Curato Louanium ne obsit.

<sup>6)</sup> He adds that Saxony comprises the powerful Duke Frederic, Luther's patron, the flourishing Wittenberg University, and many powerful men. He finishes by declaring : Omnes præstat infestos habere theologos quam illius <Lutheri> propugnatores : sunt enim principes aliqui, cardinales, episcopi, et clarissimi quique ecclesiasticorum, quibus cordi est negotium : Allen, III, 938, 5-13.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 939 : the German letter printed underneath is dated 'Montag in der Crewtzwochen', Monday of Rogation week, May 30 ; it is the translation, not of Ep. 939, but of Ep. 979 of May 30, to the same Duke, replying to Ep. 963.

<sup>8)</sup> *EraBib.*, II, 52.

demnations, as Saint Augustine in his time protected some Donatists. He ends by recommending to Frederic the use of justice and prudence in Luther's case, preventing him from being sentenced rashly and without due consideration ; and he adds that he writes all this the more freely since he feels quite unbiassed in the matter.

That strange anxiety about Luther's fate does not imply any partiality, but is quite in accordance with Erasmus' character : he was tolerant, and he hated prejudice ; he wanted the rights of reason to be more effective than the compulsion of force ; he knew, moreover, the ruthless disposition of a great number of the monks, and he may have dreaded that their victory in this instance might have had some pernicious effects on himself and on humanism <sup>1)</sup>.

#### C. ESSENTIAL OPPOSITION BETWEEN ERASMUS AND LUTHER

At any rate Erasmus was far from letting the Wittenberg Monk or his friends in the belief that he belonged to their group <sup>2)</sup> : on April 22, writing to Melanchthon, he refers to Luther as to a complete stranger, adding that although his advice is sometimes right, it is given with more outspokenness than judgment <sup>3)</sup>. About the same time Erasmus dissuaded Froben from printing any of Luther's writings <sup>4)</sup> ; to John Lang he imparted the fear that Luther, instead of preaching Christ, was only fighting the pseudo-Christians, and would soon turn the movement into a faction or a schism <sup>5)</sup>. And in his answer to the Wittenberg professor himself <sup>6)</sup>, he took the tone of a master rather than that of a friend. For although

<sup>1)</sup> Meyer, 22, 23, 30, &c ; cp. Allen, iv, 1033, 46-68.

<sup>2)</sup> Meyer, 19, 24.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iii, 947, 33-35 : *Quædam admonuit recte, sed vtinam tam feliciter quam libere !*

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., between February 14 and May 18 : letter of John Froben to Luther, Febr. 14, 1519 : Enders, i, 420, *sq* ; letter to Wolsey, May 18, 1519 : Allen, iii, 967, 95-99, 904, 19, iv, 1033, 46-47 ; Meyer, 33.

<sup>5)</sup> May 30, 1519 : Allen, iii, 983, 8-12 : *Lutheri... prudentia non dubito quin cautura sit ne res exeat in factionem ac dissidium. Siquidem huc potius annitendum arbitror, vt instillemus Christum hominum mentibus, quam vt cum personatis Christianis digladiemur.*

<sup>6)</sup> May 30, 1519 : Allen, iii, 980.

he dwells on the outcry of theologians against his correspondent's books <sup>1)</sup>, which, however, find favour with some conspicuous men <sup>2)</sup>, he declares that, in his opinion, Luther should do more good by modesty than by impetuosity; and that it would be more profitable to attack those who make a bad use of pontifical and princely authority, than the states of popes and princes themselves; that Universities should not be scorned, but brought back to sober studies; that it would be better not merely to assert that some practices generally received should be abandoned, but to prove it by good and efficacious arguments; that all arrogance and sedition, all resentment and hatred, and all pride should be banished from talk and action, so as to be more in agreement with the spirit of Christ <sup>3)</sup>. He thus at once points to the abyss that divides them, for, as time went on, it became clearer and clearer that Luther did not aim any longer at an internal reform of the Church <sup>4)</sup>; instead of recognizing the echo of his own complaints about decadent Christianity, and feeling an unmixed satisfaction at the Wittenberg criticisms of abuses and perverted customs, Erasmus experienced the bitter disappointment of seeing how his life's aim was taken out of his hands, and ruthlessly ruined by substituting sedition and revolt to study, to amending and to self-improvement <sup>5)</sup>. The chasm that divided them did not escape Luther, but he saw it from another angle: *humana praevalent in eo plus quam divina*, he said of Erasmus <sup>6)</sup>, meaning that he was too much engrossed in fame and honour and in the pleasures of life to devote himself entirely to the cause of God. Still his judgment

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 3-27.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 36-37.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 37-51, IV, 1033, 50-55; Meyer, 27-29. — No end of trouble was caused to Erasmus when the letter to Luther, May 30, 1519, was brought into circulation: Allen, IV, 1033, 24-26. As to Luther himself, he understood very well that Erasmus did not want any connection: on January 26, 1520, he wrote to John Lang about the Humanist: although pretending *de me multum sollicitus*, ubi me egregie tutatur, ita tamen ut nihil minus quam me tutari videatur, sicut solet pro dexteritate sua: Enders, II, 305.

<sup>4)</sup> Mourret, 307; Meyer, 31-32.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 933, *pr.*

<sup>6)</sup> Letter of Luther to John Lang, March 1, 1517: Enders, I, 88, 26-27.

about Erasmus was right, but in a sense that he certainly had no suspicion of : the Humanist wanted to advance knowledge and realize perfection by means of human intelligence and zealous will to merit God's help and deserve His satisfaction ; whereas Luther, spurning both intellectual work and any effort towards self-improvement, believed in abandoning oneself in powerless resignation to a fatalism with a religious veneer.

It appears that Erasmus' real feelings about Luther had become known in Louvain — probably through his confidential talks with several of the leading men, like Dorp, Briart and Rosemond<sup>1)</sup>, and sympathy was not withheld, the more so as Luther's affair, although quite different from the *Collegium Trilingue*, had a pernicious influence on it <sup>2)</sup> ; and it did not last very long before the Humanist was brought to criticize most vehemently the Wittenberg Monk and his opinions for the sake of literary studies <sup>3)</sup>.

#### D. PERIOD OF QUIET

At any rate after some weeks of ceaseless difficulties, which were the more incomprehensible as they were caused by those men who, in former centuries, used to be the guardians of literature <sup>4)</sup> : difficulties, inspired by an hostility the more

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<sup>1)</sup> Godschalk Rosemond<sup>t</sup>, a professor of divinity, showed sympathy to Erasmus on several occasions : *Cran.*, 213, d-f. On December 10, 1526, Goclenius, announcing his death, on Dec. 5, adds : *amantissimus dicitur fuisse pacis, aut si quid aliquando secus designarit in proscenio, id ferunt egisse alieno impulsu*. He points it out as 'memorable et nequaquam exempli theologici' that he left his property to the poor and to scholarships : *Allen*, vi, 1768, 46-55, 1732, 40-41, 1765, 62-63.

<sup>2)</sup> The hatred of Luther and the preachings against his doctrines and his adepts, were causing great harm to the study of languages and to the College where they were taught, as languages and heresy were represented as being akin, or leading one to another : cp. *Allen*, iii, 939, 55-65, 947, 13-19, 952, 17, 967, 69-70, 966, 6-14.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus owned to Wolsey, May 15, 1519 : *aduersus Lutherum aliquando fuimus iniquiores, ne quid inuidiae recideret in bonas literas, quas nolebam amplius onerari* : *Allen*, iii, 967, 92-93.

<sup>4)</sup> *Allen*, iii, 966, 15, sq. 952, 31, sq.

painful for being sullen, and hidden <sup>1)</sup>, and rash, so as even to couple his name with Luther and his writings <sup>2)</sup>, Erasmus felt a decided calm come on, and he had pleasure, in the latter half of May, in informing some of his friends that the theologians were growing milder and coming to their senses : *theologi mitescunt, imo resipiscunt* <sup>3)</sup>.

When in after years Erasmus referred to the beginnings of the Institute which hardly seemed able to live on account of the general and obstinate ill feeling, he recalled the advice he gave to the professors to lessen and vanquish that opposition, which in a way was caused by the dread that the new studies would harm the rich old income. He therefore had enjoined them not to mention at all any of the masters and teachers of other branches in their lectures and talks, but to act so that by their consideration and their affable manners, as well as by their zeal, they should both attract the youths and grieve the irreconcilable opponents : for, he said, no manner of revenge is finer, nor more efficient. It was a great satisfaction to him that the advice was followed most carefully, and that after a few months' experience, it proved most fortunate and profitable <sup>4)</sup>. It certainly helped the College in its steady growth and in its development, which must have consoled the great Humanist in his dark hours. He certainly felt a right pride when he could mention in his letters the

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 970, 4-7, 967, 65-67.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus was soon suspected of helping Luther in his works : cp. Ch. V, 4 ; Allen, III, 967, 82, 980, 4, *sq.*, IV, 993, 45-48. At that time he was also held responsible by some for More's *Utopia*, Fisher's *De Vnica Magdalena*, Hutten's *Nemo* and *Febris*, Mosellanus' *Oratio*, also *Julius Exclusus* ; as, later on, Henry VIII.'s *Assertio* was often ascribed to him : Allen, III, 967, 68-69, 135-181 ; *Cran*, 9, 17, 14, 75.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter to Albert of Brandenburg, May 20, 1519 : *sycophantæ... mitescunt, incipiuntque suam stulticiam agnoscere* ; to Antony de Berghes, May 20, 1519 : *Mitescunt tamen et hi paulatim, velut ex grauissima febre resipiscentes* ; to Giles de Busleyden <c. May 21, 1519> : *Theologi mitescunt, imo resipiscunt* ; to James Banisius, May 21 : <theologi> *resipiscunt* ; to John Lang, May 30 : *Papistæ... sunt aliquanto mitiores, speroque futurum vt illos aliquando suæ pudeat insanix* : Allen, III, 968, 18, 969, 13, 970, 9-10, 971, 9, 983, 7, IV, 993, 47, 1002, 39.

<sup>4)</sup> Letter of March 13, 1531, to James Toussaint, *Tusanus* : Allen, IX, 2449, 10-18.



prosperous studies of the *Tres Linguae* <sup>1)</sup>, and most agreeable must have been to him the records of praise of his Institution, such as that in Mosellanus' *Oratio*, mentioning : *unicum illud πολύγλωττον Theologiæ decus Erasmus Roterodamum... Academiam suam Louaniensem trium linguarum doctoribus magnifice <instructam, adornatamque>* <sup>2)</sup>; or that in the *Pædologia*, in the *Dialogus xxxvii*, about the best Universities: *Super omnes vero trium linguarum professione floret Lovanium, schola vel hoc nomine omnium felicissima, quod magnum illum et sapientiæ et eloquentiæ principem habet Erasmus* <sup>3)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> E. g., the letter to Duke Frederic of Saxony, April 14, 1519 : Allen, III, 939, 55.

<sup>2)</sup> Mos*Oratio*, E 3, v : maybe the Greek word is πολυγλώττου.

<sup>3)</sup> Augmented edition of 1520 : Mos*Pædol.*, 48.

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## CHAPTER V

# ORGANIZATION AND ADMISSION

## 1. ORGANIC ARRANGEMENTS

### A. APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENT

The three lectures had been given most regularly whilst the controversy about the teaching of languages was engrossing the care and attention of several of the Louvain *cives academici*, and whilst Busleyden's executors were constantly at work in order to realize an autonomous establishment in accordance with the decision taken on August 26, 1518 <sup>1)</sup>).

The first requirement for the new College to be founded and equipped, was the appointment of an able president, endowed with experience and authority. It was hardly possible to find anybody more convenient than John Stercke, of Meerbeke, the very man to whose cooperation Busleyden had intended entrusting his new Institute <sup>2)</sup>). He at once took in hand the interests of the new College, although staying, at least for the time being, at St. Donatian's <sup>3)</sup>). He thus helped the executors in their search for convenient premises and he journeyed, one day, to Mechlin with his servant to announce that he had found a suitable building, a house situated in Mint Street, opposite the 'Star', in the centre of the town <sup>4)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 292-93.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 14, sq, 286, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Stercke probably resigned the presidency of St. Donatian's after he took up his residence in the *Collegium Trilingue* on October 18, 1520 : cp. Ch. VIII ; at any rate in 1521 John Paludanus had once more taken the direction of Haneron's College : *ActArtInd.*, 21 ; cp. before, pp 287, 289.

<sup>4)</sup> The house called *Star*, 'Sterre', formed the corner of Mint Street and what used to be called Oak Street, now Bookshop Street, near the Town Hall and St. Peter's apse : 'Mansio dicta Sterre, Arnoldi dicti de Rode, sita in Monetestrata, in angulo vici tendens versus atrium Sancti

A few days afterwards he sent his servant again to Mechlin with the message that he had bought the house conditionally, depending, namely, on the approval of the executors <sup>1)</sup>. The latter probably had viewed that house on their visit to Louvain, February 22-24, 1519 <sup>2)</sup>: yet they were not satisfied, and the bargain was not concluded.

## B. PURCHASE OF SITE

The site chosen by Stercke cannot have been very extensive, judging by its situation, and was probably not accepted on that account. Meanwhile enquiries were continued, and the help was used of a professional man <sup>3)</sup>, until finally it was decided to purchase the estate of Walter de Leeuwe, of Beek, of which part had been used for the Hebrew lectures <sup>4)</sup>. That

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Petri Lovaniensis, ab illa parte versus Sanctum Mychaelem. — Ad mansionem dictam *Sterre*, sitam in Monetastrata, supra conum vici dicti *Eyckstrate* (*LouvArch.*, *Chartrier du St. Esprit*, 1480 : 7706 : deed of Dec. 2, 1392, in 2<sub>a</sub>); — een huys ... in de Muntstrate, regenoten de oude Sint Joris ende Sevenbergen (*FUL*, 4511 : deed of June 2, 1545). On the other corner of those streets was the hostel called *Lamb*, 't*Lam*, which now is an outhouse of the Town Hall : *In ... Muntstrate* : Joannes de Vertrike de domo dicta *de Sterre* sita supra angulum quo itur versus cymeterium, in opposito Hospitii dicti *in't Lam* : *BelgArch.*, *Registre censal de St. Pierre*, 1430 ; *LouvEven*, 234-5, 259. Consequently the house chosen by John Stercke was on the opposite side, next to, or very near the hostel *The Three Kings*, *De Dry Coninghen*, — now the bookshop and office of the publisher of this volume, of whose present premises it may have become part.

<sup>1)</sup> Jtem mr. Jan van meerbeke met zynen knecht gecomen van loeuen te mechelen bijden testamentuers ende aenbrengende eenen coop van eenen huise totten collegien staende tegenouer de sterre achter der stadt huys...Jtem dair na voer zijns knechts kosten anderwerf gesonden te mechelen jntimeerende dat hij thuys gecocht hadde op conditie : *Rek.*, 38, v.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 315-16.

<sup>3)</sup> Jtem gegeuen eenen geheeten fasot om te vernemen nae een goet huys te loeuen voer tcollegie dairaf te maken. : *Rek.*, 39, r.

<sup>4)</sup> The house of 'de Beka', which was empty, had been let to Busleyden's executors for one year from February 2, 1518; the Hebrew professor stayed in it about six weeks longer, — till about March 15, 1519; the executors were advised that the house had to be free, which made them come to Louvain on February 22, so as to look for another; they then hired that of the Dean of Zierikzee : *Rek.*, 89, v, sq; 90, v; cp. before, pp 251, 253, 314, sq.

estate consisted of a house situated on Fishmarket, between the house called '*de Roose*' on one side, and on the other, two houses which formerly were joined to it, and which then separated it from '*de Handt*' <sup>1)</sup>. The property <sup>2)</sup> comprehended a large garden extending very far into the block formed by the Fishmarket and three adjacent streets; it had a wide strip connecting it with Ship Street, now Mechlin Street, between '*de Goudbloem*' (Marigold) and '*de Waghe*' (Scales): later on, when the chief building of the College, was erected in that large open space, at a certain distance from Fishmarket, the principal entrance was made in the, much nearer, Ship Street <sup>3)</sup>. There was a third issue, in Shrine Street <sup>4)</sup>, with a house, no doubt the one which had been used for the Hebrew lecture; a fourth opened on to the Augustines Street, *Augustynenstraat* <sup>5)</sup>. That estate, which is supposed to have been the property of the van der Calsteren lineage, '*de Calstris*' <sup>6)</sup>, belonged in the xv<sup>th</sup> century to the noble family de Roman-sonibus <sup>7)</sup>, and, after having been cut up amongst several heirs, it was acquired by various purchases, by Nicolas Scribaens, for two thirds, and by John Oliviers, for one

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<sup>1)</sup> *Inv.*, 3, r : deed of Oct. 5, 1480 : eenen huysse ende ... noch twee huysen daer vast aen comende staende opde vismerct tusschen die goeden van Augustynen jnpens geheeten die Roose ende Reyniers van den putte geheeten die handt / hem achterwaerts streckende metten houe &c. — The two houses next to the *Handt* were sold by Nicolas Scribaens to 'Henrick vander Stoct ende Jacop christiaens' on May 30, 1485 : *Inv.*, 4, v.

<sup>2)</sup> A sketch of the site, based on the town survey, is given, for the plan of the building of the College, in Ch. VIII.

<sup>3)</sup> *Inv.*, 3, r : [eenen huysse] ... metten houe ende wuytganghe... Jnde scepstrate wuytcomende tusschen die erfuen van Peeteren die naen / Jans van butselle ende het huys geheeten die waghe..., cp. *LouvEven*, 589.

<sup>4)</sup> *Inv.*, 3, r : [eenen huysse] ... metten houe ende wuijtganghe jnde scrijnstrate ... — Jtem noch ... eenen huysse ende houe met zijne toebehoirten staende jnde scrijnstrate tusschen die goeden meester Gielis van heyne ende Jacobs de muysene... : the latter item is marked out in the margin by those words : *van den ouden huysse jn de scrijnstrate*.

<sup>5)</sup> *Inv.*, 3, r : [eenen huysse] ... met noch eenen wuytganck comende jnt Augustynstrate.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *LouvTrib.*, 19; *DivRer.*, 43, sq; *ULDoc.*, III, 143.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. *Inv.*, 3, r.

third <sup>1)</sup>, being finally once more united in the hands of Walter de Leeuwe, of Beek, professor of Civil Law <sup>2)</sup>, who successively bought parts in September 10 and December 12, 1500 <sup>3)</sup>, adding to them a house in Shrine Street on May 8, 1504 <sup>4)</sup>. He probably let that 'old house' in Shrine Street, as the records call it — the one used by Matthew Adrianus <sup>5)</sup>, —

<sup>1)</sup> Nicolas Scribaens purchased one third of the estate from Obertus Lardominis, acting for 'Jouffrouwe Amadee <de Romansonibus> ende meer andere' : Oct. 5, 1481 ; one twelfth from James Philip de Romansonibus and Magdalen van Blengerijs and others : March 7, 1484 ; one sixth from Simon and Bernard de Lavalles and Paul de Arribaldis : Nov. 4, 1481 ; one twelfth from Johanna de Romansonibus : May 2, 1485 ; — the remaining third belonged to John Oliviers, who had got it as his share in a division : *Inv.*, 3, r-5, v. Nicolas Scribaens had been a steward to Lady Amedee de Romansonibus (*Inv.*, 8, r).

<sup>2)</sup> Walter de Leeuwe, called *de Beka* from his birthplace Beek, near Aarle, in the vicinity of Helmond, who matriculated on Sept. 19, 1469 : 'Walterus de beeca leod. dioc. in art.' : *LibIntII*, 74, r, first taught in the Castle, of which he was *regens* or *co-regens* about 1495. He officiated as University Dictator, or secretary, from Febr. 28, 1486 to Dec. 22, 1494. Being licentiate in Laws, he had lectured before January 1494, when he became ordinary professor ; and on June 10, 1502, he succeeded to Peter de Thenis as primary professor of Civil Law. He became *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* on Oct. 9, 1498, and was elected University Rector in Febr. 1495, Aug. 1501 and Febr. 1509. He married Luitgardis, daughter of Gerard van Berckel, or Barckel, and died in Brussels on March 17, 1517. He was buried in the chapel of the Convent of the Beghards, in Castle Street, Louvain. By his will of Jan. 3-Febr. 28, 1517, he founded two scholarships in the Castle, and two in St. Yves' College : *Mol.*, 542, 630, 633 ; *VAnd.*, 40-1, 50, 64, 155-6, 178-180, 182, 254, 297 ; *ExTest.*, 209, 211 ; *FUL*, 953, 1933 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 275, 280-1, &c ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 260-62, 313, iv, 9-10 ; *Cran.*, xxxv-xxxix, 1, b, 30, a, 123, a.

<sup>3)</sup> On Sept. 10, 1500, Walter de Beka bought one third of 'eender geheelen woeninge met zynen toebehoirten achter ende vore gelijck het selue gelegen es opde vismerct' &c, from John Oliviers, and on December 12, 1500, the remaining two thirds from Nicolas Scribaens : *Inv.*, 4, r, v.

<sup>4)</sup> On Aug. 31, 1499, a seizure, 'beleyt', was taken on 'een huijs staende jnde scrijnstrate tusschen derfue van meester gielis heyme ende heeren jannen custodis' ; it was sold, under certain conditions, on May 8, 1504 to Walter de Beka by Cornelius Nicolai, who had been empowered to that sale : *Inv.*, 4, r.

<sup>5)</sup> The house of 'de Beka', in which Adrianus lived and lectured, cannot have been the large house, of which the entry was on Fish-market, as it is stated that the house of the Dean of Zierikzee, to which he removed in March 1519, was larger, so that more forms had to be provided : *Rek.*, 90, v ; cp. before, p 253.

since he had erected or arranged a wider and more comfortable 'new' mansion in the property which he bought from Scribaens.

As the premises were large, they apparently seemed most convenient for the new Institute : negotiations were soon taken up between Busleyden's executors and those of de Beka <sup>1)</sup>, Cornelius Sculteti, or *Braxatoris*, of Weert, *Regens* of the Pedagogy of the Castle <sup>2)</sup>, and a relative of de Beka's widow, John van Berckel ; they did not last long, and on April 16, 1519, Bartholomew van Vessem purchased both the mansion and the old house in Shrine Street for twelve hundred and ninety-six pounds <sup>3)</sup> in the name of the executors <sup>4)</sup>. The

<sup>1)</sup> Walter de Leeuwe's will authorized his executors to dispose of his large house and other property in order to execute the various legacies : FUL, 1933 ; *Inv.*, 5, v.

<sup>2)</sup> Cornelius Schoutens, *Sculteti*, or Brouwers, *Braxatoris*, of Weert, Gelderland, was the first of the promotion of M. A. of 1493 ; he taught logic and physics in the Castle and became Lic. S. Theol. ; having been *co-regens*, at least since 1512, with Antony Willems of Poortvliet, he succeeded him as *Regens* of the Castle in 1514, which post he filled until his decease, March 30, 1539, with the help of *co-regentes* ; on June 16, 1520, he was appointed public professor of ethics : *AcArExc.*, 61-62 ; about October 1535, he is allowed to take a substitute for that lecture as he suffered from dizziness : *ActArtInd.*, 32. He was elected University Rector in August 1517 and Dean of the Faculty of Arts on Febr. 1, 1531 ; he enjoyed a prebend in St. Peter's since 1520, and one in St. Donatian's, Bruges, since 1525 ; and for some time he had managed the College of St. Jerome on the Leye, as results from a record of 1522. He founded two scholarships in his pedagogy the Castle by his will of Sept. 15, 1531 : VAnd., 41, 246, 252, 254 ; FUL, 958, 727 : extracts of the *Acta* of 1512, 1516 & 1520 ; *LibNomI*, 83, 87, &c ; de Jongh, \*24 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 263, iv, 10-11, v, 98 ; *BrugSDon.*, 154 ; *Cran.*, 141, d, f ; *ULPromRs.*, 63 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 304.

<sup>3)</sup> Jtem eenen scepenen brief der stadt van Louen. waermede heer ende meester Cornelius de weerdt licen. ende Jan van berckel als executeurs vanden testamente wijlen Heeren ende Meester Wouters van beka doctoir / ouergegoet hebben die heele wooninghe desselfs meester Wouters met zijnen houe wuytgangen ende oick metten ouden woonhuyse staende jn die scrijnstrate / gelijk de selue meester Wouter dat beseten ende vercregen heeft gehadt / heere ende meester Bartholomeus de vessem canonick van Arien / vander daten xv C achtien aprilis xvja / geteekent halvermijlen : *Inv.*, 5, v. — Jtem gecocht te loeven. een huys byder vischmerct dat toe te behoiren plach wijlen Mr. Wouteren vander beken om dairaf te makene het collegie naden vutersten wille des testatuers dair voer men betaelt heeft boven alle comme. dairop staende eens xij C xcvi £ : *Rek.*, 32, r.

<sup>4)</sup> Jtem ende voer de costen vanden ij executuers die van bruessel om

legal formalities were soon fulfilled and the accidental charges were settled <sup>1)</sup>, so as to allow of the arranging and rebuilding of the house into a College. That work was entrusted to the direction of the master builder Aerdt, or Arnold, de Wreede, or de Wree <sup>2)</sup>, who had long been working for Jerome de Busleyden <sup>3)</sup>, and had erected for him the magnificent mansion in St. John Street, Mechlin <sup>4)</sup>, which is accounted as one of the finest specimens of the architecture of early Belgian Renaissance <sup>5)</sup>.

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dit huys te coopen. reysden te wagene. na loeuen : *Rek.*, 32, r. — The account mentions a messenger sent to Brussels to Giles de Busleyden and Nicolas de Nispen to invite them to Mechlin; and also one to Antwerp, with a letter to Adrian Josel, on the occasion of the purchase of the estate : *Rek.*, 40, r.

<sup>1)</sup> The accounts mention various taxes and charges : 'tpontgelt' or 'xxen penninck', 'goidspenninck', 'lijfkoop', a voluntary tax offered to the statue of Our Lady of Louvain, the *Sedes Sapientiae*, as was *castumelyck* (customary) there, besides the fees paid to the town-secretary Arnold van der Halvermijlen for the various deeds : *Rek.*, 32, r-34, r. — An annual rent payable to the Convent of the 'Wittevrouwen' or 'Dames Blanches', and another to St. Peter's Chapter, with which the property had been burdened by Nicolas Scribaens, were bought off by the College on December 22, 1540 and on October 25, 1564 : *Inv.*, 7, r, 8, r.

<sup>2)</sup> He was a Mechlin mason, about whom very little seems to be known : *Rek.*, 51, v : Jn den jersten soe js besteet geweest aen mr. aerdt de wreede metser van mechelen te metsene de groote sale om de schole te zijn. ende capelle &c (cp. *Rek.*, 40, r, 83, v). He was evidently not literarily educated, as he signed the receipt of the amount due for his work in the College by a mark which was authenticated by the Louvain town clerk Arnold van der Halvermijlen, October 6, 1520 : *Rek.*, 102, r. — A 'Judocus Wrede, filius georgii de reyeren' matriculated in Louvain on July 7, 1540 : *LibIntIV*, 133, v.

<sup>3)</sup> Item jnden jersten aerdt de wreede metser van een duer voer aende sale toe te metsene by ordinantie vanden testatr als hy Reysde na spaignien : *Rek.*, 45, r. — Item betaelt aert de wreede van eenen grooten platten sercke van xj voeten lanck geleet opte plaetse vander sepulturen des testateurs : *Rek.*, 95, r.

<sup>4)</sup> Item arnt de wreede metsser hem beclagende van vele diensten ende Reyssen by hem wylen den testatuer gedaen ten tijde dat thuyss getymmert was dairaf de testatr hem niet geloent en heeft soe hy seyde ende voer dien dienst hem eenen goeden tabbaert toegeseet hadde jn zijnen levne ende dair van hij oick niet betaelt en es. gegeuen by gemeynen ouerdraghe ende oick bij aduijs vanden deeken want van zijne diuerse diensten ende Reyssen genoegh gebleken es. x £ art. : *Rek.*, 28, r.

<sup>5)</sup> *MalGod.*, 340-345 ; *Busl.*, 50-51.

## 2. REQUEST FOR ADOPTION

### A. PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT

While the material College was going to be started by the adaptation of de Beka's house to the new purpose, and by the erecting of the necessary buildings, the very acceptance of the Institute by the University had to be granted yet, and the question of the approval of the appointed professors, mentioned by the Rector John Stephani at the meeting of March 7, at which Alard's lecturing was prohibited, was still to be discussed with the executors of the late Provost of Aire <sup>1)</sup>. After some negotiations a meeting was held on July 12 in the lower Chapter Room of St. Peter's <sup>2)</sup>, at which were present besides the University Rector John Stephani, of Nivelles <sup>3)</sup>, and the Deputies of the Faculties, three of the executors of Busleyden's will, Antony Sucket, Nicolas de Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem, as well as John Robbyns, the testator's special friend and adviser <sup>4)</sup>. The latter requested the University to accept the new Institute and to allow that the professors should lecture there in the three languages for the instruction and the erudition of the young bursars and of all those who likewise should desire to be instructed and taught. They declared that they submitted those students, with their president and their professors, to the general regulations of the University, and especially that the lectures would only take place at times when there were no regular lessons in the higher Faculties.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 320.

<sup>2)</sup> As most of the professors were canons of St. Peter's, meetings of the Rector and the Deputies, and even of the University were often held in the Chapter Rooms of that Church after or between the offices : de Jongh, 42, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> John Stephani had been elected Rector on Febr. 28, 1519 : cp. before, p 320.

<sup>4)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, r : Item dair na xja Julij a° xix gereyst de deken, h. bartelmeus ende Nispen tot louene aldair oick quam Mr. anthonijs sucket om te spreken metter vniuersiteyt op de admissie van der collegie te stellene, alsdoen bijder seluer vniuersiteyt tvoirs. collegie geadmitteert weerd't hoe wel dairna noch nieuwe difficulteyten dair jnne quamen ende vaceerde v daighen doen...



It was not difficult to come to an agreement on those terms, and in fact the only regulation that was causing some difficulty was the one by which all professors had to resign every year their office to their Faculties, and to request to be allowed to continue. That *resignatio et supplicatio*, which was a mere formality in ordinary times, allowed the Faculties to keep an effective control <sup>1)</sup>, and was evidently an incentive for the professors themselves towards the exact fulfilment of their task. Still it entailed an unmistakable danger for the new Institute, which was thus given up, with hands and feet tied, to a Faculty, such as that of the Arts, who had already shown their ill-will, and could thus set at naught the whole enterprise at any time it pleased them to do so. Nor was it even safe to make that resigning and reappointing dependent on the whole University instead of on one Faculty, for, as several members had already manifested, it would be sufficient that three, or even two, Faculties should oppose the reappointment of one professor or other, to make the life and work of the College impossible.

It must have looked as if the executors were conferring a benefit on the University, without being even offered a guarantee that good use was going to be made of Busleyden's bequest — and also of the benevolence of his heirs, who, rather than enlarging their legacies by what the University proved so loath to accept <sup>2)</sup>, preferred securing, notwithstanding all difficulties and ill-will, the realizing of the great scheme of their august relative. That consideration seems to have had its weight with the Rector and the Deputies, for after duly and repeatedly discussing the matter, they agreed that the

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<sup>1)</sup> That *resignatio et supplicatio* was required by the regulations of the Faculty of Arts for all *regentes* and *legentes* from as early a date as Oct. 8, 1427 : *ULDoc.*, II, 199. All the records that have survived, show that it was also practised in the Faculty of Divinity : de Jongh, 53, \*39-62 ; although the prebends in St. Peter's gave their office an efficient stability, the professors submitted to that regulation, which could be used effectively against them if it came to the worst. It was on the score of that same regulation that some public lectures, not instituted by the University, were prohibited, as was the case for that by Alard and, afterwards, that by Nesen : cp. before, pp 319-20 and Ch. VI.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 246, sq, 305.

professors, after their matriculation, should have to apply once for all to the Rector and the five Deans of the Faculties together, for the permission to lecture, which application was then to be granted at once, in so much that by the very fact of their requesting the *venia legendi*, the professors acquired the right to start teaching at once, whether their demand was granted or not. For in case the Rector and the five Deans representing the University, should know of any obstacle which should prevent a professor from being allowed to enter on his duties, they were to communicate with the executors and their successors, the *provisores* of the College, whose province it was to judge and decide whether the obstacles were real impediments or not : their decision was final and was to be given, at latest, within two months, during which time the lectures had to go on. That provisional agreement gave full satisfaction to the executors : it wanted only the ratification by the University Senate to grant it full force.

#### B. RATIFICATION WITHHELD

Notwithstanding that advantageous provisional solution, offering satisfaction both to the University and the executors, the adoption of the Institute was unfortunately kept once more in suspense : the approval and ratification by the general academic meeting did not seem likely to be granted as easily as it was thought <sup>1)</sup>. When the terms became known, displeasure was loudly expressed at the complete absence of all means by which the University might ever be able to keep the new Institute under her control. Difficulties were caused for the lectures, irrespective of the decisions taken on March 7 <sup>2)</sup> and July 12-16 <sup>3)</sup>, in so much that before two weeks had fully elapsed, Erasmus saw himself compelled to journey to Mechlin with Rutger Rescius to make the executors acquainted with the fact that the University urged the professors to 'supplicate' for the permission to lecture, which they refused to do.

<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, r : ...alsdoen bijder seluen vniuersiteyt tvoirs. collegie geadmitteert weerdt hoe wel dairna noch nieuwe difficulteyten dair inne quamen...

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 320.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 365, sq.

Bartholomew van Vessem returned with them to Louvain on July 26, and, in the name of his colleagues, negotiated for the acceptance of the agreement as it had been decided on <sup>1)</sup>. Without doubt, bitter criticism had been made on account of the too great privilege, granted, as it seemed, inconsiderately; at any rate that would explain how on August 6, the University secretary John Vullinck <sup>2)</sup> was sent to Mechlin to the executors with a new advice or expedient about the way of asking for the permission of lecturing, which the University had conceived, and now proposed for acceptance <sup>3)</sup>. It was probably hardly more than an allurement for a further discussion, which might allow the University to withdraw all or part of the privilege which they had granted too rashly <sup>4)</sup>. Still Antony Sucket and the other executors, who had an interview with Vullinck in John Robbyns' house, were cautious enough not to let out of their hands the advantage they had secured, and the University secretary had to return without having gained anything.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, r : Jtem xxvj Julij dairna h. barthelmeus gereyst na louen ende met hem M Herasmus ende M rogier grecus die tot mechelen comen waeren om dat die vniuersiteyt de professeurs wouden doen suppliceren om huer lessen te doen. dwelck zij weigerden te doen. ende om dairop auijs te hebbene vanden deken ende anderen executueren...

<sup>2)</sup> John Vullinck, of Louvain, was University secretary since Aug. 2, 1491, notary of the Rector's Court since 1496, and of the Conservator's Court since September 8, 1503. He was also head of St. Peter's Chapter School, and kept students as boarders in his house. He took the oath for his son John when he matriculated on June 22, 1500 : *LibIntIII*, 82, v. In the latter half of 1524, he protested with his colleague John Colen against the taxes which the University levied on the Conservator's notaries : *Cran.*, 111, b-c, 20, 40, 51. In March 1530, he resigned his offices, *factus impotens*, and died in the same year : *LibActVI*, 89, v-91, r ; *VAnd.*, 52, 72, 74 ; *FUL*, 3 ; *PF*, 1, 120 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 328, 555-57 ; and further Ch. XI ; Allen, vi, 1668, 40-41.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, v : Jtem dairna vja Augustj quam mr. Jan Vuelinck scriba Vniuersitatis tot mechelen gesonden hyder Vniuersiteyt aende executuers om deser supplicatien wille brengende met hem een auijs oft expedient super modo supplicandj bijder Vniuersiteyt geconcipieert dat oick afgeslaghen was voer iij maeltijden tot dekens huys aldair M anthonijs sucket ende dander executueren waeren betaelt met gaders iij stuuers voer eenen boode gesonden te bruessel om Nispen...

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, sect. 6 of this chapter.

## 3. THE PROFESSORS OF HEBREW

## A. ADRIANUS SUSPICIOUS

Whilst difficulties from without were thus causing care and preoccupation, some were starting from within. Not that the lectures were not regularly given or not well attended; on the contrary, the Institute developed beyond all expectation, which must have given as great pleasure to the executors as to the professors themselves. There were, however, still the misgivings about the character of the professor of Hebrew, whose strange mixture of love of lucre and continuous want of money imparted a mysterious significance to some of his sayings and actions <sup>1)</sup>, and made the dread that one day or other he would leave Louvain, as he had left Basle and Middelburg <sup>2)</sup>, more appalling as time went on. In fact, it is most likely that close observers like Erasmus and his colleagues must have noticed the shadow of the coming event, and been afraid of the growing number and insistency of his creditors before the final crash came. They naturally wanted to hush it up, on account of Adrianus' excellence as professor: his teaching was very good <sup>3)</sup>, and, as Erasmus said, everything he put his hand to, prospered <sup>4)</sup>. That way he had no difficulty in making up for the shortcomings which, in the beginning at least, only very few friends were aware of.

From Erasmus' letter of October 19, 1518, it appears that Capito had accused Adrianus of 'impietas', of want of religious conviction, which had greatly incensed the professor himself; even Erasmus regretted that Capito had done so, — evidently in the supposition that he did actually censure him for that default <sup>5)</sup>: for the man had not given any offence in

<sup>1)</sup> Such as his niggardly hospitality, remarked on by Martin van Dorp in July 1518, and his lack of shame in having a letter of reproaches read out to him: cp. before, pp 254-56. <sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 798, 16-18.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 805, 1: Matthæus suas partes et gnauiter et feliciter agit &c.

<sup>4)</sup> 'Hebreus triumphat, et nihil illi non succedit': Erasmus to Capito, October 19, (1519): Allen, III, 877, 33. Cp. his praise in *HebStud.*, 48.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 877, 34-36: Hebreus... tibi vehementer succenset; ait se gravissime notatum abs te, etiam impietatis. Quod sane abs te factum nollem, si tamen factum est.

that respect in Louvain. For certain it had nothing to do with the professor's precipitous leave. To explain it, some — and amongst them P. S. Allen, — surmise that by his *Oratio* in praise of the study of Hebrew in March 1519, he had greatly discontented the theologians, in so far that one of them attacked him with such a vehemence that life became impossible for him in Louvain <sup>1</sup>). That supposition is quite unfounded, for there is nowhere in the correspondence of that time the least allusion to difficulties caused by the Louvain theologians to Adrianus. Nor can it be assumed for a moment that Latomus directed his *Apologia* against him <sup>2</sup>), as there is not the slightest trace of any reference to the professor of Hebrew, whereas, on the contrary, the *Oratio* evidently answers the *Apologia* in many places <sup>3</sup>). Nor could it be supposed that Adrianus was more aggressive in his spoken *Oratio* than in the one he edited in Wittenberg : for if he had been driven out of Louvain by the divines on account of passages in his *Oratio*, he certainly would not have omitted them from the published text, as they would have served both as revenge, and as justification. Modern historians <sup>4</sup>) ascribe the discontent of the theologians to a passage in which St. Jerome is represented as an average man, who ignored a lot, slumbered occasionally, some times forgot things and was evidently wrong in many statements <sup>5</sup>). Yet that passage, although seemingly irreverent, fits in consistingly with the argument, as Adrianus concludes from the fact that St. Jerome corrected the text of the Bible, it was faulty up to his time ; and since St. Jerome is not infallible,

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, III, 686, 5, n : an oration delivered on March 21, 1519... so roused the theologians that he decided to leave Louvain.

<sup>2</sup>) *HebStud.*, 46 : einer der Professoren, der später als Gegner Luthers so bekannt gewordene Latomus, gab eine Schmähchrift gegen ihn heraus und Adrian musste Löwen verlassen. Enders, II, 223, III, 99, repeats that statement.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. before, pp 334-337 ; also *Reuchlin*, 282.

<sup>4</sup>) Enders, II, 223 ; *HebStud.*, 46.

<sup>5</sup>) Homo erat Hieronymus, multa nesciuit, Alicubi dormitauit, quædam casu præterijt, Quedam ab illo controuersa interciderunt, multa deprauata sit <prob. r sunt>, vt omittam quod nec illa quæ Hieronymus annotauit, intelligi plene valent, sine mediocri linguæ peritia, quia illud quod præstitit, libris Hebreis debuit, hinc est quod persæpe a 70. interpretibus discrepat, &c : *MAdriOr.*, 149, sq.

his correction has to be rectified in its turn in a few places, where human fallibility and the inadequate use of the sources caused some imperfections. There does not seem to be the least ground for retaliation, — for which, as already said, all contemporary evidence is lacking <sup>1)</sup>).

It appears, on the contrary, that Adrianus, as was suspected by some of his near friends, had long been led astray by his acquaintance with natural science as medical doctor <sup>2)</sup> into alchemy, and must have spent his time and his money on researches for the philosophic stone ; it was supposed that he had done the same in Middelburg, which town he had to leave, as he could not pay his debts. That supposition grew into a rumour which was spreading in Louvain in the spring of 1519 : it explains his impecuniosity and large debts, which, after some time, brought him to the necessity of a sudden leave <sup>3)</sup>. For certain his departure was neither the consequence of impious or unruly life, nor the result of any dissension with the theologians ; but merely a money-affair : as he was unable to satisfy his creditors, he left Brabant.

#### B. ADRIANUS' SUDDEN EXODUS

Adrianus disappeared from Louvain quite unexpectedly <sup>4)</sup> : one day about the end of July 1519, Barlandus and Rescius sent a messenger in all haste to Mechlin to inform Robbys and van Vessem that Adrianus had vanished during the

<sup>1)</sup> The only contemporary reference to difficulties with the theologians in connection with Adrianus' leave, is that of Luther, who, on Nov. 7, 1519, announces to Spalatinus that he has just received a letter from : ' *Matthæus Adrianus Lovaniensis Hebræus, forte ab illis tyrannide pulsus, petens apud nos profiteri Hebræa* ' : Enders, II, 222.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus mentions that he was attended to by Adrianus when he returned ill from Basle in September 1518 : Allen, III, 867, 207-219.

<sup>3)</sup> As already explained, pp 251-55, the information is recorded by John Molanus who states that Smenga asserted that Thierry Lange gave that reason for Adrianus' departure : Lange was confident and assistant of Adrian Amerot, who was in Louvain from 1513 to 1520 and was naturally interested in the Hebrew professor : Mol., 796-97.

<sup>4)</sup> Mol., 797 : *Langius... retulit... fuisse in collegio Buslidiano Matthæum Adriani, sed quum magicis studiis pertinaciter inhæreret, eum intra paucos menses, aut sponte, aut coactum, et professionem et Lovanium reliquisse.*

night, disappointing his creditors <sup>1)</sup>). All that was found in his house was distrained and sold by auction, in so far that the executors had to go to law to recover their own forms <sup>2)</sup> — possibly also the big candlesticks and the Hebrew Bible, which they had provided for the truant professor <sup>3)</sup>). The latter was not heard of until about the end of October or the beginning of November, when he offered his services to the University of Wittenberg, as John Cellarius <sup>4)</sup> had not accepted the office of professor of Hebrew. He had written to Luther, who, on November 7, 1519, communicated that request to Spalatinus <sup>5)</sup>, and wished him to suggest the opportunity to Duke Frederic of Saxony, so as to have a decision as soon as could be, since the messenger of Adrianus was waiting for a reply <sup>6)</sup>).

Although on December 6, Mosellanus announced to Julius Pflug that Duke Frederic had attracted Matthew Adrianus with great promises from Louvain to Wittenberg <sup>7)</sup>, Luther reminded Spalatinus, on December 7, that the Hebrew professor was still waiting for a decision <sup>8)</sup>. On February 24, 1520, the negotiations had only advanced so far that Adrianus mentioned that he wanted one hundred or at least ninety gold coins as fees, which Luther communicated to Spalatinus <sup>9)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> Item eenen bode gesonden bijden professeur vanden collegie in latyn ende griekse tot mechelen aen bartho. ende den deken intimerende dat de professeur in hebreus geruymp was... : *Rek.*, 40, r.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rek.*, 90, v-91, r : Item alsoe de vors. hebreus namaels Ruymde mits zijn groote sculden ende zyn haue ende oick mede de vors. bancken al gerasteert waeren soe heeft men om de bancken die den collegie toebehoorden weder te hebben de selue moeten met Rechte gecrighen. — *Rek.*, 65, v : Item van seker bancken gecocht te halen vuyt des hebreus huys ende opt baghynhof ... te vueren...

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 36, r, 90, v.

<sup>4)</sup> John Cellarius, Keller, of Burgkundstadt, *Gnostopolitanus* : Allen, III, 877, 5, n, 31 ; Enders, II, 57, 58, had been requested in vain to fill the place which John Böschenstein, of Esslingen, had occupied during a few months, abandoning it in April 1519 : *HebStud.*, 51-52. Philip Melanchthon meanwhile had replaced the absent professor : Enders, I, 373 ; Köstlin, I, 293, 792.

<sup>5)</sup> Nosti, Luther wrote, hominis famam et eruditionem ; he expressed the supposition : forte ab illis < viz., Lovaniensibus > tyrannide pulsus : Enders, II, 222.

<sup>6)</sup> Enders, II, 222-23, 224.

<sup>7)</sup> Löscher, III, 249 ; Köstlin, 293, 792.

<sup>8)</sup> Enders, II, 272-73.

<sup>9)</sup> Enders, II, 331-32 ; MeEClE., 101.

Two months later he was still in Berlin waiting for the news of the appointment, as Luther announced to Spalatinus on April 16 <sup>1)</sup>, mentioning as second candidate a Werner from Bacharach, whom the physician Gregory Copp, *Calvus*, of Magdeburg, strongly recommended; he urged to appoint Adrianus, was it only for one year, to satisfy the wish of several colleagues and for fear that he should go to Leipzig or to Frankfurt on the Oder, which would be an infamy to Wittenberg <sup>2)</sup>. That letter evidently produced its effect after a very few days.

Adrianus was definitely engaged as Hebrew professor and he consequently matriculated on April 24 as: 'Matheus Adrianus Hispanus hebraice lingue professor et medicinarum doctor' <sup>3)</sup>. Already on April 27 he had made friends with Melanchthon, who wrote to John Hess <sup>4)</sup> on that date, that Adrianus had written in Hebrew to Valentine Krautwald, *Gradualdus* <sup>5)</sup>, and Michael Wittiger, *Vitigerus* <sup>6)</sup>, whereas he had in Greek <sup>7)</sup>. Luther endeavoured to find him a house, which was not easy, and yet it soon became a necessity, for he and Melanchthon lost much time and money on the guest, even though the latter often went to the pharmacy of Lucas Cranach to disburden his hosts; on May 5, Luther even requested a few gold coins from Spalatinus to indemnify him for *nummi* spent on *symposiis* <sup>8)</sup>. As he had done in Louvain,

<sup>1)</sup> Enders, II, 382-83.

<sup>2)</sup> Enders, II, 331, 333, 362, 382-83.

<sup>3)</sup> *Album Academiæ Viteberg.* (ed. Foerstemann): Wittenberg, 1841:90.

<sup>4)</sup> John Hess, from Nuremberg, was secretary to Bishop John Turzo, of Breslau; he afterwards became Protestant preacher in that town: Enders, II, 287, &c; MutE, 411; Köstlin, II, 82-84, *passim*; Hessus, I, 184.

<sup>5)</sup> Valentin Krautwald was Canon and Lector in St. John's, Liegnitz, and an able scholar in Greek and Hebrew; he was well acquainted with Reuchlin and Melanchthon, and took an active part in the controversy about the Eucharist: Heumann, 116; Enders, V, 295; Köstlin, II, 82, 84, 86.

<sup>6)</sup> Michael Wittiger was canon of Neiss and notary of the episcopal chancery of Breslau; he was also involved in the *Abendmahlsstreit*: Enders, II, 449-50.

<sup>7)</sup> MeECle., 98, 99; cp. Enders, II, 412, 413.

<sup>8)</sup> On May 1, 1520, Luther writes to Spalatinus that he and Melanchthon do not want anybody to be turned out of his house for Adrianus, who, however, intends making him that request: Enders, II, 395; on May 5, a complaint is sent to the same Spalatinus about the time and the money which the Hebrew professor costs to the Reformer and his friend: Enders, II, 400.



Adrianus started requesting help in the shape of books and manuscripts from the Patron of Wittenberg University <sup>1)</sup>, and making circumstances in general as favourable as possible for himself ; and less than one month later, he surprised Luther and everybody by a most sudden marriage <sup>2)</sup>.

Still the professorate which he had yearned for, did not give satisfaction very long : in the autumn of the same year he had started quarrelling with Luther, criticizing his sermons and wanting to teach the Gospel to the Reformer, who in his turn accused his contradictor of not understanding his Moses <sup>3)</sup>. He blamed Luther for holding that good works have no value, and that faith alone sanctifies ; he insulted him and provoked him although completely ignoring theology ; he even would have brought public scandal on him if he had not been forcibly restrained. Consequently Luther pronounced him quite useless, and wrote to Spalatinus, November 4, that he should be dismissed at once <sup>4)</sup>. He had already before spoken out the supposition that the difficulties Adrianus made were only a means to prepare his leaving <sup>5)</sup> : he suspects that a journey undertaken to Leipzig was an occasion to make an agreement with Eck <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Letter of Luther to Spalatinus of May 17, 1520 : Enders, II, 403.

<sup>2)</sup> ' *Adriani nostri subitas nuptias et nos miramur et bene favemus homini* ', Luther wrote to Spalatinus on June 13, 1520 : Enders, II, 417.

<sup>3)</sup> Luther wrote on October 3, 1520, to Spalatinus : *Adrianus noster nescio qua furia raptus, in me graviter insanit, forte occasionem quærens discedendi. Nihil homini feci : conciones meas insectatur, paratus me docere evangelium, qui Mosen suum non intelligit. Varie interpretamur ejus vesaniam ; sed sine, tempus hæc revelabit* : Enders, II, 488.

<sup>4)</sup> *De Adriano nostro eadem retulit nobis Egranus, sed et mihi factus est hostis, causans quod docuerim, opera bona nihil valere, sed solam fidem, vixque coërcitus est a publica mei infamia. Denique insultavit mihi, atque adeo provocavit homo indoctissimus in re theologica : inutilis est prorsus ac cito dimittendus. Lipsiam ivit forte cum Eccio pacturus. Fiat voluntas Domini* : Enders, II, 511. — Probably Adrianus had also quarrelled and fallen out with Egranus, or Sylvius Egranus, Johann Wildenauer, from Eger, who was preacher in St. Mary's, Zwickau, and, no doubt, had communicated with Spalatinus as well as with Luther : Enders, I, 134.

<sup>5)</sup> Letter of October 3, 1520 : Enders, II, 488.

<sup>6)</sup> Adrianus may have hoped to become the professor of Hebrew in Leipzig, where John Eck was then residing ; he may have tried to gain his protection by withstanding Luther so very boldly : Enders, II, 511 ; *HebStud.*, 48, 104-5.

Still Adrianus was not sent away : he continued his teaching at least until the middle of February 1521, when Luther announced to Spalatinus that he had asked leave to depart, which had been granted at once : 'Itaque liberati sumus ab homine isto', Luther adds <sup>1)</sup>. Adrianus may have gone to Freiburg for a time <sup>2)</sup>, but he completely disappears afterwards. He left some Hebrew translations of prayers, first published as a *Libellus Hora faciendi pro Domino* (Tübingen, T. Anshelm, January 1512) <sup>3)</sup>; some of them — *Pater, Ave, and Regina* — were reprinted by J. Froben, 'Idibus Martiis 1518', in his *Introductio vtilissima hebraice discere copientibus*, on the title of which he called Adrianus *Eques Auratus*, — no doubt mistaking the title of *Miles Christi*, which the converted Jew took in Spain <sup>4)</sup>. Of his larger works on Hebrew Grammar and on St. Jerome, which he wished to edit in Basle, nothing has been preserved. Of his Louvain professorate his *Oratio* <sup>5)</sup> gives witness, and so did several of the students whom he helped to form <sup>6)</sup> : his was the first systematic teaching of Hebrew, and to Louvain is due the honour of having shown the example to all the Universities, of securing an organized and stable instruction in that language <sup>7)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Enders, III, 87-88 ; Köstlin, 293, 477, 792 ; Melancthon announced the same news to Spalatinus on February 22, and refers to Adrianus' departure on March 21, recommending Matthew Goldhahn, *Aurogallus*, of Komotau, in Bohemia, as successor : MeE, I, 359, 362.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *HebStud.*, 134, referring to a note copied by Schreiber, *Gesch. der Univ. zu Freiburg*, 1859 : II, 212, from the matriculation register : that note is not to be found in *MatriFreib.*, 248 (at the date stated, 22 Jan. 1521), 256 (at the name Joh. Lonicerus referred to).

<sup>3)</sup> Amongst the books of John Eck, which now repose in Munich Library, there is a mutilated copy of the *Hora faciendi* of 1513 : B. Walde, *Johannes Eck* (*CorpCath.*, XIII) : Münster, 1928 : xxxviii.

<sup>4)</sup> *CatHalle*, 68.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HebStud.*, 134.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *HebStud.*, 41-48, 134 ; *HebGesch.*, 191-96 ; ReuchlE, 150 ; Allen, III, 686, 5, n ; M. Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde* : Leipzig, 1859 : II, 15 ; id., *Zusätze zu meinem Bibliographischen Handbuch* : Leipzig, 1896 : 346 ; Enders, II, 223.

<sup>7)</sup> Reuchlin, 282 : in Löwen fand die Hebräische Sprache ihre erste sichere Stätte, bevor sie noch auf irgend einer deutschen Universität aufgenommen worden war.

## C. HIS PUPIL SEBASTIAN NEUZEN

Amongst the very first of those students who attended the Hebrew lectures <sup>1)</sup>, was Sebastian Augustus Neuzen, or Nouzen, *Noutzenus*, or *Nucenus*, of Saftingen, a hamlet of Doel on the Scheldt in East-Flanders, about three miles below Antwerp. He studied in Louvain, promoting Master of Arts in 1520 <sup>2)</sup>, after which he started teaching languages in his *Pedagogy of the Lily* <sup>3)</sup>. During the time that he applied himself to philosophy, he learned Hebrew under Adrianus, and became so proficient that he soon was able to teach it in his turn. Leaving Louvain, he gave some private lessons, first at Ghent, and later on at Antwerp, where he showed some sympathy with the adherents of Luther's reform. On Monday, September 11, 1525, Nicolas of Lier, Antwerp bailiff, summoned 'Augustus Bastianus Noutsenus' and 'Judocus Lamberti', a native of Ghent, his servant, to come on the following Friday, and answer the charge of having given lodging to Gielis, late parish priest of Melsen, and held with him meetings and teachings outside the town to propagate the doctrine of 'brother Luther'. Neuzen did not comply with that order, for it was renewed on the Saturday, 16, for the following Wednesday, September 20 <sup>4)</sup>. He managed to leave Antwerp, abandoning all his belongings, and took the way to Germany. On November 18 of that same year, Nicolas of Lier condemned him and his servant in their absence to perpetual exile <sup>5)</sup>.

Neuzen's partiality for the Reformation can hardly have been a secret, and may have occasioned his removing from Ghent to Antwerp. Apparently one of the inmates of the Lily, Gerard Rym, who was a native of Ghent and a student of the Laws <sup>6)</sup>, had been alarmed at the rumour of his heterodox opinions, and had tried in vain to convince him of his imprudence. He applied for help to his friend Martin Lips,

<sup>1)</sup> *HebStud.*, 48.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULPromRs.*, 72 : his name is added there to the list of the first five *promovendi*, although he is not amongst the first twelve recorded in *ULPromLv.*, 8.

<sup>3)</sup> *ULDoc.*, iv, 247.

<sup>4)</sup> *CorpInq.*, iv, 402-403.

<sup>5)</sup> *CorpInq.*, v, 63-65.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. IX.

a monk of St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, known for his erudition and sagacity, and for his intimacy with Erasmus, who consequently addressed Neuzen by letter, *ignotus ignotum*, on April 15, 1525 <sup>1</sup>). Cutting short all preambles, he warned him for his *incauta libertas*, advising him to hide his opinions if he could not change them, as he absconded Luther's books, although it would be far wiser to communicate with those who could do him good, or pray. Lips further protests against slandering Erasmus because he does not agree with Luther, and points out that even Ecolampadius does not agree with the latter in all. Neuzen, moreover, criticized Erasmus' leniency towards those who are at the head of Church and State : Lips denies it to be an effect of pusillanimity, but recognizes the Spirit of Christ in it, averting them from vice by kindness, whereas Luther tries to do it with bitter scolding. To close his letter he states that he himself is as great a lover of liberty as any one, and that he therefore offers his sympathetic help to Neuzen ; 'do not be afraid', he adds, 'of our cowl : *quia non ego cuculli, sed cucullus meus est*' <sup>2</sup>).

That letter does not seem to have done much good, considering Neuzen's open proselytism at Antwerp ; whereas it was the cause of much trouble and annoyance to Lips, who lived in most hostile surroundings. He saw himself compelled to explain to his prior John Arnoldi <sup>3</sup>), that he only wanted to save a lost brother by kindness, and bring him back to truth by sympathy and consideration : he therefore repeats in a *Purgatio* <sup>4</sup>), one by one, all the sentences of his letter to

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<sup>1</sup>) LipsE, 736-38 : the letter is dated : Ex nostra cellula in collegio canonicorum Martinensium Louanii pridie festi paschæ. Anno iuxta diocesis nostræ supputationem. MDXXV. — viz., April 15, 1525.

<sup>2</sup>) LipsE, 736-38.

<sup>3</sup>) John Aerts, *Arnoldi*, of Nosseghem, was the eighth prior of St. Martin's, which he ruled from Jan. 2, 1493 to 1497 when he resigned for the sake of his health ; for a time he was rector to a convent of nuns at Bethany, near Leeuw-St. Pierre ; returning to Louvain he was re-elected as the eleventh prior on January 18, 1509, and died in office on Sept. 17, 1539 ; he continually enlarged the buildings, which caused him to be called *Prior Platteborse* on account of his want of money : *MonHL*, 537 ; Allen, iv, 1190, 5.

<sup>4</sup>) LipsE, 738-48.

justify them, and to prove that, far from encouraging Neuzen in his error, he tried to reclaim him by brotherly sympathy.

Neuzen meanwhile had found a congenial companion in Gerard Geldenhouwer, who left Antwerp on September 17, 1525; they went together to Amsterdam, Deventer, Osnabrück, Bremen, possibly even to Wittenberg, which was the end of Gerard's journey, and they consoled each other for the loss of the goods they had left behind <sup>1)</sup>. In 1527, Neuzen was in Marburg, as his name is mentioned in the matriculation register <sup>2)</sup>; he settled in that University as teacher of Hebrew <sup>3)</sup>, which language he seems to have studied still further during his stay in Germany. He made some friends, such as the poet Euricius Cordus, who, however, later on became a bitter enemy. In 1532, he edited a small treatise about Hebrew letters, sounds and accents, which, most probably, had been devised as textbook for his lessons <sup>5)</sup>.

It seems as if Neuzen had higher ambitions, or that his lectures in Hebrew failed to be a success: for he started the study of Law, promoting Doctor Vtriusque Juris in Marburg. In that capacity he was appointed as councillor and assessor in the Court of the Duke of Hessen <sup>6)</sup>: unfortunately he did not enjoy very long that office, as he died on April 18, 1536 <sup>7)</sup>. Gerard Geldenhouwer, who had been his colleague at Marburg from the last months of 1532 <sup>8)</sup>, wrote a biography, a

<sup>1)</sup> Geldenh., 65, sq, 126-127.

<sup>2)</sup> *MatriMarb.*, 116, 275; Nputzenus, Nucenus is also recorded in the same register in 1531, 1533 and 1536.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Rommel, 1, 195; *HebStud.*, 116-17.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Krause, *Euricius Cordus*: Hanau, 1863: 102.

<sup>5)</sup> *De Literarum, Vocum et Accentuum Hebraicarum Natura, s. de prima sermonis hebraici lectione libellus ex optimis quibusque Rabinorum commentariis studiose collectus. Accessit de servientium literarum officiis per Augustum Sebastianum Nucenum Compendium*: Marburg, Franc. Rhodus, 1532.

<sup>6)</sup> Strieder, *Hessisches Gelehrtenlexikon*: Göttingen, 1784: x, 104-106.

<sup>7)</sup> He was buried in the 'coemeterio Elisabethico': *BibBelg.*, 807. The Court compositor of Philip of Hessen, John Heugel, put six-voiced music to a poem *Planctibus nymphae resonant latinæ...* in honour of the deceased professor: *PhilHessen*, 362: November 30, 1536. — On June 4, 1536, Eobanus Hessus wished to move into the house which had been *Nuzenus'*: *Hessus*, II, 193.

<sup>8)</sup> Geldenhouwer was engaged as professor of history; he left Marburg in the spring of 1534 to go and claim some property in his wife's name

*Vita Noutzeni*, edited with an anonymous *Vita Gerardi Geldenhaurii Noviomagi*, published in Marburg soon after his decease <sup>1)</sup>; William Dilich mentioned it in his history of the University composed about 1600 <sup>2)</sup>, and Strieder used it for his biography of authors of Hessen <sup>3)</sup>, nearly two centuries later <sup>4)</sup>.

#### D. HIS SUCCESSOR ROBERT WAKEFELD

The vacancy caused in the staff of the *Collegium Trilingue* by Adrianus' sudden departure, was soon filled <sup>5)</sup>. As luck would have it, there was at that time in Louvain a young English scholar Robert Wakefeld, or Wackefeld, *Britannus*, of Pontefract, in Yorkshire <sup>6)</sup>. He had studied in Cambridge, where he became Bachelor of Arts in 1513-14, and where, in 1515-16, he applied himself to Canon Law. He afterwards went to the Continent, and may have been the young man who, in September 1517, was recommended by Paschasius Berselius, of Liège, to Erasmus, then residing in Louvain <sup>7)</sup>: he had been teaching Hebrew there, and wanted to visit the great Humanist <sup>8)</sup>; Berselius hoped that he soon would

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at Worms. On August 16, 1534, several of the Strassburg preachers recommended him to Duke Philip of Hessen, and he was consequently appointed professor of divinity, which office he fulfilled until his death: *Geldenh.*, 113-115; *PhilHessen*, 462, sq. 468-69; Rommel, II, 188.

<sup>1)</sup> *Geldenh.*, 5-6, 126-127; Dilich, *Urbs et Academia Marpurgensis*: Marburg, 1867: 23-24. Cp. *Brusch*, 243.

<sup>2)</sup> William Schäffer, Dilich, of Wabern, wrote, about 1600, *Urbs et Academia Marpurgensis succincte descripta et typis efformata*: it was edited by J. Cæsar: Marburg, 1867.

<sup>3)</sup> Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte*: Göttingen, 1784: IV, 350, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *BibBelg.*, 807; FG, 397; *FlandScript.*, 152; *HebStud.*, 48, 116-117; *ULDoc.*, IV, 247; de Jongh, 248.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 371, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> That town is stated to be the birth-place of his brother Thomas: he certainly was of Yorkshire: Maitland, 355.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 674, 29-38.

<sup>8)</sup> Wakefeld may have made Erasmus' acquaintance in Cambridge, for he evidently was patronized by Bishop Fisher, the great friend of Erasmus, who refers to him as 'Robertus tuus' on Sept. 1, 1522: Allen, V, 1311, 44-45; cp. further, p 382.

return to him to continue the lessons which he had begun <sup>1)</sup>. At any rate Wakefeld came to Louvain in 1518 <sup>2)</sup>, and not only devoted himself to the study of languages, but even to that of philosophy : he matriculated on November 16, 1518 <sup>3)</sup>, and, no doubt, helped on by Erasmus and his friends, he was allowed to promote Master of Arts during that academical year : the scraps of records of those times that are extant, mention that a 'Baccalaureus universitatis cantabrigiensis in Anglia hic qua talis admittitur' at the end of 1518 <sup>4)</sup>, and, on the other hand, Wakefeld was incorporated in 1518-19 in Cambridge as M. A., with a degree from Louvain <sup>5)</sup> — apparently at the conclusion of the academical year as the promotions generally took place in the beginning of spring.

If Wakefeld returned for his incorporation to Cambridge about the end of spring or the beginning of summer 1519, he cannot have staid very long there as, straight after Adrianus left, he was offered the post of professor of Hebrew, which he accepted and already took up on August 1 <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> About that time Wakefeld was probably asked by King Henry VIII to teach Hebrew to Reginald Pole : Allen, vi, 1595, 67 ; he may even have had other pupils, such as Thomas Hurskey, head of the Gilbertines in England, who is recorded to have enjoyed his lessons, which suggests that he returned for a time to England before settling as student in Louvain : cp. however, p 381, n 3.

<sup>2)</sup> He may have been attracted by Erasmus' residing there, as well as by the lectures in Hebrew that had been recently started by Matthew Adrianus, whose pupil or friend he probably was.

<sup>3)</sup> 'Robertus Wakefeldius anglicus eboracensis dioc.' : *Excerpts*, 100.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 18 : that statement is quoted from f 188, r, of the sixth volume of the *Acta Artium*, apparently lost since 1725 ; the first quotation for 1518 is from f 186, and the first for 1519, from f 191. — The question of admitting to the promotions students who had passed tests in other universities, had been raised in 1517, when it was decided that *Baccalaureus in artibus ex altera Universitate admittitur ad Magistrum unice ex eo quod in eadem universitate gradus facultatis Lovaniensis etiam agnoscantur* : *ActArtInd.*, 14.

<sup>5)</sup> Cooper, i, 63 ; Allen, v, 1311, 44.

<sup>6)</sup> 'Item na dat de vors. hebreus <Adrianus> geruynt was meester Robbert anglico die jn hebreo lasse van prima augustj xix tot primam decembris ter stont dair na voer iiij maenden betaelt voer zijn costen ende stipendien tsamen xxxvj £' : *Rek.*, 91, v-92, r ; *MotJuris*, 25-26, (where is stated that although 'Wacfeldus' had not any more the requirements stipulated in Busleyden's will than Rescius or, later on,

Of his lectures in the *Collegium Trilingue* hardly any information seems to exist; nor is it at all known why he already resigned after four months, leaving Louvain in the beginning of December <sup>1</sup>). The steadily growing difficulties of the College and its professors may have made his residence in Brabant disagreeable; still it is quite as likely that he did not want to lose any advantage offered by his own country: at any rate he was elected Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1519-20 <sup>2</sup>). No evidence seems to exist about his activity for more than two years, in which he no doubt continued his study of languages, and may have formed some pupils <sup>3</sup>). He may have crossed over to the Continent again, for he is recorded to have been in Bavaria, where he was taught by an Austin friar, Gaspar Amman, prior of Lauingen, on the Danube, and, for a time, Provincial of his Order in Swabia <sup>4</sup>), who studied Syriac, Chaldaic and Arabic, besides

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Campensis, yet the executors promised to him *octo libras flandricas* per year, besides the value of the boarding, as they then paid Rescius), 30, 35 ('Wackfeldus' was not paid what the will indicates, but he had the same wages as Rescius and Campensis); cp. Vern., 145; VAnd., 283-84 (Wackfeldus).

<sup>1</sup>) The reason of his departure may be quite independent of teaching and erudition: for Wakefeld was living rather an unruly and flighty kind of life, which may have interfered with his lecturing. It seems that, in 1520, after leaving Louvain, he spent some time in London as a guest of John Stokesley, Henry VIII's chaplain and almoner: see further, p 384, n 3.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, v, 1311, 44.

<sup>3</sup>) Possibly, about 1520, Wakefeld taught Hebrew to Reginald Pole, and to others: cp. before p 380, n 1.

<sup>4</sup>) Gaspar Amman, *Ammanius* (erroneously *Ammonius*), was a native of Hasselt who, with his parents, is said to have emigrated to Lauingen on the Danube, where he studied and entered the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine in the German Province; he promoted doctor of divinity; in 1485 he became prior of Lauingen, and so he remained till his death, except from 1514 to 1518, when he was Provincial of his Order for Swabia and the Rhine lands. He applied himself with great success to the study of Hebrew and other Eastern languages: in 1513 he worked under Reuchlin, as results from a letter of Ægidius Antonius Canisius of Viterbo (1470-1532), Prior-General of the Austin Order, who, on Dec. 15, 1513, congratulated Amman on his good preceptor, and requested a list of his Hebrew books: ReuchlE, 260; in 1514, John Böschenstein refers to him as one of his auditors: ReuchlE, 216, although he also called Amman his *observandissimus præceptor* along with Reuchlin:



Hebrew. At any rate in July 1522, he came from England to Louvain, bringing a letter from Henry Golde, the Master of St. John's, to Nicolas Daryngton, his former student <sup>1)</sup>, and he moved from there to Hagenau to interview the printer Thomas Anshelm about the publishing of some of his works. His presence at Hagenau was announced to the University of Tübingen, where John Reuchlin had recently died <sup>2)</sup>. His succession was offered to the young Englishman who readily accepted it <sup>3)</sup>, although he stipulated as condition that he was to be free to return by the next Easter to England. He started the teaching of Syriac and Arabic in Tübingen, as Erasmus announced to Bishop John Fisher on Sept. 1, 1522 <sup>4)</sup>;

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ReuchlE, 288, viz., for music : Amman's German version of the Psalms, dedicated to him, was printed at Augsburg by Sigism. Grymm, in 1523 : *Psalter des Küniglichen Propheten Davids geteutsch nach warhafftigem Text der Hebraischen Zungen*. In return Böschenstein inscribed to him *Das Gebet Salomonis*, of the same year 1523. Amman, who had been teaching since 1514, helped to form Wolfgang Capito, (Ecolampadius, Sebastian Munster, and other Hebraists. He published only one translation, but left several works in manuscript : amongst them a *Dictionarius Hebræo-Germanus*, and several copies of Hebrew texts, such as Jos. Kimchi's Grammar, all of which John Eck made ample use of for his biblical studies : B. Walde, *Johannes Eck, Explanatio Psalmi Vigesima (CorpCath., XIII)* : Münster, 1928 : xxxviii, sq, xl, xlii, 21, 51, 75, 85. Amman tried to do good where he could : he preached at Dillingen in 1521, and on October 26, 1522, he wrote a most considerate letter to Luther, pointing out several places to be corrected or changed in his Bible Translation : Enders, iv, 14-19. He died in 1524, — after July 22, when Wolfgang Rychard mentioned to Urbanus Rhegius that he passed through Ulm and asked for hospitality : *HebStud.*, 76. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 255 (with the wrong name Ammonius) ; Paquot, iv, 408-411 ; *HebStud.*, 50, 76, 89 ; Enders, iv, 18 ; *CorpCath.*, XIII, mentioning some of his manuscripts still preserved in Munich : xxxviii, sq ; A. Wagner, *Der Augustiner Kaspar Amman* : Dillingen, 1896 ; G. Rückert, *Geschichte des Augustiner-Klosters in Lauingen* : Lauingen, 1909 ; J. Schlecht, *Entleihung aus dem Lauinger Augustiner-Kloster durch Dr. Johann Eck* : Münster, 1912 ; EllenbE, 39, 89, 91, 101 ; SchelAL., v, 291-92, vi, 455, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> Brewer, III, 2390 ; P.S. Allen, *Some Letters of Masters and Scholars 1500-1530* ( : *EngHistRev.*, xxi) : 740 ; *MonIII*, 4.

<sup>2)</sup> Reuchlin died on June 30, 1522.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Allen, v, 1311, 44-45, also iv, 1138, 15. Wakefeld matriculated in Tübingen on August 8, 1522.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Schnurrer, *Biographische und Literarische Nachrichten von ehemaligen Lehrern der hebräischen Literatur in Tübingen* : Ulm, 1792 : 67-70 ; *HebStud.*, 105.

but when, in the first months of 1523, Henry VIII appointed him Hebrew professor of Cambridge, he left, although Duke Ferdinand of Württemberg, Tübingen's patron, and the University herself wrote to Henry VIII for a delay, pleading that Wakefeld's students thought even higher of him than they did of Reuchlin <sup>1</sup>). That great esteem, however, was not general : thus the physician Wolfgang Rychard, of Ulm, one of Luther's friends <sup>2</sup>), wrote on February 27, 1523, that Reuchlin's successor, 'quendam Anglum, qui pentaglottus esse voluit', teaches Hebrew 'tam infideliter, ut omnibus coeperit esse nauseæ', and knows much less Greek than his correspondent, Mag. John Magenbuch, of Blaubeuren, medical student in Wittenberg <sup>3</sup>), knew when he was teaching in Tübingen. He adds that the undesired professor is leaving about Easter, and hopes that he will be replaced by Magenbuch<sup>4</sup>: the latter, however, settled as physician in Nuremberg <sup>4</sup>).

Meanwhile Wakefeld may have journeyed by Paris when returning to England <sup>5</sup>) and to Cambridge, where in 1524 <sup>6</sup>), he delivered an *Oratio de Laudibus et Vtilitate Trium Linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ et Hebraicæ*, which was printed in that year by W. de Worde <sup>7</sup>), and where, by 1524-25, he

<sup>1</sup>) These two letters were printed with the *Oratio de Laudibus Trium Linguarum*, by W. de Worde : Duke Ferdinand's letter is dated from Stuttgart, March 3, 1523.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. his letters, Febr. 1523 : Enders, iv, 86-89 ; and *Reuchlin*, 473.

<sup>3</sup>) SchelAL, i, 291 ; Enders, iv, 88.

<sup>4</sup>) SchelAL, i, 293-94 ; Rychard writes to Magenbuch that when the *Anglus* leaves Tübingen, he may go to Wittenberg : *forsan ad vos concessurus, quod tum fiat, sis admonitus ; ajunt enim exordia apud eum plus præ se ferre, quam habeat in recessu* : it appears to have been characteristic with Wakefeld.

<sup>5</sup>) At some time Wakefeld had resided and studied in Paris.

<sup>6</sup>) Hallam, i, 345, ii, 349 ; Warton, iii, 260-261 ; *TrevPap.*, i, 149 : Jtem, for Robert Wakefeld, reder of Ebrue.

<sup>7</sup>) Maitland, 229, 396 ; *CatLamb.*, 115 ; *PrintLists*, W. de Worde : 15, 25. That book is said to be the first in England to use — very rude — Hebrew and Arabic characters : Cooper, i, 64 ; Blunt, i, 64 ; Hallam, ii, 349. In the preface Wakefeld declares that it is only one third of what he wanted it to be, but he could not have printed more, on account of lack of Hebrew type ; he adds, in his presumption, that, in his unedited work, he treated Hebrew letters and language and its connection with Scripture, as nobody had done yet from the beginning of the Church : *PF*, i, 513, sq.

promoted Bachelor of Divinity. About 1527, he had made the acquaintance of Richard Pace <sup>1)</sup>, who highly esteemed him, and praised him to Henry VIII for the question of the Divorce as a 'Person of excellent learning, as well in Divinity as in wonderful knowledge of many and divers languages', in a letter, dated July 5, 1527, from Sion Convent, in Middlesex, which was joined to one, dated from the same place on July 6, 1527, by which Wakefeld, in his vanity and presumption, offered to Henry VIII his services <sup>2)</sup>; he assured that he was able to defend his cause in all the Universities in Christendom, and was just then writing an *ingens volumen*, until the publication of which he wished the matter to be kept a secret <sup>3)</sup>: indeed, he had up to then gained a great popularity by defending the Queen <sup>4)</sup>. That letter probably brought to Henry VIII the idea of securing favourable judgments from various universities <sup>5)</sup>, and no doubt secured to Wakefeld the protection and favour of Thomas Boleyn <sup>6)</sup>, to whom, in 1529,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, I, 211, 43, VIII, 2287, 13; Wood, I, 25-28; *HarvMarg.*, 218. About 1527 Wakefeld seems to have taught Hebrew to Pace, whom he also assisted in some writings about the Divorce: Wood, I, 27.

<sup>2)</sup> Those letters were printed by Thomas Berthelet in *Kotser Codicis*, P<sub>3</sub>, v, P<sub>4</sub>; they are reproduced in Samuel Knight, *Life of Erasmus*: Cambridge, 1726: 40, App. viii & ix; Wakefeld's letter is reproduced in Blunt, I, 129-130; cp. Wood, I, 39-40; Brewer, IV, 3232-34.

<sup>3)</sup> Wakefeld wrote: 'if the people should know that I, which began to defend the Queen's cause... should now write against it, surely I should be stoned of them to death': Blunt, I, 130; Wood, I, 39-40. In a letter to Fisher added to the *Kotser Codicis*, Wakefeld states that at the request of Bishop Richard Fox, he wrote about 1520 a memoir on the meaning of the *leviticæ prohibitiones* and their value according to the Hebrew and Chaldaic texts, and to that of the Seventy; that memoir, the work of numberless vigils, was secured by John Stokesley, afterwards Bishop of London, with whom he then resided: *ULDoc.*, IV, 525, quoting *PF*.

<sup>4)</sup> It seems that he became most hated by the people for changing his opinion; he had helped Pace to write a book for the Queen, which evidently was stopped and destroyed — under pretence that they had not known that the marriage with Prince Arthur had been consummated. — John Leland, referring to the advantages Wakefeld thus secured by adapting himself to circumstances and profits, gave him the name of *Polypus*: Wood, I, 39, 40; Constant, 33, 367; *ErAdag.*, 519, A-D.

<sup>5)</sup> Blunt, I, 129-31; Constant, 36-37, 375; Bémont, 14-15.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2266, *pr*: in the *Kotser Codicis*, f O 4, v, Wakefeld printed a letter to Thomas Boleyn (dated probably from 1534 or '35), addressing him as his patron.

he dedicated the work that was to substantiate the King's views <sup>1)</sup>, especially by the interpreting in a novel way of the precept of *Deuteronomy*, xxv, 5-10. Wakefeld, besides, attacked his old benefactor Bishop Fisher, and his defence of the Queen. <sup>2)</sup>. In consequence he was appointed as one of the King's 'a sacris' and was sent to the University of Oxford to be entrusted with the Hebrew lecture in the King's new College : in 1532, he was made a canon of that College by Henry VIII, and was incorporated in the University in May as Bachelor of Divinity <sup>3)</sup>. He there continued a life of study : he published several of his works <sup>4)</sup>, and saved from destruc-

<sup>1)</sup> *Kotser Codicis R. Wakfeldi* quo præter ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ decretum probatur coniugium cum fratria carnaliter cognita, illicitum omnino, inhibuit interdictumque esse tum naturæ iure, tum iure diuino, legeque euangelica atque consuetudine catholica ecclesiæ orthodoxæ <: London, 1530-34 > : *PrintLists*, Berthelet : 3, 18. Wakefeld's views in this and his other polemic writings were criticized by Nicholas Harpsfield, LL.D., Archdeacon of Canterbury, in : *An Answer to Mr. Robert Wakefeild*, accusing the author of 'gay glosses of contrary sense' ; that answer was edited by Nicholas Pocock, *A Treatise on the pretended Divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon by Nicholas Harpsfield...* Now first printed from a collation of four manuscripts : Camden Society editions, 1878 : 9, 21-22, 24, 149, sq, 244, 306-309, 317. The chief accusation refers to Wakefeld's attempt at proving that Tamar, who had married successively two sons of Juda, was still a virgin when she married Sela, the third, — by means of a testimony from a book falsely attributed to St. John Chrysostom, — and at the introducing into the debate of a most suspicious interpretation of the name 'brother'.

<sup>2)</sup> *Roberti Wakfeldi ... Syntagma de Hebreorum codicum incorruptione* <London, W. de Worde : no date > : that book opposes Bishop Fisher's defence of the Queen : cp. Maitland, 230, 396-97 ; *CatLamb.*, 115 : Allen, vii, 1932, 144-47, 1955, 4, sq. — To that work is joined a long letter to Fisher *de non ducenda fratria*.

<sup>3)</sup> Wood, i, 684.

<sup>4)</sup> Amongst them is an *Oratio Oxoniæ habita in Collegio Regio*, a public lecture, printed with the *Syntagma* : Maitland, 397 ; also *Paraphrasis in Librum Koheleth (quem vulgo Ecclesiasticen vocant)* ; 'The Boke called Sydrak', by Wakefeld, is preserved in MS. Addit. 2232 of the British Museum. Cp. Bale, 367 ; Pits, 727 ; Wood, i, 39-40 ; Hallam, ii, 349 ; Warton, iii, 260-61 ; *ULAnn.*, 1845, 184-85 ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 523-26 ; Maitland, 229, 230, 396 ; Cooper, i, 64, 531 ; *DNB* ; *PrintLists*, de Worde, 25, &c. — In his *Syntagma* Wakefeld mentions a Chaldaic Lexicon which he had composed with great pains, and which had been taken

tion some books and manuscripts belonging to the abbeys that were to be suppressed <sup>1</sup>). His brother Thomas evidently shared his interest in Hebrew, for he was appointed professor of that language in Cambridge in 1540 <sup>2</sup>), three years after Robert's decease, which happened in London on October 8, 1537 <sup>3</sup>).

## 4. OPPOSITION TO ERASMUS

### A. RENEWED DIFFICULTIES

Even during the periods of comparative calm, such as the one in which the executors tried to come to an understanding for the adoption of the College, there were always treacherous undercurrents which, at the least obstacle, turned the quietly moving waves into a seething surf. Lee's sullen discontent was an unceasing cause of trouble and difficulties <sup>4</sup>). One of the last remarks in Erasmus' *Apologia*, attributing the continuous slander and criticism of a man whom he did not name, to a desire to gain fame by a *via ... compendiaria, sed omnium sceleratissima*, which Lee understood to be levelled

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away from his house 'apud Morgate', with several other Latin, Greek and Arabic books; amongst them there was a Latin translation of the Scripture from the Hebrew by Cardinal Adam Eston, or Easton († 1397), an Englishman : *ULDoc.*, iv, 525, quoting *PF*.

<sup>1</sup>) He is said to have saved Laurent Holbeach's Hebrew Dictionary, and several other manuscripts from the Abbey of Ramsay, although Pits, 727, insinuated that he unduly appropriated them : Warton, iii, 261; Constant, 113-14, 473.

<sup>2</sup>) Thomas Wakefeld studied in Cambridge, and, probably with Fisher's permission of 1523-24, also abroad : Allen, v, 1311, 44; he was appointed on November 9, 1540, Regius professor of Hebrew in Cambridge. He wrote *Locutiones seu Phrases in Novo Testamento, quæ videntur secundum proprietates linguæ Hebrææ*, 1544; also annotations in Philo Judæus, Philip Melancthon and Sebastian Munster. Some of his books became the property of Archbishop Whitgift, and are still preserved at Lambeth Palace : Maitland, 69, 354-359. A third brother, John Wakefeld, was comptroller of Cranmer's household : Cooper, i, 337-38; Gough, 780.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. Wood, i, 39-40, 51; Pits, 727; *PF*, i, 513-522; Pocock, 18, 21, sq, 149, sq, 306-309, 317; Cooper, i, 63-4, 531; Hallam, i, 345; NèveMém., 231-34; *ULDoc.*, iv, 523-26; Allen, iii, 674, 29, v, 1311, 44, sq, viii, 2266, pr.

<sup>4</sup>) Bludau, 86-125; RhenE, 233-35; Allen, iv, 998, 1019, 1026, 11, sq, 1029, 29, 1030, 20, 1053, 340, sq, 1061, 61, &c.

at him, caused a new outburst of animosity <sup>1)</sup>. Instead of listening to the wise advice of his old friend Thomas More, who, on May 20, 1519, counselled him to try and be at peace with the great Humanist, and rather to appreciate the grand work and the vast labour it had cost than to cause him interminable annoyances <sup>2)</sup>, he willingly yielded to the exciting of some of Erasmus' enemies who roused him up to obloquy and detraction.

Not contenting himself with looking for faults and wrong annotations in the just published *Novum Instrumentum*, he welcomed and in his turn stirred up as many helpers as possible amongst his acquaintances and amongst the students of theology to enlarge the number of impeached explanations <sup>3)</sup>. Nor did he appeal in vain to the general eagerness amongst the members of Orders to point out some new places in that book where Erasmus seemed to have anticipated Luther. Indeed, his partiality to the Wittenberg Monk was speculated and practised upon to create a suspicious antipathy <sup>4)</sup>; it was not any longer a secret that he had received a flattering letter from the revolter <sup>5)</sup>, whom he constantly excused on account of his willingness to submit to the Pope <sup>6)</sup>, and to the judgment of the Universities <sup>7)</sup>, whereas he expressed the doubt whether his loudest contradictors had ever read any of his books <sup>8)</sup>. It was pointed out, on the

<sup>1)</sup> *ErApol.*, 120; *Bludau*, 96, *sq.*; *Allen*, iv, 993, 34-43, 1037, *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> *EpErVir.*, 69, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Allen*, iii, 973, 5, *sq.*, iv, 993, 28, 998, 42-44, 1074, 80, *sq.*, 1097, 6, 1098, 18; *RhenE*, 233.

<sup>4)</sup> On July 1, 1519 Erasmus wrote to Leonard Priccard: *quod theologos aliquos habeam iniquiores, id ex falsissima natum est suspicione. Persuaserant sibi Lutheri doctrinam me propugnatore niti...*: *Allen*, iv, 993, 44, *sq.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Cp.* before, *pp.* 352-53.

<sup>6)</sup> *Allen*, iv, 1033, 55-68, 115-118; *Enders*, i, 200-204: May 30, 1519: Luther to Leo X.

<sup>7)</sup> Basle, Freiburg, Louvain and Paris: *cp.* Luther's letter of Nov. 18, 1518, to Frederic the Wise, relating what had been proposed to Cardinal Cajetan: *Enders*, i, 291, 255-263, 297, 464-65; *Grisar*, i, 346. On May 30, 1519, Erasmus states that he expects that Luther's '*prudencia... cautura sit ne res exeat in factionem ac dissidium*': letter to John Lang: *Allen*, iii, 983, 8-10.

<sup>8)</sup> *Allen*, iv, 1033, 85-95.

other hand, that Erasmus' and Luther's opinions agreed, if not on dogmatic points, at least about many religious practices, which to some seemed highly important, and which the Humanist had made the butt of his satirical shafts.

In consequence, at the instigation of Briart — at least so Erasmus supposed <sup>1)</sup> — it was resolved to examine all his writings to find errors. The Bachelors in Theology were entrusted with that work, which gave an abundant harvest and became the only topic of the College meals <sup>2)</sup>. Erasmus got an inkling of the plot, and straightway requested Briart and Dorp to note down some offensive passages; they indicated a very small number of points of little importance, and requested an explanation, not so much, they said, for themselves as for their weaker brethren. The justifying memoir gave full satisfaction to Briart, who had already stated before that he was convinced of Erasmus' good faith <sup>3)</sup>; the only doubtful point was the origin of auricular confession, on which Erasmus did not give his opinion; nor did Briart want to make himself a declaration on that matter, so that it was dropped <sup>4)</sup>.

That is Erasmus' version of the first difficulties, which thus seemed to be allayed, at least outwardly <sup>5)</sup>. Indeed the opposition was still rankling; besides, on account of similar arguments and of a rather florid style, at least in the prefatory matter, it was even suspected that Luther's writings had been made under Erasmus' inspiration if not with his actual help <sup>6)</sup>.

#### B. HIS APPEAL TO LEO X

The constantly growing opposition of the theologians alarmed Erasmus, and induced him to appeal to Leo X, to whom he wished to announce that the second edition of the

<sup>1)</sup> Solus, vt ferunt, Noxus ille fuit, qui et olim instigauit Dorpium et hanc totam tragoediam excitauit: id iam pridem suspicione collectum iam plane comperi: Erasmus to Tunstall, Oct. 16, 1519: Allen, iv, 1029, 2-4.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1225, 109-112.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1225, 112-118.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1225, 118-123.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 993, 47-51: Intelligunt tandem errorem suum, sed pudet agnoscere: &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 97-99, 1167, 105-7, 1225, 106-109.

*Novum Instrumentum* was inscribed to him <sup>1</sup>). In the dedicatory letter, dated August 13, 1519, he accuses some of his contradictors of condemning languages and literature as dangerous <sup>2</sup>), of calumniating their use for the promotion of good learning and purer theology, and of exciting the people against them, as if they were heresies <sup>3</sup>). He finally requests the Pope to silence that obloquy, so that the *bonæ literæ* might not be prevented from promoting the work of the higher Faculties, Theology and Laws, Philosophy and Medicine <sup>4</sup>).

That request was evidently made in consideration of the College of the Three Tongues, in sincere solicitude and full realization of the growing danger, not only for its welfare and prosperity, but even for its adoption and incorporation : there was, in fact, an unmistakable antipathy against the new Institute <sup>5</sup>), which was so much the more injurious since it pretended to be inspired by a zeal for faith and religion, and by the dread and hatred of heresy <sup>6</sup>). And yet Erasmus, whose cause was identified with that of his *Collegium Trilingue*, did not at all want to destroy the past : he was not in any way an enemy of the Middle Ages ; he neither wanted to expel Aquinas nor Scotus from the Schools <sup>7</sup>) ; he only wished to correct what was mistaken, and to perfect what was good : ‘ Mihi sat est ’, he wrote on August 9, 1519, about the Queen of all Sciences, ‘ si theologia magis sobrie tractetur quam antehac est tractata <condemning the wild, and yet useless, debates> ; et subinde petatur ex fontibus Evangelicis quod antehac e lacunis non vndiquaque puris

<sup>1</sup>) The second edition was issued by Froben in March 1519 : *EraBib.*, II, 57 ; Bludau, 23, sq ; Allen, III, 809, 84-93, 860, 44-49, 864, IV, 1007, 1010.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, IV, 1007, 37-39 : the letter is dated from Louvain, probably to indicate a permanent address, for Erasmus was just then at Antwerp, where he dated a letter to James of Hoogstraeten on August 11, and one to Christopher Hack on August 13 : Allen, IV, 1006, 1008.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, IV, 1007, 40-71.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, IV, 1007, 113-121.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. e.g., Allen, III, 991, 35-49, IV, 1006, 333, sq.

<sup>6</sup>) Cp. e.g., Allen, IV, 993, 44-48, 61, sq, 1033, 196-211, 219, 230-40.

<sup>7</sup>) Letter of August 9, 1519 to Nicolas Bérault : *Quoniam mea studia non eo spectant ut Thomam aut Scotum e scholis publicis explodant veteraque possessione depellant : quod nec meorum est virium, et, si esset, haud scio an sit optandum, nisi iam paratum videamus doctrinæ genus aliquod hoc præstantius* : Allen, IV, 1002, 8-12.



solemus haurire plerique' <sup>1)</sup>). And yet he was treated, and denounced from the pulpit and the chair, as a worse enemy of the Church and of faith than Luther.

To the attacks already endured from numberless frank or dissembling adversaries, was added, about that time, the misery of the preposterous interference of a short-sighted friend, Nesen.

## 5. THE 'DIALOGUS BILINGUIUM'

### A. NESEN'S ARRIVAL IN LOUVAIN

The continuous difficulties which beset Erasmus in Louvain caused great concern for him amongst his friends in various countries. One of them, Nicolas Bérault, *Beraldus*, a humanistic editor and lecturer in Paris <sup>2)</sup>, had been his host at Orleans in 1506, when he was on his way to Italy. Ten years later that connection was revived <sup>3)</sup>, and when, in March 1519, one of his acquaintances, a German preceptor, William Nesen, wanted to go and prepare a stay with some of his pupils in Brabant to be near Erasmus, he entrusted him with a letter, which could not be handed personally, as the great Humanist was just then in Mechlin <sup>4)</sup>.

When Nesen removed to Louvain, Bérault once more

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1002, 13-16.

<sup>2)</sup> Nicolas Bérault, born at Orleans about 1470, was most eager at his studies; he started teaching in his native town, where by 1510, he attended the lectures of Aleander, whom he followed to Paris. He edited several texts, and thus became one of the chief humanists in France; he greatly admired Erasmus, and became himself one of the erudites patronized by Stephen Poncher, whom he accompanied to England in August 1518. He lectured on Greek and Latin in various colleges in Paris, and took students in his own house, amongst them Stephen Dolet; in 1529 he was appointed Royal Historian, which he remained till his death, after 1545. Cp. L. Delaruelle, *Nicolas Bérault* (in *Rev. des Bibliothèques*, 1902 : 421-445); FG, 303; Allen, iii, 925, *pr*; Renaudet, 490, *sq*; *BudERép.*, 3, 39, 41, &c; *MonHL*, 201; *Dolet*, 15, *sq*, &c; *Herminjard*, i, 33, iii, 194, 219; *Roy*, 4; *Givry*, i, 110, ii, 187.

<sup>3)</sup> In a postscript added to a letter from Francis Deloynes, about Nov. 26, 1516 : Allen, ii, 494, 65-69, 535, 38-49.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iii, 925 : March 16, 1519 : in the latter part of that month Erasmus was at the Court : cp. before, p 338.

entrusted him with a letter to Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, and in his earnest desire to bring some relief in the trouble caused by the theologians, of which he had heard the rumour, he wrote a letter to Dorp, whom he supposed to be still an adversary of Erasmus as he had been five years before <sup>2)</sup>. Opining that he was the instigator of his fellow-professors, he sent him a message in the name of a group of theologians and humanists, *cuiusdam sodalitatis*, no doubt protected, as he was himself, by the Archbishop of Sens, Stephen Poncher, who was known as a generous promoter of learning and studies <sup>3)</sup>, Bérault and his friends strongly dissuaded Dorp from criticizing Erasmus and from exciting his colleagues against him, advising rather to second and assist that great Man, whose excellence and lofty aims were highly praised. On that account the letter was not to be communicated to Erasmus, whom Bérault did not want to flatter so clumsily : he only announced to him that a letter was to be handed to Dorp, the purport of which the bearer would tell him <sup>4)</sup>.

That bearer, William Nesen, a native of Nastätten, *Anaxapolis*, near St. Goarshausen <sup>5)</sup>, had studied in Basle from 1511 to 1515, when he promoted Master of Arts ; he started teaching there <sup>6)</sup>, working at the same time as corrector for printers <sup>7)</sup>, which made him acquainted with Beatus Rhenanus <sup>8)</sup>, Zwingli, and also with Erasmus, whose edition of

<sup>1)</sup> Paris, July 1, 1519 : Allen, iv, 994 ; a few days before, when Hompen preceded his preceptor to Louvain, he also took a letter from Bérault, dated June 20, 1519 : Allen, iii, 989.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., when Dorp, in 1514 and 1515, wrote two admonitory letters to Erasmus : *MonHL*, 139, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 305 ; *MonHL*, 202.

<sup>4)</sup> Quid ad Dorpium theologicæ cuiusdam sodalitatis nomine scripserim, ex Neseno malim te quam ex literis meis intelligere : Allen, iv, 994, 13-15.

<sup>5)</sup> He probably was born between 1493 and 1495.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, ii, 462, 4 ; RhenE, 190.

<sup>7)</sup> In 1514, Nesen edited Michael Lochmayer's *Parochiale Curatorum*, printed by M. Furter. He seems to have been working for Froben as late as March 1517 : RhenE, 91, 92.

<sup>8)</sup> Beat Bild, son of Antony Bild, of Rheinau (Rinow, Rynower), *Rhenanus*, was born at Schlettstadt on August 22, 1485. After having been trained in his native town under L. Dringenberg's (cp. p 196) successors, Hofmann and Gebwiler, he went to study in Paris, where he promoted

Seneca, issued by John Froben in April 1515, he revised <sup>1)</sup>. That particular work failed to give satisfaction, and did no honour to Erasmus, who, however, did not show any resentment at the time, corresponding even confidentially with Nesen in 1518 and 1519 <sup>2)</sup>, and dedicating to him the new edition of the *Copia*, by Froben, April 1517 <sup>3)</sup>. It was only after 1520, that the indifferent correction was mentioned as a proof either of mental deficiency or of faithlessness and perfidy <sup>4)</sup> : the old friendship of Louvain was broken, and never restored.

In the spring of 1517, Nesen had come to Paris <sup>5)</sup> with three students, with the two sons of a rich Frankfurt patrician and consul, Nicolas von Stalberg, or Stalberger <sup>6)</sup>, and Louis Kiel, *Carinus*, of Lucerne <sup>7)</sup>. He continued studying languages and

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M.A. in 1505; he worked for two years as corrector for Henry Stephanus, and afterwards served Schürer at Strassburg, until he went to Basle in 1511, where he became one of the most able men in his trade, besides being a great erudite and a most judicious editor. He rendered inappreciable services to Erasmus and to learning in general. He retired in 1526 to Schlettstadt, where he studied and worked until his death, May 20, 1547, bequeathing his wealth of books to the Town Library, where they are still carefully kept. Cp. A. Horawitz, *Des Beatus Rhenanus Literarische Thätigkeit* : Vienna, 1870-73; RhenE, 1-11; FG, 411-12; *CatSél.*, pp xi, sq, 5, 563; Sandys, II, 263; Allen, II, 327, *pr*; &c. — On Sept. 5, 1512, Rhenanus dedicated to Nesen an edition of poems by Piattino Piatti and Marcellino Verardi : Strassburg, Matt. Schürer, April 1513 : RhenE, 6, 53, 599, 600. Cp. also Trit., 441; Opmeer, I, 478, b.

<sup>1)</sup> RhenE, 74-75; Allen, II, 325, *pr*, 328, 2-4, 329, 330, 5-6.

<sup>2)</sup> Letters of April 17, 1518 and March 21, 1519 : Allen, III, 816, 931.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter of September 5, 1516; for that dedication thanks were duly returned : Allen, II, 462, 469, 13, sq, 473, 9; Reich, 191, 196-97.

<sup>4)</sup> In the letter to Haio Herman Hompen, Aug. 31, 1524 (Allen, v, 1479, 86-89), to Robert Aldridge, Dec. 25, 1525 (Allen, vi, 1656, 5-7), to Thomas More, March 30, 1527 (Allen, vii, 1804, 71-73) and to Bishop Peter Tomiczki, January 1529 (Allen, viii, 2091, 34-38).

<sup>5)</sup> Erasmus wrote to him from Louvain, August 23, 1517, and January 18, 1518 : Allen, III, 630, 768.

<sup>6)</sup> Nicolas and Crato Stalberger, of Frankfurt : RhenE, 122-23; *MonHL*, 201. On November 22, 1518, Beatus Rhenanus dedicated to them the first edition of the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ*, which Erasmus composed in 1498, but of whose existence he had lost sight : *BB*, E, 405; RhenE, 122-23, 605; Steitz, 57.

<sup>7)</sup> Louis Kiel, *Carinus*, studied in Basle under Glareanus and Nesen; he followed the latter to Paris in 1517, and to Louvain in 1519. In 1520

literature in the humanistic sense, making friends with those who were sympathetic to the same movement <sup>1)</sup>, and, amongst them, with Nicolas Bérault <sup>2)</sup>, for whom he took a letter to Louvain in March 1519, addressed to Erasmus <sup>3)</sup>. He, no doubt, contemplated settling in the town where that great Man resided, and probably wanted to make some arrangements. Although he did not meet Erasmus, he most probably found that it was possible to come and live with his pupils in the same Pedagogy where he had his room. No doubt he was attracted by the advantage of residing in his near vicinity, and of even sharing his meals : he decided on removing to Louvain at the first opportunity with the Stalbergers, with Louis Kiel, Carinus, of Lucerne <sup>4)</sup> as well as with a fourth student, Haio Herman Hompen, of Emden, *Phrysius* <sup>5)</sup>. The latter was sent in advance with a letter of

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he was a pupil of John Cæsarius in Cologne ; then, Capito's secretary in Mayence, until, in July 1523, he went to replace Nesen as schoolmaster of Frankfurt. He taught at Coblenz, Paris, Louvain (by 1536), Padua, Bologna, and, from 1546, in St. Thomas' School, Strassburg, until his death, January 17, 1569, when he is called M.D. : RhenE, 6, 186, 377 ; FG, 320-22 ; Knod, 236 ; Allen, III, 920, IV, 1026, 9, 1034 ; Hoynck, II, i, 62, 228-31 ; SchelAH., I, 736-37 ; *MonHL*, 202. — Erasmus had a dispute with Carinus about the method in which the young Froben was to be instructed : Allen, III, 635, 20, and the disapproval of Nesen's editing of Seneca, in the preface to the second issue (Jer. Froben and Jo. Herwagen, March, 1529), greatly incensed his old pupil Carinus, called *Carcinus* for the occasion, which developed into hostilities between him and Felix Konings *Polyphemus* : RhenE, 377 ; Steitz, 157, sq ; *ErColTran.*, xi-xii, 23-25. — Cp. further, Chs. VII and XIX.

<sup>1)</sup> James Lefèvre d'Étaples mentioned Nesen in his letter to Rhenanus of April 9, 1519 : RhenE, 151-52 ; Herminjard, I, 42-44 ; Nesen himself wrote from Paris to Zwingli, describing the tumult of the University students against the *Concordat*, April 28, 1518 : *ZwiOZ*, VII, 22 ; Herminjard, I, 37 ; Reich, 247-48.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 390.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 925 : Paris, March 16, 1519. Erasmus was absent from Louvain : Allen, III, 927 (c 19 March)-931 (March 21) ; cp. before, pp 324, 338.

<sup>4)</sup> In autumn 1519, *Beatus Rhenanus* wrote to Nesen in Louvain : *Saluta... Carinum et Stalbergerios* : RhenE, 186, and on October 16 of that year, Erasmus wrote to Thomas Lupset : *Valent hic tui Hermannus Phrysius ac Nesenus cum Carino cæterisque* : Allen, IV, 1026, s.s.

<sup>5)</sup> Haio Herman Ubbena, called, after his mother, Hompen, *Hompilus*, of Emden, *Phrysius* (c 1498-1541), studied in Cologne from December 1515, with Conrad Heresbach (Keussen, II, 508, 102 ; *Heresbach*, 16), and

Bérault to Erasmus, dated June 20, 1519 <sup>1)</sup>, and they themselves probably reached Louvain in the first days of July, as Bérault's third letter, which Nesen brought, was written on July 1, 1519 <sup>2)</sup>).

## B. AN INTEMPESTIVE INTERFERENCE

Nesen took up his residence in the Lily and, as Erasmus' friend, he was admitted to his intimate circle <sup>3)</sup>, where he no doubt got the benefit of able experience and shrewd advice, but where he also was often the eager listener to the great Man's disburdening his impatience and annoyance at the various difficulties with which he and his favourite scheme, the *Collegium Trilingue*, had to contend <sup>4)</sup>. As Nesen made some friends, — amongst them Martin Lips <sup>5)</sup>, — he naturally

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afterwards in Paris. He came to Louvain with Nesen, June-July 1517, and met there Erasmus and Vives, who recommended him to Budé. When in France in 1520, he helped to make peace between Thomas More and Germain de Brie. After studying law in Italy, he became councillor at Leeuwarden and Utrecht: *BibBelg.*, 338; *LatCont.*, 376-77, 390; *Agri-Corr.*, 307-8; Gabbema, 519; Goldast, 223; Hoyneck, II, i, 60-62; FG, 202, 20; Allen, III, 903, 12; *BudERép.*, 80, 90, 113-14; *MonHL*, 202-203. It seems as if in August-September 1519, Haio made a short visit to Paris: Allen, IV, 1002, 41-47, 1011, 8, 1015, 167. — Haio had married Ann, the daughter of Pompey Occo, who had inherited several books and papers from Rudolph Agricola, whereas his sister Frouke Ubbena's husband, John von Linghen, was the son of a sister-in-law of the same great Humanist. He availed himself of those opportunities to collect the writings of that illustrious relative, and had even made an agreement with Alard of Amsterdam for a joint edition of his works; still as his public office took all his attention, he only provided an annotated edition of a translation of Lucian's *De Calumnia*, dedicated to Cardinal Erard de la Marck from Leeuwarden, November 1, 1529, and published by R. Rescius and J. Sturm on July 4, 1530: *NijKron.*, II, 3447; *AgricO*, II, 243-56; *GlenCorr.*, I, 6, II, 3, 8, 11-13; cp. before, p 155.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 989.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, IV, 994, especially 9-15.

<sup>3)</sup> Beatus Rhenanus refers to that residence in his letter to Nesen of the autumn of 1519 (RhenE, 185): *quid aliud est Erasmo cohabitare quam inter ipsas versari Musas, quid cum illo simul eadem mensa accumbere quam celesti interesse convivio?* — The same results from what Haio Herman Hompen wrote to Luther of Erasmus, on March 14, 1520: plus minus octo menses conuictor ipsius tametsi indignus fui: Enders, II, 351.

<sup>4)</sup> Erasmus owns to such sallies in EOO, X, 1639, D, F; cp. Ch. VI, 1, D.

<sup>5)</sup> Soon after he came to Louvain, Nesen made the acquaintance of Lips, and started criticizing Dorp, as the latter wrote to Erasmus: Mox

will have elicited confidential communications, so as to be soon able to piece together the scraps of information he had derived from Erasmus' sallies <sup>1)</sup>; before long, he became sufficiently acquainted with the situation to turn out a most disastrous helper and ally.

Nesen, no doubt, must have felt the trouble that Erasmus experienced when he had to pretend equanimity and fellowship with some of the divines whom he disliked and distrusted, considering them his thorough enemies. Unfortunately as a stranger, he ignored completely the reason *why* Erasmus behaved as a sweet-tempered, well-wishing friend to a Briart <sup>2)</sup>; why he replied to Latomus' attack as if it did not concern him <sup>3)</sup>, whilst he had only to open his mouth to confound them. To Nesen it could not appear that all was done for the sake of the *Trilingue*, whose fate was just then at the very mercy of those divines. Most of all Nesen must have felt highly resentful with Dorp : roused by prejudice against him when he reached Louvain, he must have been surprised to hear Erasmus praise him, in what he probably considered as blindness towards an insidious hypocrite <sup>4)</sup> : it would explain the fact that he did not impart at all to the Great Humanist what message Bérault and his friends had entrusted him with : it was only about August 1, when Erasmus returned to Louvain from a visit to Antwerp <sup>5)</sup> that he heard from Haio Herman what expostulating letter had been handed to Dorp <sup>6)</sup>; yet he knew that there had been some friction between his two friends, for Martin Lips had mentioned Nesen's bitter criticism of Dorp, and had even

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vbi ad nos venit Nesenus, sermo de N. haberi cœpit, &c : Allen, iv, 1035, 1-4; LipsE, 719-720; that letter, as well as its reply, following in both collections, belongs at the latest to the middle of July (4/14), soon after Nesen's arrival in Louvain, — and certainly not to October (as Allen suggests), for evidently Dorp is meant by N., and he was then away to his native country : *MonHL*, 217, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 204-5.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 314, 349, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 343, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 204.

<sup>5)</sup> Erasmus was at Antwerp from July 23 to the last days of that month : on July 31 and August 1, he was in Louvain : Allen, iv, 999, *pr*, 1000, 1001, 3, 7, 96.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, iv, 1002, 35-39.

requested him to call at the Priory that he might learn what exactly was the matter.

In reply Erasmus sent a short note to entreat Lips not to sow any discord between Nesen and Dorp : 'Let them be friends, he wrote, and do not mix in the affair : if there is any secret thing that refers to me, let me have it by the bearer of these lines' <sup>1)</sup>. When finally Erasmus answered Bérault's letter on August 9 <sup>2)</sup>, during another stay in Antwerp <sup>3)</sup>, and referred to his expostulation, he requested the Paris *lector* not to treat Dorp with any bitterness ; if he has done wrong, he added, it was not from personal ill-will, but from his readiness to comply with the wishes of others. Especially at that exact moment he did not want any trouble : 'the theologians are just now either resipiscent or much gentler', he declared, 'which rejoices me, not so much for my sake as for their own' <sup>4)</sup>.

#### C. THE 'DIALOGUS' AND ITS AUTHOR

Unfortunately the injudicious and meddlesome Nesen had already made havoc of that gentler disposition of the theologians. The witty sarcasm of Erasmus' confidential talk had been like a burning coal in his fingers ; he probably thought that he perceived another Ortwin Gratius, and did not doubt but fate had provided him, the eager humanist, with ample matter to create another sensational satire, which would be even more incisive and malicious than the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* <sup>5)</sup>. He composed his pamphlet and sent it to his

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1035, 1-4, 1036 ; LipsE, 719-720 : cp. before, p 395, for the probable date, July 4/14, of those two notes.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1002.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus returned to Antwerp in the first days of August 1519 ; he had met Peter Alamire, the musician and painter (*Busl.*, 67, 69, 70) in Louvain *circa* *Calendas Augusti*, probably on July 31, or 30 : *post decem ferme* he went to Mechlin, and from there to Antwerp : Allen, iv, 999, *pr.*, 1001, 3-7, 96, 1002-1009.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1002, 33-40. Dorp soon afterwards gave proof of his attachment to the opinions of the Humanists by editing his *Oratio de Laudibus Pauli* : cp. the letter to Bérault, Oct. 15, 1519 : Allen, iv, 1024, 2-9.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 207.

friend Conrad Resch, in Paris, to be printed <sup>1)</sup>). Still he could not keep it a secret, as it was probably known to his pupils, and manuscript copies may have been circulating. At any rate, the news soon spread that the theologians were going to be libelled most bitterly by the *literati*. It was added that especially Dorp, suspected of continuing in secret to criticize Erasmus and all good literature, was to be handled roughly. Hearing the ominous news, and dreading the fate of a Pfefferkorn or a Gratius, Dorp was moved : he was evidently aware that in many countries he was only known for having once admonished Erasmus to treat theologians and friars with due respect ; as the great Humanist, with whom he actually was in excellent understanding, was absent from Louvain, and as he dreaded that the attack should come from Basle or Strassburg, he, on August 3, wrote most insistingly to Beatus Rhenanus, beseeching him to suppress any libel against him if he knew of it, or to have it suppressed by his friends Hutten or Louis Ber, Wolfgang Capito or Claud Cantuuncula <sup>2)</sup>), assuring most sincerely that he heartily wished well to Erasmus, and that he had even lately saved him from great trouble arising from a speech by one of the theologians <sup>3)</sup>, — no doubt Briart <sup>4)</sup>).

A few days later copies of the libel reached Louvain : it bore as title :

ERV DITI ADVLESCEN  
tis Chonradi Naftadiëfis Ger  
mani Dialogus faneq̃ festi-  
uus bilinguium ac tri-  
linguium, fiue de  
funere Cal-  
liopes.

<sup>1)</sup> Conrad Resch, a native of Basle, established as bookseller, possibly also as printer, in Paris 'in vico Iacobeo', taking as ensign 'sub Scuto Basiliensi', where afterwards Christian Wechel exercised his craft : Renouard, I, 41, II, 254 ; *Gra.*, lxxii. — Resch was Nesen's friend : he sent him a copy, now in the Bodleian, of Lee's *Annotationes*, printed in Paris by Gourmont about February 1520, with the inscription : Ex dono Conradi Resch. Ad Gulielmum Nesenum : Allen, IV, 1095, pr ; *CorpCath.*, XVI, lxxxv.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 54-55 ; his work *super primos Institutionum* is quoted in *CatCloet*, 759.

<sup>3)</sup> RhenE, 169 ; *MonHL*, 206.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 313-14.



Below, on the title page is the announcement : 'Sub scuto Bafilienfi venale / comperies.' On the reverse of the title there is a letter of : CHONRADVS NASTA- / dienfis Germanus amico / lectori S. It is dated : Lutetiæ, 5. Calen. Martias. The title is partly repeated on *fa* 2, *r*, and after the list of INTERLOCUTORES the text begins with a large ornamented S. It extends over 20 pages (*a* 2, *r*-*a* 8, *v*, *b* 1, *r* to *b* 3, *v* : *b* 4 being blank); it has as colophon : CHONRADI NASTADI- / enfis Germani, bilin- / guum / ac trilinguium feu de / funere Calli- / opes, / DIALOGI FINIS. <sup>1)</sup>

Imitating Hutten's *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* <sup>2)</sup>, and possibly an early sketch of Erasmus' *Apotheosis Capnionis* <sup>3)</sup>, the author represents Mercury and the three *trilingues* Baramia, Titus and Pomponius, hiding in a cloud to see a procession of *bilingues* who have got hold of Calliope, and, after condemning her as a heretic, are on their way to the pyre to burn her alive. Those *bilingues*, men with two tongues, one to flatter and one to backbite <sup>4)</sup>, are the caricatures of Briart, Dorp, Baechem, Latomus, Coppin, Lee and the other theologians of Louvain <sup>5)</sup>. Apollo, with Pallas and the eight remaining Muses, arrive in the nick of time to liberate Calliope and put the *bilingues* to flight. The *Dialogus* is represented as the work *Eruditi Adulescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani*, who dated it from Paris, February 25, calling it a *literatus iocus* seasonable to the days heralding Lent <sup>6)</sup>. Evidently time and place of printing <sup>7)</sup> and name of

<sup>1)</sup> The text of that *Dialogus*, which is so intimately connected with the history of the foundation of the *Collegium Trilingue*, is given at the end of this volume as APPENDIX II, to which is referred as *DiaBiTril.* — As the author added some important passages to his initial composition, the text of the augmented edition, presumably printed by Lazarus Schürer, Schlettstadt, 1520, has been reproduced : cp. further in this section, § E; the textual notes indicate all the changes introduced in the various reprints.

<sup>2)</sup> HutO, III, 413, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> BB, E, 443, 2.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 252, n 4.

<sup>5)</sup> MonHL, 211.

<sup>6)</sup> The mention of the approach of Lent points to 1519, as Ashwednesday was then on March 9; February 25 was *Dies Cinerum* in 1517, and was in full Lent in 1518, 1520 and 1521.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. the further mentioned reference to Lee : pp 399, sq. There were in Louvain discussions about some of Erasmus' opinions as expressed in his writings : yet not even on Febr. 21, 1519, was he personally pointed out as a heretic by Briart when he condemned *Encomium Matrimonii*; nor is it likely that the individual description of the professors could or would be made anywhere except in Louvain.

author are illusive : the libel was written in Louvain in July 1519 by William Nesen : he was a native of Naslätten, and the Conrad mentioned was his younger brother <sup>1)</sup>, who, judging from Beatus Rhenanus' remark, had only started studying Latin very recently <sup>2)</sup>).

No doubt that younger brother was to hide William's authorship <sup>3)</sup>, since he himself wished to settle in Louvain and give private lessons, which would have been as good as impossible if it were known that he had thus criticized the most venerable members of the first amongst the Faculties <sup>4)</sup>. Yet it is positively out of the question to suppose only for a moment that the author should *not have known personally* the theologians referred to ; for they are represented with their bodily defects and their oddities, which details seem a mere fabric of imagination to any one unacquainted with the persons described <sup>5)</sup>. Nor can it be supposed that it should have been written even by an old student of Louvain, or at least under his influence ; for the mention of the ill-disposed Lee <sup>6)</sup> cannot have been known except by those who were

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<sup>1)</sup> Conrad Nesen studied in Basle, and afterwards in Paris, from where he went to Wittenberg at the news of his brother's death. He there became *Licenciatus utriusque Juris* ; for several years he fulfilled the office of juridical councillor at the Court of Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, and died as mayor of Zittau on June 25, 1560 : cp. E. F. Haupt, *Wilhelm und Conrad Nesen* : Zittau, 1843 (reproducing the *Dialogus*, pp 70, sq).

<sup>2)</sup> In the autumn of 1519, Rhenanus wrote to Nesen : Sed heus Nesene, quid accidisse fratri tuo dicam, ut tam subito Latinissimus evaserit... Hactenus fabulam esse putavi Hesiodum in somno poeticam edoctum. Nunc video verum esse, quando Chonradus iste tuus tam repente prodiit bonus, imo optimus orator, nuper vixdum grammaticus, ut ille quondam e pastore vates. &c : RhenE, 186 ; it is evident that Rhenanus jests, and that this passage is a proof of William Nesen's authorship. Rhenanus made a laudatory mention of Nesen in his letter to Albert Burer, Nov. 1519 : RhenE, 190.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Steitz, 74.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 209-210.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. the notes to *DiaBiTril.* (APPENDIX II), 182-454.

<sup>6)</sup> Lee had prepared a few criticisms on, and proposed corrections for, the *Novum Instrumentum*, some of which Erasmus introduced into the second edition without any reference to the one who had suggested them, as they probably were obvious. When Lee, who chiefly was looking for a means to gain fame and renown, saw that his name was not even mentioned, he became a violent foe from the friend and collaborator he had been up to then, and soon took the lead of the opposition in Louvain : *MonHL*, 199 ; Allen, III, 765, *pr*, 936, 31, sq ; Bludau, 86, sq.

in Louvain in May-July 1519, when the enmity, begun when copies of the second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, March 1519, reached Louvain <sup>1</sup>), flared up at a veiled allusion in Erasmus' *Apologia*, written on the occasion of Latomus' *Dialogus de Trium Linguarum* <sup>2</sup>). Still it was only on July 15 that Erasmus expostulated with Lee in a letter for having become suddenly a foe from a friend, bitterly criticizing in his absence and not making the slightest remark in his presence <sup>3</sup>). In that same letter reference is made to some of his German admirers who are ready to attack his enemies, — which may even have suggested the writing of this libel <sup>4</sup>).

When the *Dialogus* reached Louvain in the first half of August <sup>5</sup>), the theologians caricatured and their adherents were greatly incensed against Erasmus, who was considered to be the author. The tone and ideas seemed so similar to those of the great Humanist that several of his best friends

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<sup>1</sup>) The second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum* appeared at Basle in March 1519, and will have reached Louvain in April, when they started contradicting and criticizing Erasmus : Allen, III, 952, 23, sq, 964, pr, 970, 4-12, &c. By the end of May, Lee began his open attacks : Allen, III, 972, 2, sq, 973, 3, sq ; *MonHL*, 199.

<sup>2</sup>) In his reply to Latomus' *Dialogus*, Erasmus singled out one of his opponents, a νεογέρον, whom he describes as a cheater and a makeshift naturally disposed to boasting and slandering, who only wants to gain a name by criticizing those who do what they can to deserve well : *ErApol.*, H 5, r (120).

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, IV, 998, 7-10, 1037, pr.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, IV, 998, 62, sq : in Germania complures sunt qui mihi impensius student etiam quam velim. Nec ignoras huius gentis animos ingenique violentiam : — no doubt he had in his mind Ulrich v. Hutten and Justus Jonas, even Wolfgang Capito and Bilibald Pirckheimer, Herman of Neuenahr and Herman von den Busche. Cp. also Enders, II, 351-52.

<sup>5</sup>) The pamphlet was not known to Dorp on August 3, when he wrote to Rhenanus to have it suppressed : *RhenE*, 169 ; when Lee returned from Antwerp, where he had met Pace when he passed there, July 22/27, he found it circulating in Louvain : Allen, IV, 1061, 505 ; *MonHL*, 209 : cp. Edw. Leus, *Annotaciones in Annotaciones Novi Testamenti Desiderii Erasmi* (Paris, without name of printer or date : f cc v). — It had been rumoured in Louvain that Pace had brought the pamphlet from Frankfurt into the Netherlands when returning from the election of Charles V as Emperor : yet he declared not to have seen that *Dialogus* before he reached England again : Allen, IV, 1001, 53-62 ; *EpErVir.*, 87.

attributed the libel to him <sup>1)</sup>. Yet there is a difference between this *Dialogus* — which, apart from the vivid sketching of the theologians <sup>2)</sup>, is mere ranting — and the clever, witty *Colloquia*, which show a master's hand from the first to the very last sentence <sup>3)</sup>. Moreover, Erasmus had every reason to abstain from writing such a lampoon, and even, to prevent that others should edit it <sup>4)</sup>, since he did not want to excite the animosities of the divines, who were far too powerful in the Academic Senate where he wished to have the *Collegium Trilingue* accepted <sup>5)</sup>. It would have been a madman's freak to insult the leading professors of divinity for the sake of the 'three' languages, just at the time when the incorporation or the rejection of Busleyden's foundation lay at their mercy.

Equally conclusive is the way Dorp is libelled : Erasmus would certainly not have treated him as cruelly as the *Dialogus* does it, since, for a good while, he had given unmistakable proofs of his excellent disposition <sup>6)</sup>. But Nesen, in his prejudiced ill will against Dorp, betrayed himself as the author of the pamphlet since he represents him, at least, as one of the worst of Erasmus' adversaries. In his ignorance of the real state of things he thought more of the

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<sup>1)</sup> Bilibald Pirckeimer, and also Bernard Adelman, who had secured a copy on Oct. 15, 1519, considered Erasmus to be the author, as results from the latter's letter of November 1, 1519 : Heumann, 177, sq ; HutE, I, 314 ; so did Zwingli : ZWE, I, 251 ; it was most probably also the opinion of Boniface Amerbach, who wrote to Zasius about September 1519, when sending the pamphlet : 'Subodoraberis auctorem. Non enim Lucianus festivius lusisset' : BbBasle, MS. C. v1a. 73 : f 380.

<sup>2)</sup> *DiaBiTril.*, 182-451.

<sup>3)</sup> That difference of style and tone was already pointed out by Pace as a proof against Erasmus' authorship : *EpErVir.*, 88.

<sup>4)</sup> It has been suggested that Erasmus corrected and polished a squib written by Nesen : Allen, IV, 1061, 505 ; ZWE, I, 251 ; still it is unbelievable that he should have helped on, and not suppressed, the ill-timed pamphlet, and, at any rate, not deleted the evidently undeserved criticism on Dorp.

<sup>5)</sup> The votes in the Academical Senate being by Faculties, it was most dangerous to add to the opposition, held already by the Arts, those of Theology and Canon Law, mostly composed of priests, as it meant the rejection, if the adoption of the *Collegium Trilingue* were proposed.

<sup>6)</sup> *MonHL*, 211.

prevailing struggle between 'poets' and 'divines' <sup>1)</sup>, and, most injudiciously, produced the lampoon in a contest in which he had no business to interfere, and of which he completely ignored the import. It was most aggravating that he availed himself of the remarks which the witty Erasmus had made in the confidential intimacy of friendly chats, excited as he was by the attacks on the *Collegium Trilingue* and on the *Novum Testamentum* <sup>2)</sup>, which he had to bear meekly and silently until the College was duly incorporated into the University. If Erasmus judged it unfit to give publicity to those remarks, Neuen had no right to use them for a libel : through them, and even through the peculiar way in which they were expressed, it becomes quite natural that enemies, like Lee, as well as friends, like Pirckheimer or Amerbach, considered the great Humanist as the author. Yet — and that is one more argument against that supposition — he had no great difficulty in convincing all the divines of Louvain of the contrary <sup>3)</sup>.

#### D. ERASMUS AND THE DIVINES AT PEACE

When Erasmus, after his visit to Antwerp and to Bruges, returned to Louvain by the end of August 1519 <sup>3)</sup>, he found the theologians roused to open hostility. When he applied to the chief professors, they refused every explanation, until finally Baechem blurted out that they suspected him of having written at least part of Luther's books <sup>4)</sup>; to which charge was added that of being the author of the *Dialogus* <sup>5)</sup>, as well

<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 207.

<sup>2)</sup> *MonHL*, 210-211.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus met Cardinal Campeggio at Bruges and spent one *cæna*, one evening, with him : the Legate, on his way from England to Italy, left Calais on August 26 : he, no doubt, reached Bruges on the same day, and saw Erasmus, who may have accompanied him to Brussels, probably on the next day : Allen, iv, 1025, 4, *sq.*, 1029, 26-28, 1031, 2-3, 1062, 186. The letter to John de Fevyn, dated September 9 (Allen, iv, 1012), belongs indisputably to 1520 (*Cran.*, 115, *f, g*), which thus precludes a protracted stay in Bruges.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1225, 124-28.

<sup>5)</sup> Lee, followed by his supporters, naturally attributed the *Dialogus* to Erasmus : on February 1, 1520, he reproached him the breach of his promise not to write against him : 'Stilum', he wrote, 'vt cohibueris,

as of some slandering placards attacking Lee, affixed to the doors of St. Peter's <sup>1</sup>).

Against those accusations Erasmus opposed the most categorical denial : not one syllable in Luther's writings was his, or was written with his consent or knowledge ; and as to the *Dialogus*, he had not even been conscious of its coming into existence <sup>2</sup>). His absolute assurance and the hare-brained inconsistency of the accusation <sup>3</sup>), must have shaken the confidence of at least the clear-sighted amongst his contradictors, as it looked like ruining one's own plans ; probably also his friends did their best to stem the adverse current as much for the sake of the *Collegium Trilingue* as for that of its promoter. At any rate, it seems as if John Briart had become convinced of the error that had been made, and to prevent further injury to the fame of the man whom he had been one of the first to suspect and to contradict <sup>4</sup>), he made overtures, and sincerely wished for an understanding <sup>5</sup>).

He applied for mediation to Erasmus' host, the *Regens* of the Lily, John de Neve <sup>6</sup>), and to the *gymnasiarcha*, most probably of the Falcon <sup>7</sup>), Nicolas Coppin, or Meuran, of

docent *Apologia ad dominum Iacobum Latomum et Dialogus Trilinguium* &c : Allen, iv, 1061, 503-506. So did some of Erasmus' friends : cp. before, p 401 ; HutE, i, 314 ; Heumann, 177, &c. That opinion is still patronized by HutOS, iv, 535 ; L. Geiger, in *Vierteljahrsschr. für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance* : Berlin, 1886, i, 247-50. — On the other hand, Beatus Rhenanus holds it to be written by William Nesen under his brother's name : RhenE, 186-90 ; so do Simler, in *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, 1583 : 170, and Steitz, 74-78. O. Clemen, *Der Dialogus Bilinguium*, in *Archiv für Reformationsgesch.* : Berlin, 1904 : i, 355-64, opines for Conrad. — P. S. Allen suggests a joint work : Allen, iv, 1061, 505.

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, iv, 1061, 505 : infamatoriæ scedulæ valuis templorum Louanii affixe.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, iv, 1225, 124-132.

<sup>3</sup>) It is evident that Erasmus, eager as he was to get his *Collegium Trilingue* adopted, would have abstained from all attack : he was too wise a man to burn his own boats.

<sup>4</sup>) Their dissension had been chiefly caused by the *Novum Instrumentum* : cp. Allen, iii, 670, *pr*, iv, 1029, 1-8, 1225, 41, 75, 133, 89, v, 1299, 49, vi, 1571, 8, 89, 1581, 156, 245-287, vii, 2045, 94-110 ; *ErasJort.*, ii, 500.

<sup>5</sup>) Allen, iv, 1217, 123, 1225, 133-135, 1029, 5-8, 1033, 18-26 ; EOO, x, 1649, A-B.

<sup>6</sup>) 'Johannes Nævus', of Hondschoote : cp. *Cran.*, 26, *a-f* ; and before, pp 200, 202, &c.

<sup>7</sup>) Erasmus called him : 'qui tum erat gymnasiarcha' in his letter to Barbirius of Aug. 13, 1521 ; he probably had in his mind the Falcon,

Mons, who had been a most successful student of Arts <sup>1)</sup>, professor <sup>2)</sup> of Philosophy <sup>3)</sup> and *regens* of the Pedagogy <sup>4)</sup> which he had saved from insolvency <sup>5)</sup>. After having taught Ethics in the Faculty from October 20, 1514 <sup>6)</sup>, he succeeded, in 1520, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht as dean of St. Peter's <sup>7)</sup>, as professor of Theology <sup>8)</sup> and as Vice-Chancellor of the University. He was most influential and often fulfilled high offices in the University <sup>9)</sup>: he was of a calm and prudent disposition, and

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which he mentions three lines further (Allen, iv, 1225, 134-137), and meant Nicolas Coppin. The name *gymnasiarcha* was used in those days for the *regentes*, as results from the epitaph of one of Coppin's predecessors, Nicolas Pannetier (*ULDoc.*, iv, 313). At any rate, it seems more natural to make use of the services of a priest and a friendly theologian, rather than of those of the Rector John Calaber, a married man, a medical doctor, who never seems to have been familiar with Erasmus.

<sup>1)</sup> He was classed the fifth at the promotion of 1497: *ULPromRs.*, 65.

<sup>2)</sup> *AcArExc.*, 88, 90, 101.

<sup>3)</sup> *LibNomI.*, 36.

<sup>4)</sup> About 1510 he became *regens* of the Falcon: *AcArExc.*, 51, 55, 123.

<sup>5)</sup> Coppin's predecessor, and possibly colleague as professor, Gerard Corradi, of Haarlem, had left the Pedagogy in great debts, which Coppin cleared: on that account the Faculty made him a present of wine at his doctorate in 1513, 'ob insignia merita erga Facultatem': *ActArtInd.*, 8, 9.

<sup>6)</sup> He succeeded Antony Willems of Poortvliet as public professor: *AcArExc.*, 43, 53, 63, 71, 118.

<sup>7)</sup> He had, already before, obtained Adrian's prebend of St. Andrew: *FUL*, 727, 2713; *VAnd.*, 178; *Mol.*, 136.

<sup>8)</sup> He had promoted Licenciate in divinity a few days before he was created doctor, January 26, 1513; on account of the great services he rendered as *regens* of the Falcon, he was allowed on Sept. 28, 1520, to use a deputy for his lesson: de Jongh, 45\*.

<sup>9)</sup> He was elected Rector on August 31, 1512, February 28, 1520 and 1528; — he was chosen dean of the Faculty of Theology on February 28, 1522, 1524, 1532 and August 31, 1527, 1528 and 1530: de Jongh, 47\*-58\*, after having been elected dean of the Arts on June 1, 1515: *ActArtInd.*, 20. He delivered, about 1528 or 1530, two festive orations before the promotions in Arts, in praise of philosophy and of the liberal arts: *AcArExc.*, 123; and he acted as inquisitor, examining Bernard van Orley in May 1527, and James Lefèvre d'Etaples' Bible translation 1529-32: *BelgArch.*, *Et&Aud.*, 1177; *PF*, i, 302; de Jongh, 250; *ActArtInd.*, 25. — He died on June 16, 1535, leaving by his will of June 15, 1535, two scholarships in the Falcon and the H. Ghost College, besides pious gifts and liberalities: *Mol.*, 359, 623, 648; *FUL*, 1371, 1662, 2076; *ExTest.*, 163. — Cp. *Mol.*, 512; *VAnd.*, 60, 78, 100, 246, 264; *LibActVII*, 270, 280; *PF*, i, 61; *BaxH*, iii, 183; *ULDoc.*, i, 262-63, 413, iv, 313, 392; de Jongh, 150, 160, 9\*, 19\*, 24\*, 25\*; Allen, iv, 1162, 108; *Cran.*, xxxv, 2, a, 111, b, 51, 148, g; *Anal.*, xxxix, 302. A namesake, an excellent scribe, made for

seems to have been on excellent terms with humanists in general and with Erasmus in particular, at least up to 1525 <sup>1</sup>). He had already been the witness of a truce between him and the divines on a former occasion <sup>2</sup>).

The two envoys met with ready compliance; and a parley was held on September 13 in the Falcon <sup>3</sup>), which led to an agreement, according to which it was stipulated that bygones should be bygones, and that peace and concord was concluded for the future; the theologians undertook to do whatever they could to restore Erasmus' good renown, whereas he promised to use his influence to stop his friends and acquaintances from libelling <sup>4</sup>). In order to celebrate the very joyful event, Coppin invited all the members of the theological Faculty, including Erasmus, to a sumptuous banquet in the Falcon on the following day, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross <sup>5</sup>): the date is implied by the allusion to a character-

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the Faculty of Arts four copies of the *Statuta* and seven of the *Liber Ordinationum circa Nominationes*, for which in 1541 he was paid 8 Rh. florins and 2 'stuferi': *ActArtInd.*, 42.

<sup>1</sup>) About January 1525 he seems to have been estranged through Bishop Erard de la Marck's influence: Allen, vi, 1549, 13, 1585, 45-49, 1608, 1700, 26, 1703, 18, 1747, 18-44, vii, 1815, 28.

<sup>2</sup>) In the same letter to Barbirius (Aug. 13, 1521), Erasmus relates how, after the appearance of the *Novum Instrumentum*, he doubted whether the theologians were displeased at it and how he decided asking John Briart about it, whom he considered as most reliable: 'cum hoc egi', he writes, 'teste domino Nicolao Montensi, apud quem tum egeramus prandium, vt in eo negocio me sua cura fideque adiutaret': Allen, iv, 1225, 43-5.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, iv, 1022, 21. That Pedagogy seemed fit as a meeting place, as the *Regens* Nicolas Coppin was a theologian and several professors of that Faculty, John Briart, (James of Hoogstraeten,) Nicolas Baechem, John Driedo and Godschalk Rosemondts had studied and taught there for years and were still quite at home: *ULDoc.*, iv, 387-393.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, iv, 1016, 6-16, 1225, 135-140. In his letter of October 15, 1519, to Ortwin Gratius Erasmus announced that in Louvain, too, 'linguae virulentæ... concordiam huius Academiæ lacerant. Et res itidem erat in rabiem exitura, ni magistri nostri ceterique huius Academiæ procures rem animaduertissent. Itaque ventum est in colloquium, et facile discussa discordia pax sarta est, nunquam vti spero distrahenda. Quod ilico factum est Id. Septembr. proximis': Allen, iv, 1022, 17-25.

<sup>5</sup>) There does not seem to be any reason why a concord prepared on Sept. 13, should have been kept in suspense before being solemnized; consequently it is more than likely that the banquet took place not long



istic habit of Nicolas Baechem of Egmond <sup>1)</sup>, who naturally was amongst the guests, although one of the bitterest opponents of the Humanist.

The gratifying news of this *pax vltro oblata* by the theologians was announced to all Erasmus' friends <sup>2)</sup> : it had as result a most welcome period of calm and, in all appearance, of mutual benevolence, which proved most beneficial to the fate of Busleyden's College, as it took out of the way all obstacles for its *Admissio* <sup>3)</sup>.

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*after peace had been made.* As the next day, a Wednesday, was the Exaltation of the Cross, which has always been a popular feast in Brabant, it seems as if it was the occasion to hold that *agape*, which certainly was not kept on Oct. 7, as de Jongh suggests, when the Faculty met again at the Falcon for the *præsentatio sententiariorum*, as it was a Friday ; indeed in a letter to More, Erasmus definitely states that the banquet day was a Wednesday, on which for the only Nicolas Baechem fish had been prepared : 'tantum piscium erat paratum vni Egmondano quantum satis esset quatuor athletic', as would not have been the case for a Friday : the *EpMagNos.*, 592, *sq.*, refers to Baechem's custom : 'Diebus Mercurij uix unquam uescitur carnibus, tantum ouis & piscibus explet se' &c. — Moreover in Erasmus' letter to Stephen Poncher, of October 2, the concord is represented as a *fact, firm and undubitable*, which, considering the various quarrels and fits of difficulties he had experienced that year, it would have been foolhardy to state if the agreement had had yet to stand over some time before being finally adopted : Allen, iv, 1016, 14-16, 1162, 98-115, 1225, 136 ; de Jongh, 211-212, 44\*.

<sup>1)</sup> For Baechem was provided an ample dish of fish, as he sanctified Wednesdays by abstaining from meat : Allen, iv, 1162, 108-110. It was a notorious fact that Baechem observed that abstinence, although there was no precept to that effect outside convents ; that practice of his seems to have been more of a penance to his hosts than to himself, and Erasmus remarked that he had better eat meat even on Fridays than slander his fellow-creatures as he was wont to. That singular devotion is referred to in his *Apologia de loco taxato in publica professione per Nicolaum Emondanum* (1521-22) : EOO, ix, 440, E ; it was naturally made use of in the *Vita S. Nicolai* and the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Lovaniensibus* : *EpMagNos.*, 180-82, 591-95.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., to Bishop Stephen Poncher, Oct. 2, 1519 (Allen, iv, 1016, 14-16), Ortwin Gratius, Oct. 15 (*id.*, 1022, 21-25), to Nicolas Bérault, Oct. 15 (*id.*, 1024, 3-5), to Cuthbert Tunstall, Oct. 16 (*id.*, 1029, 1, *sq.*), to Abp. Albert of Brandenburg, whose cup he should have liked to use on the occasion, Oct. 19 (*id.*, 1033, 18-24), to Bp. Erard de la Marck, by the middle of October (*id.*, 1038, 18-21) ; cp. Allen, iii, 986, 35, iv, 1042, 1-4, 1162, 98-112, 1217, 120-26, 1225, 124-40.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, pp 411-17.

## E. NESEN'S PAMPHLET

The *Dialogus*, which was circulating in Louvain from the first days of August 1519, soon spread abroad and roused great interest as libels generally do : it rejoiced especially all the friends of Erasmus and of Humanism. It was not long in reaching Basle, where probably John Froben reproduced in September the Paris edition (= P), correcting some evident mistakes, but adding neither name nor date (= B) <sup>1)</sup>. Boniface Amerbach sent it in September 1519 to Zasius <sup>2)</sup>. On Sept. 30, Albert Burer, Beatus Rhenanus' servant, dispatched from Basle to his master at Schlettstadt, amongst the latest publications of John Froben, several copies which probably had come as a present from the office : 'Tot nobis <sup>3)</sup> sunt funera, ut te quoque quinque participem reddiderim ; cuius funera mihi mittis ? inquires, Call[i]opes, quæ etiam in hoc conflictu interiit. Longe tamen peiore peste quam interierint quos supra recensui' <sup>4)</sup>. About that time Rhenanus wrote to William Nesen, mentioning the wonderful proficiency of his brother Conrad in Latin, which was evidently a circuitous praise for a circuitous publication <sup>5)</sup>. The *Dialogus* was also sent from Basle to Bernard Adelmann, at Augsburg, by October 15, who, on November 1, agreed with Bilibald Pirckheimer about

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, introduction to APPENDIX II.

<sup>2)</sup> *BbBasle*, MS. C. vi<sup>a</sup>. 73 : 380 : 'Adieci<sup>m</sup>us hiis in Erasmomastygas dialogum. Subodoraberis auctorem. Non enim Lucianus festi<sup><ui></sup>us lusisset' : — evidently Amerbach supposed Erasmus to be the author : yet he did not know the circumstances which were such, that nothing was more absurd than that the great Humanist should, *just then*, publish such a libel : cp. before, p 401.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., his master and himself, in the house which he has to take care of.

<sup>4)</sup> RhenE, 180. In the same letter Burer refers to the decease of several persons in Basle who had recently died from the pest ; amongst them... 'plusquam duodecim virgines vestales in cœnobio dicto Vallis gratiarum' : RhenE, 179.

<sup>5)</sup> RhenE, 186 ; Steitz, 74. The distance between the *vixdum grammaticus* and the *Latinissimus... ipse lepos* is so immense that it should have prevented O. Clemen to accept Conrad Nesen as the author of a *Dialogus*, even if it were not so replete with personal details and information of peculiar local colour, that it is sheer nonsense to attribute it to a young man who never put a foot in the place : cp. Clem*Dial.* and the notes to APPENDIX II.

Erasmus' being the author : 'Dialogum Nastadiensis Erasmi esse bene scribis. Legi hodie eorum nomina, in quos scriptus fuit ; omnes sunt Lovanienses' <sup>1)</sup>. On October 6, Conrad Grebel sent from Melun a copy (probably of *P*) to Vadianus <sup>2)</sup>, whereas Pace saw the *Dialogus* on his return to England <sup>3)</sup>, where it was still offered for sale in Oxford on August 25 and September 13, 1520 <sup>4)</sup>. In that year, on January 4, Albert Burer, announcing to his master that Dorp dedicated a book to him, called him : 'Φέναξ ille Lovaniensis homo ἡρωτέως πολυλότερος' <sup>5)</sup>; whereas Nicolas Gerbel in his *Eccius Dedolatus*, composed on March 20, 1520, introduces a summary of the pamphlet into the conversation <sup>6)</sup>.

In Erasmus' correspondence the *Dialogus* is mentioned a last time in a reply which was made to Martin Bucer on March 2, 1532, about sincerity and the use of *fucus*. The Strassburg divine had, it seems, reviewed the whole history of Erasmus' relation with the Evangelicals, tending to show that Erasmus was one of theirs, but used deceit in his fear of disagreeable results. In reply the Humanist asseverated his love of truth and sincerity, and examined each of the points objected : 'De dialogi trilingui vt largiamur quod tu suspicari videris' <sup>7)</sup>, non id ad Euangelii persuasionem adhibetur fucus ; tametsi quid fuci est vbi nullum apponitur nomen ?' <sup>8)</sup> And

<sup>1)</sup> Heumann, 177-78 ; HutE, I, 314 ; L. Geiger, in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, I : Leipzig, 1886 : 247-50, referring to a note in a copy that was Adelman's.

<sup>2)</sup> VadE, ep. 170.

<sup>3)</sup> EpErVir., 88.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, IV, 1061, 505, quoting F. Madan, in *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, V, 1885 : 117, 121.

<sup>5)</sup> RhenE, 197 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 313-15 : Phenaco ... polypus...

<sup>6)</sup> 'Eckius. Atqui audi, quid Lovaniensibus nuper accidit theologis : quidam enim poeta, vir Belial, libellum sub Nastadiensis conscripsit vocabulo, quamvis non desint qui illum alterius sobolem esse autument, quoniam Lovanienses in eum συκοφαντεῖν non desinunt. Is igitur, præterquam quod in universos theologos ledorias spargat, sub Ἀττης nomine Atensem, sub Phenaci quendam, qui resipuit in tempore, sub Momidis Carmelitam, sub Vertumni Nicolaum a Montibus, sub Phthonidis Leum Anglum, sub Grilli Latomum taxat'. — Cp. S. Szamatólski, *Eccius Dedolatus* : Berlin, 1891 : 30-31 ; HutO, IV, 535 ; Merker, 72-128, 238.

<sup>7)</sup> Viz., *Dato, non concessio*, that I wrote that squib.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, IX, 2615, 168-170.

further<sup>1)</sup>: 'Si cum Neseño nunquam habuíssem familiaritatem, multis molestiis caruíssem in quas ille me coniecit. De truci-bus epistolis prorsus non memini, nisi forte sentis de vita Stulti Nicolai. Nam quidam hoc libelli a me profectum suspi-cabantur. Sed quid hæc ad Bacchum<sup>2)</sup>, vt aiunt?'<sup>3)</sup>

Occasionally the *Dialogus* was used in literature as model for similar compositions : such as that by one of Nesen's successors at Frankfurt, James Micyllus<sup>4)</sup>, who, about 1530, wrote a metrical satire : *Apelles Ægyptius sive Calumnia*, against an enemy that accused him of ruining his school : it is calmer and far more dignified, and certainly more classical, than the *Dialogus*, although far less effective<sup>5)</sup>.

The rather wild spirit and tone of that lampoon, which, no doubt, largely contributed to its popularity amongst humanists and those looking out for reform, greatly annoyed Erasmus in the anxious weeks when the adoption of the *Collegium Trilingue* lay at stake, and it is more than likely that he expressed his bitter disappointment to his heedless friend when he returned from Antwerp to Louvain in the last days of August, or the very first of September, and became aware of the havoc made in his absence. He at once set to work his resourceful mind, most probably joining the two accusations : his being the author of some of Luther's writings, and that of the *Dialogus* : he frankly could deny one, and reduce the other to the natural result of all the difficulties he encountered : namely an outburst of displeasure in the secrecy of a confidential talk, which had been betrayed. As events turned out more satisfactorily than he durst expect, and as the outlook for his *Collegium Trilingue* even became more promising, it is likely that he soon relaxed towards the author of the libel, after the damage had been cleared up, and that he resumed the familiar connection of the friendly days.

<sup>1)</sup> Referring to what Nesen had blabbed out about the authorship of *Julius Exclusus* : Allen, ix, 2615, 182-85.

<sup>2)</sup> *ErAdag.*, 541, D : *Nihil ad Bacchum*, 768, E : *Quid ad Mercurium* ?

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, ix, 2615, 185-90.

<sup>4)</sup> James Moltzer, Micyllus, born at Strassburg April 6, 1503, studied in Erfurt, and arriving at Frankfurt in 1524, directed the school there (1526-32, and 1537-47), whereas he was professor of Greek in Heidelberg from 1533 to 1537 and from 1547 to his death, January 28, 1558 : cp. J. Classen, *Jacob Micyllus* : Frankfurt, 1859.

<sup>5)</sup> *Micyllus*, 85, sq ; *Steitz*, 75.

Still Erasmus did no longer grant his trust, and was especially more prudent when new difficulties arose; this time, they were chiefly directed against Nesen himself, and made him wilder and more vindictive than before. Instead of leaving things to follow their course, he once more indulged in his bent for slandering libels: it is quite evident, however, that he had had to bind himself towards the great Humanist not to publish anything, at least as long as he was in Louvain. He had enlarged the *Dialogus* by some incisive insertions and by the sketch of new victims <sup>1)</sup>: the manuscript had been sent to some friends in Germany and Switzerland already in December, so that Zwingli, writing from Zurich on Jan. 4, 1520, to Myconius, announces that: 'Erasmus dialogum bi- et trilinguium auxit festissime' <sup>2)</sup>. That augmented text (= S) was printed by Lazarus Schurer in his newly started office at Schlettstadt <sup>3)</sup>, with the mention, on the title page: 'Exactissime ad autoris archetypum recognitus', and the year date 'M.D.XX.' closing the colophon <sup>4)</sup>. Without doubt Nesen conceived and began composing other libels: for certain the *Vita S. Nicolai* and the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Lovaniensibus*, which treat of the condemnation of Luther's doctrine by the Faculty of Louvain, although not mentioning the decease of Briart, January 8, 1520: they were published after Nesen returned to Germany, and Erasmus does not seem to have been informed of them by the author. In the last months of that year, Wolfgang Capito probably mentioned their contemplated — or perhaps already effected — publication, to which Erasmus replied on December 6, 1520: 'Neseno scribe vt, si edat Vitam S. Nicolai, quod prorsus ille meretur, addat suum nomen ne quem alium grauet suspitione' <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. notes to APPENDIX II.

<sup>2)</sup> ZWE, I, 251: the editor of that letter seems to have taken *auxit*, not in the sense of: an enlarged edition of what was wrongly believed to be written by Erasmus, but as if Erasmus added something of his own, helped towards, contributed to, what Nesen had composed, — which implies a complete ignorance of the circumstances: seen in their light, those additions are rather a new proof of Nesen's authorship.

<sup>3)</sup> He started a printer's office in the autumn of 1519, and his first — acknowledged — edition is that of Sapidus' *Epigrammata*, March 1, 1520: Proctor, 11980; RhenE, 186; ClemDial., 362.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, introduction to APPENDIX II.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, IV, 1165, 38-39.

Indeed, although ready to criticize most bitterly amongst his confidants, or in an occasional reference in his writings, Erasmus did not feel inclined to compose and publish libels without any other use except revenge : when in the last months of 1524, his friend John Botzheim wished to provide some work to a printer at Constance, and have Nesen's pamphlets reproduced, Erasmus quickly stopped him, and received in reply, November 26, 1524, the assurance that neither *libellus S. Nicolai, nec dialogus* — apparently that of the *Bilinguium* — *excusi sunt* <sup>1)</sup>. No doubt, the apprehension of the danger which had been brought to his favourite College by the injudicious interference, haunted Erasmus for years, and in many of his letters he urges his faithful friends, like Goclenius and Pirckheimer, against the blind enthusiasm of men of Nesen's kind and character. *Neseno si quid scribis*, he wrote to Goclenius, Basle, February 6, 1522 <sup>2)</sup>, *caute scribis. Ille sane mihi fuit amicus infelicissimus. Nihil continet ; nec dispicit quid quando dicendum. Nec prodest bonis literis, nec causæ Lutheranæ, nec suis discipulis...* <sup>3)</sup>

## 6. ADMISSION OF THE COLLEGE

### A. THE AGREEMENT

If it was owing to the tenacity of the patrons that the difficulties created from various quarters had not brought to a standstill the development of Busleyden's great scheme, it was thanks to the peace concluded between Erasmus and the Professors of Divinity, on September 13/14, that the enterprise was moving smoothly towards final recognition. It disposed the members of the University most favourably towards the *Collegium*, and made them ready to grant the admission that had been long withheld. On that account the authorities proposed the agreement of July 12 to the approval of the meeting of the Academic Senate <sup>4)</sup> on September 20, although the order-of-the-day did not mention it ; and on the reading of the various points, a deliberation ensued, which

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, v, 1519, 83.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, v, 1257, 5-8.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. also Allen, iv, 1244, 36, v, 1388, 21-23, 1389, 36, 1512, 23-25 ; and further, Ch. VI.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 367-68.

concluded with the acceptance and formal ratification <sup>1)</sup>; it was, consequently, proclaimed by the Rector <sup>2)</sup>, and attested to by the official act, which, duly signed and sealed, chartered the *Collegium Trilingue*.

## B. TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT

20 SEPTEMBER 1519

The document, of which the text follows here in full, is a manuscript authenticated copy, now in the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels (, FUL, 1435), of the original which used to belong to the Records of the *Collegium Trilingue*; in the *Inventory* of its deeds (*Inv.*, 2, r), it is described as :

G Item een acte gepasseert voer myn heer den Rector  
ende degdeputeerde vander Vniuersiteijt van Louene  
waer mede geaccepteert ende geadmitteert es het voers.  
collegie onder die protectie vander Vniuersiteyt vander  
daten xv C xix den xij<sup>en</sup> Julii Geteekent by Johannes  
Vullinck notarys

The copy takes up five pages of two double folio leaves : on the back of the last leaf, a later hand wrote the title reproduced here, with, below it, 'n° 15°'. The text is exactly rendered, with the exception of the division into paragraphs

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*13 : Deinde lecta fuit concordia concepta inter universitatem et executores testamenti... Que quidem concordia universitati placuit et eam admisit.

<sup>2)</sup> On August 31, 1519, John Calaber, professor of Medicine, was elected Rector. He belonged to a Louvain family, which had given an abbot to Villers, Nonnus Franco Calaber († 1485), and an abbess to Valduc, Margareta Calaber. Under his rectorate his two sons John and Henry matriculated on October 10, 1519, and he took the oath for them : *LibIntIII*, 260, r. He had been elected Rector already on Aug. 31, 1514 and on February 28, 1517, for the Faculty of Medicine, in which science, in 1489, he became doctor and was appointed professor, resigning in 1522. He died on July 14, 1527, advanced in age, and was buried in the chapel of the Convent of the 'Dames Blanches', where he had founded a benefice, and where, until the destruction of the convent, the memory of his generosity was kept alive by an epitaph and a stained glass window with his and his wife's coat-of-arms and device : *Cuncta pace fiant, Lite cuncta reont* : *LibNomI*, 109, v ; VAnd., 41, 228 ; Mol., 81, 474-5, 563, 700 ; Anal., xxxix, 276-294 ; Cran., 150, e ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 262-3. Amongst Calaber's heirs was Judocus Vroeye, of Gavere, who, however, did not inherit anything : *ExTest.*, 168 : cp. before, p 225.

introduced, the resolving of the abbreviations, and the normalizing of the punctuation marks. — This deed is also copied on pp 10-15 of a register, containing wills and acts of foundations of scholarships of the University of Louvain before 1797, written by J. L. Bax, which now forms FUL, 160.

## ADMISSIO COLLEGII TRILINGUIS

### PER RECTOREM ET VNIUERSITATEM

VNIUERSIS et singulis præsentibus litteras visuris, lecturis  
pariter et audituris, pateat euidenter et sit notum  
quod anno a Natiuitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo  
decimo nono, mensis Julij die duodecima, in loco capituli  
5 inferiori Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sancti Petri Louaniensis,  
hora quarta vel circum post meridiem, coram Magnifico  
Viro Domino ac Magistro Joanne de NIVELLE, Legum  
Doctore, Rectore almæ Vniuersitatis Generalis Studij  
Louaniensis, Leodiensis diocesis, et nonnullis Dominis  
10 Deputatis eiusdem Vniuersitatis in satis bono numero  
per eum assumptis, in meique Notarij publici subscripti  
præsentia, comparuerunt Venerabiles et circumspecti  
Viri Domini ac Magistri Anthonius SUCKET, Consiliarius  
Regius a Secretis, Eques Auratus, Nicolaus de NISPEN,  
15 Reuerendissimi Domini Cardinalis Cameracensis Secre-  
tarius, et Bartholomeus de VESSEM, Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ  
Sancti Petri Ariensis Canonicus, vt et tanquam Execu-

1 Vniuersis &c] on f 1, r

15 Cardinalis Cameracensis] William de Croy, nephew of William of Chièvres, was Bishop of Cambrai since 1516, and since 1517, Archbishop of Toledo and Cardinal: *Cran.*, 1, d; Allen, III, 647, *pr*; *BelgChron.*, 353-54; Laenen, I, 179. — From a note taken from the *LibActV*, 307 — destroyed in the fire of Aug. 25, 1914 — it appears that Cardinal de Croy sent in a request which was read at the academic meeting of Dec. 22, 1518, in favour of Gerard de Palude, asking to be appointed 'promotor' in the Court of the Rector and in that of the Conservator Privilegiorum, in the place of Magister Ghysbert Waddinck, deceased, and that the University granted that request, which probably referred to the office of *procurator* of the Courts, and not that of *Promotor Universitatis*, which Waddinck had been only from February 1495 to January 1497: *ULDoc.*, I, 345-6, 429-30.



tores Testamenti seu Vltimæ Voluntatis quondam Eximij  
 Viri Domini Jeronimi de BUSLEYDIS, Vtriusque Juris  
 20 Doctoris dum vixit, ac Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Proto-  
 notarij, necnon Præpositi Ariensis ac Serenissimi Regis  
 Catholici Conciliarij; necnon Venerabilis Vir Dominus ac  
 Magister Joannes ROBBYNS, Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sancti  
 Rumoldj Mechliniensis Decanus, tanquam amicus et  
 25 fautor tam dicti quondam Domini Testatoris quam Exe-  
 cutionis sui Testamenti; Dicentes et exponentes qualiter  
 antedictus quondam Dominus Præpositus dum vixit in  
 Testamento per eum condito, quod morte sua confirmavit,  
 erigi et fundari voluit et desideravit in hac Vniuersitate  
 30 Louaniensi quoddam Collegium ad opus certorum paupe-  
 rum scholarium siue studentium, vnius Rectoris siue  
 Præsidentis, et trium Professorum, qui eosdem pauperes  
 scholares siue studentes, et alios quoscumque illic com-  
 parere volentes, publice instruent seu docebunt, ac coram  
 35 iisdem publice profitebuntur et legent tam christianos  
 quam morales ac alios probatos authores omnibus eo  
 aduenientibus, in tribus Linguis, Hebraica, Græca et  
 Latina, cum et sub certis stipendijs et redditibus ac condi-  
 tionibus per eum in dicto suo Testamento ad longum  
 40 specificatis et ordinatis; Salua etiam potestate ipsis  
 Dominis Executoribus, vt asseruerunt, tradita, quod, in  
 casu quo per eundem quondam Dominum Præpositum  
 Testatorem in et circa foundationem et erectionem eiusdem  
 Collegij minus bene in aliquo prouisum aut prospectum  
 45 fuerit, quod iidem Domini Executores hoc augmentare  
 et diminuere, et etiam de eodem Collegio, in euentum quo  
 Vniuersitas illud sub modis, conditionibus et formis per  
 eundem Dominum Testatorem ordinatis, seu per dictos  
 Dominos Executores iuxta potestatem eis, vt præmittitur,  
 50 attributam ordinandis, acceptare recusauerit, secundum  
 quod eis expedire videbitur ordinare et disponere possent;  
 Cumque ipsi Domini Executores et Decanus prædictus  
 pro adimplentione executionis Testamenti huiusmodi in-  
 tentionis existant dictum Collegium fundandj et erigendj,

31 studentium &amp;c] on f 1, v

34 publice] added over line

54 existant] i indistinct through flourish

55 petiuerunt per dictos Dominos Rectorem et Deputatos,  
 nomine dictæ Vniuersitatis, declarari, An huiusmodi  
 Collegium acceptare et vt exercitia publica in prædictis  
 tribus scientijs siue linguis pro instructione et eruditione  
 60 iuuenum et aliorum qui in ijsdem instrui et erudiri desi-  
 derabunt, permittere et admittere velint vel non, ad finem  
 vt ipsi, responsione desuper habita, possint deliberare  
 quid vlterius in huiusmodi executionis negotio per eos  
 faciendum erit; Subiungentes inter plures et diuersas  
 65 conferentias illic hinc inde habitas, sese bene contentos  
 esse, quod dicti Bursales, Rector siue Præsides, et etiam  
 eorum Professores in omnibus et singulis subsint, prout  
 etiam eos subesse debere asseruerunt, statutis, legibus  
 et ordinationibus dictæ Vniuersitatis, more aliorum legen-  
 70 tium et suppositorum dictæ Vniuersitatis; Et quod dum-  
 taxat legere, aut eorum lectiones facere habebunt illis  
 horis quibus in alijs superioribus facultatibus ordinarie  
 non legitur.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis dicti Domini Deputati  
 concluserunt præfatis Dominis Executoribus responden-  
 75 dum esse et dicendum, prout per organum dicti Domini  
 Rectoris eisdem responderunt et dixerunt, quod ipsi  
 huiusmodi Collegium admiserunt et acceptarunt, cum  
 tamen, et sub conditionibus per eosdem Dominos Execu-  
 tores, vt præmittitur, adiectis: Videlicet quod ipsi Bur-  
 80 sales, Rector siue Præsides, ac eorum Professores in  
 omnibus et singulis subesse debeant statutis, legibus et  
 ordinationibus dictæ Vniuersitatis, et quod ipsi Profes-  
 sores horis extraordinarijs, illis videlicet quibus ordinarie  
 in alijs facultatibus superioribus non legitur, suas lec-  
 85 tiones facere et legere habebunt; quodque Magistri siue  
 legentes, iuxta statutum Vniuersitatis desuper disponens,  
 in quantum illud per Vniuersitatem fuerit obseruatum,  
 postquam intitulati erunt, prius et antequam vt præfertur  
 in aliquâ dictarum trium linguarum in dicto Collegio  
 90 publice dictos aucthores approbatos legere poterunt,  
 debebunt a Dominis Rectore et Decanis Facultatum con-  
 iunctim semel dumtaxat pro legentia et venia legendi

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62 negotio &c] on f 2, r

92 semel] after it was written and crossed off et

supplicare ; quorum supplicationi dicti Domini Rector et Decani illico annuere tenebuntur, nec illam denegare aut  
 95 differre poterunt ; Qua facta diligentia dicti Magistri seu lectores ad eorum lectiones procedent, licentia prædicta petita, obtenta, vel non obtenta ; Saluo quod si Dominus Rector et Decani coniunctim, et tanquam ipsam Vniuersitatem quoad hoc repræsentantes, aliquas causas habue-  
 100 rint, propter quas merito non admitti seu refutari deberent, poterunt illas postmodum quocumque tempore insinuare dictis Executoribus, aut Prouisoribus Collegij deputatis, aut per eosdem imposterum deputandis, quorum erit cognoscere et determinare si causæ oppositionis  
 105 eorum fuerint sufficientes aut legitimæ necne ; Ea tamen adiecta lege, quod tempore altercationis huiusmodi pendente, dicti lectores eorum lectiones continuare poterunt et debebunt, donec per ipsos Executores aut Prouisores ipsa altercatio determinata fuerit ; Saluo quod eandem  
 110 infra bimestre a die insinuationis factæ determinare et decidere habebunt et tenebuntur.

De quibus omnibus et singulis præmissis antedicti Domini Executores et Decanus sese contentos reddentes, ipsis a me Notario publico subscripto actam publicam  
 115 fieri petierunt.

Deinde anno quo supra, mensis vero Septembris die vigesima, hora nona ante meridiem, Magnificus Vir Dominus ac Magister Joannes CALABER, in Medicinis Doctor et Artium Magister, Rector Almæ Vniuersitatis  
 120 prætactæ, necnon quoque Facultates almam Vniuersitatem dicti Studij Generalis facientes et repræsentantes, in loco capitulari superiori dictæ Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sancti Petri Louaniensis, congregatione Vniuersitatis indicta, solemniter congregati et existentes, huiusmodi litteris  
 125 ibidem publice et alta et intelligibili voce per me Notarium publicum subscriptum perlectis et auditis, maturaque deliberatione desuper præhabita, easdem ac omnia et singula in eis contenta, narrata et descripta, pro

93 supplicare ; &amp;c] on f 2, v

114 actam publicam]

125 et alta &amp;c] on f 3, r

99 causas] MS cāsas

120 quoque] prob. r quinque

firmiori subsistentia eorumdem approbarunt et ratifica-  
 130 runt, ac Sigillo Rectoratus dictæ Vniuersitatis duxerunt  
 roborandas et sigillandas.

Sic fecit de mandato antedicti Domini Rectoris

Jo. Vullinck dictæ Vniuersitatis Notarius.



131 roborandas ... sigillandas] MS roboran ... sigillan

133 Notarius] the MS has further, in another hand : Collatione facta cum copiâ, vt præmittitur signatâ, concordiam testor ego jnfrascriptus per Concilium Brabantie admissus Notarius <signed> A. du Belloy Not. Publ.

## CHAPTER VI

# THE ADMISSION REPEALED

## 1. HOOGSTRAETEN'S INTERVENTION

### A. THE THREE CONTROVERSIES

The period of peace that followed the *Concordia* proved most beneficial to the *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>1)</sup>, but was unfortunately of very short duration, and once again difficulties arose, which were chiefly intended for Erasmus. They originated in the arrival at Louvain of James van Hoogstraeten <sup>2)</sup>, Prior of the Cologne Dominicans <sup>3)</sup> and Inquisitor for the dioceses of Cologne, Mayence and Treves.

That man had studied in Louvain and promoted M. A. <sup>4)</sup>; he afterwards entered the Dominican Order, becoming Doctor of Divinity in Cologne in 1504 <sup>5)</sup>, in which town he settled after a short office in Antwerp <sup>6)</sup>. His name is connected with three controversies : the first, from 1506 to 1509, was against

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus attributed the growth of the Institute to the periods of peace between the theologians and himself : 'Ita rebus aliquamdiu satis tranquillis ortum est Trilingue Collegium', he wrote to Peter Barbirius, Aug. 13, 1521 : *Allen*, iv, 1225, 31-32.

<sup>2)</sup> He is said to be named after his birth-place, in the Antwerp *Campine* : cp. *QuetEch.*, II, 67 ; *Anal.*, xxi, 105 ; *PaulDom.*, 87 ; *Hoochstr.*, 377-429. He matriculated on May 20, 1482 : *Excerpts*, 97.

<sup>3)</sup> He was appointed as successor to Servatius Banckel († May 17, 1508) : *PaulDom.*, 93.

<sup>4)</sup> He was a student of the Falcon, and was the first of the promotion in 1485 ; he taught for a time in his Pedagogy, entering the Academic Senate on Febr. 4, 1488 : *ULPromRs.*, 60 ; *ActArtV.*, 59, r ; *VAnd.*, 244 ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 387-88.

<sup>5)</sup> He matriculated in Cologne as Dominican and priest on Sept. 10, 1496, promoting Licenciante in Theology, March 5, 1503, and Doctor, February 10, 1504 : *Keussen*, II, 431, 78.

<sup>6)</sup> He became prior in Antwerp in 1500 : *PaulDom.*, 87.

a visiting professor in Cologne, the eloquent jurispudent Peter Tomasi, of Ravenna, *Ravennas*, who in his speeches had criticized the German custom of leaving corpses to decay on the gibbet, and punishing simple thefts with death, whereas he represented jestingly some of the vices of the Italian students as natural. Besides hurting the national pride, he provoked contradiction by representing the first incriminated usage as a mortal sin, and roused a fierce debate : Hoogstraeten wrote a *Defensio Scolastica Principum Alemanice*, and his colleague Gerard van Zutphen, a *Tractatus de Cadaveribus... Morte Punitorum*, 1508 <sup>1)</sup>, which were answered by a satiric pamphlet against *Jacobus de Alta Platea et alter Sanctus Pater* in a ludicrous Latin <sup>2)</sup> : it developed into a general controversy, in which the *theologi* were up in arms against the *poetæ*, humanists and jurists, who seconded Ravennas. The Italian professor, however, was compelled to leave Cologne even before Hoogstraeten's *Purgatorium Detractorum* appeared in October 1509, with a tetrastich by his former friend and adherent, Ortwin Graes <sup>3)</sup>; he had accepted a councillorship at Worms, but died at Mayence in, or soon after, 1509 <sup>4)</sup>.

Of far longer duration was the contention originated by the newly converted Jew John Pfefferkorn, who wanted a general destruction of Hebrew books in 1509 <sup>5)</sup>; the question was virtually settled by the authoritative adoption of John Reuchlin's <sup>6)</sup> solution in 1510, when Pfefferkorn, seconded by

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. PaulDom., 89-93; HutOS, I, 7, 10, 29, sq, II, 473, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Stintzing, I, 261, sq; Muther, 70-77, 93-99, 101, 107-19.

<sup>3)</sup> Muther, 125; Gratius, 19, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Muther, 114-19, 371-95; Worms, 203-4; Bianco, I, 403; HutOS, II, 447, sq; Keussen, II, 471, 15; UniKöln., 112, 195; Reuchlin, 221, sq; HarvMarg., 211, 297, sq, and before, p 299.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 299, sq; Bianco, I, 770-71; HutOS, II, 434-35; Pastor, IV, I, 219-20; Allen, II, 487, 20.

<sup>6)</sup> John Reuchlin, *Capnio*, also called *Fumulus* by his contradictors, was born at Pfortzheim on February 22, 1455. He studied in Freiburg where he matriculated on May 19, 1470 (*MatriFreib.*, 46), in Paris, and, from 1474, in Basle, where he promoted Master of Arts in 1477 and learned Greek under Andronicus Contoblacas. About 1478 he was in Paris studying under Hermonymus, and, abandoning Greek for law, became Bachelor in Orleans, 1479, Licencié in Poitiers, 1481, and Doctor of Laws in Tübingen in 1481. He was then taken under the

Hoogstraeten and the theologians, started a most acerb controversy, condemning as heretical several statements in Reuchlin's memoirs and the principles of the *Cabbala* which he took under his protection, and burning those books publicly. Once again a vehement debate began against the *poetæ*, this time with so much the more bitterness as the question of the study of languages had become the chief element in the discussion, which in the beginning had been confined to matters of faith. Most abusive language was used <sup>1)</sup> as well by John Reuchlin as by Hoogstraeten and his colleague Arnold Luyde, of Tongres <sup>2)</sup>, and by the volunteer Ortwin Graes, or *Gratius* <sup>3)</sup>; the cause was tried with varying

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protection of Eberhard of Württemberg, who sent him to Italy in 1482 and 1490, but at whose death he was exiled from Württemberg. He had then started studying Hebrew, which John of Dalberg invited him to teach in Heidelberg; he there gained the favour of Philip, the Count Palatine, who sent him to Rome in 1498. On his return he settled in Stuttgart, and remained there twenty years, acting as *Triumvir* of the Swabian League from 1502 to 1513. In 1519 he retired to Ingolstadt, where he lived two years with John Eck, until he returned to teach in Tübingen, where he died on June 30, 1522 : *Reuchlin*; Trit., 383; *ADB*; Pastor, iv, i, 218, *sq*; *BeitFried.*, 1-124; Laemmer, 66; HutOS, II, 454-55; *PaulDom.*, 94-102; Allen, I, 290, *pr*; RhenE, 24-26, &c; *BeitSchlecht*, 143-44; *BeitClem.*, I, 14, II, 99, 102; CeltE, 509; Sandys, II, 256, *sq*, &c.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, pp 428, *sq*, 432.

<sup>2)</sup> Arnold van Luyde, of Tongres, his native town, after which he is generally named, matriculated in Cologne, Nov. 2, 1486, became M. A. in 1491 and Doctor of Divinity in 1509. Having started teaching soon after 1491, he became *Regens* of the *Bursa Laurentiana* in 1503; he entered the Faculty of Theology in 1509, and was appointed professor of that branch in 1516. He officiated as Rector in 1507, 1520 and 1524. In 1535 he became canon of St. Lambertus', at Liège, and died there on August 28, 1540. He left several controversial writings against Reuchlin and Luther : Keussen, II, 392, 67; *BibBelg.*, 82; Bianco, I, 375-76, II, 1382; HutOS, II, 490; *HuMünstCor.*, 29; *Gratius*, 36-37, &c; *Murmell.*, 21-22, &c; *Reuchlin*, 257, *sq*, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Ortwin van Graes, *Gratius*, born at Holtwick, in Westphalia, about 1480, was educated at Deventer, and studied from 1501 in Cologne, where he promoted master of Arts in 1506. He taught Latin language and literature, and although not endowed with a remarkable style, he edited several Latin authors, and wrote works showing his sympathy with Humanism. He was at first Ravennas' admirer, but having accepted the post of corrector and literary adviser in Quentell's office, he wrote some poetry in an edition against Ravennas and, later on,

chances in the ecclesiastical courts of Mayence, Speyer (1514) and Rome, where, on July 2, 1516, the *poetæ* were going to be pronounced the victors of the debate when the adversaries managed to have the sentence suspended <sup>1</sup>). The disappointment of the humanists, who had already published a volume of *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ* in praise of Reuchlin <sup>2</sup>), appealing chiefly to a select choice of scholars, led them to settling the dispute by satire and by addressing the vast mass of readers: the result was the first set of the famous *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ad M. Ortuinum Gratium*. The effect was surprising: unfortunately in the dizziness of the success, the satirical criticism of abuses or narrow-mindedness degenerated into scurrilous attacks on faith and Church in later additions <sup>3</sup>), so that, instead of quickening the promulgation of the final sentence in Rome, those libels delayed it, in so far that it was not given yet in 1519. It even seemed to become more and more difficult to render the sentence decided on in 1516, on account of the immixtion of Luther's cause into Reuchlin's. Indeed, since in the beginning the humanists were on the side of the Wittenberg Monk, the trouble, which the latter was causing, seemed due to languages and literature, as in merciless pamphlets all possible disgrace was

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against Reuchlin, and he translated Pfefferkorn's writings in Latin. An old enmity with Herman von den Busche probably caused him to become the victim of the general hatred: the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* were almost exclusively directed against him. Yet in his *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, 1535, he showed a great freedom of spirit in accusing abusive customs in the Church, which caused the book to be placed on the *Index* in 1564. He died on May 22, 1542. His memory, lately that of a typical obscurantist, is treated with far more justice in modern times: cp. HutOS, II, 361-83; *Reuchlin*; Keussen, II, 450, 91; Allen, II, 526, 8, and, especially, *Gratius*. — A specimen of his tasteless compositions is his famous poem against Reuchlin, reproduced in HutOS, II, 78-79.

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *Reuchlin*, 240-321; *Gratius*, 41-60; *PaulDom.*, 94-101; *Pastor*, IV, I, 218-23; Bianco, I, 371, sq; *UniKöln*, 195, sq; HutOS, II, 130, 139.

<sup>2</sup>) *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ*, latinæ, græcæ & hebraicæ uarijs temporibus missæ ad Ioannem Reuchlin Phorcensem, LL. Doctorem: Tübingen, Th. Anshelm, March 1514; an enlarged edition (with a *Liber Secundus*) was issued by Anshelm at Hagenau in May 1519 after the suit against Hoogstraeten: HutOS, II, 81-82, 108.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. before, p 300.



heaped on Hoogstraeten and on his adherents, the theologians, — which explains how linguistic and literary studies came to be considered as equivalent to heresy.

It also accounts for Leo X's final judgment of June 23, 1520, cancelling the 1514 sentence in favour of the *Augenspiegel*, under the influence of Luther's condemnation, promulgated eight days before <sup>1)</sup>. No doubt, the fatal measure was not so much directed against the opinions or teachings of the Hebrew professor <sup>2)</sup>, as against the spirit of hatred that animated those who pretended to further his cause <sup>3)</sup>: for they attacked the spiritual leaders of the people, charging them with gross ignorance and with a complete lack of Christian charity in the exercise of their function, unfortunately not without ground. And yet, in that respect Hoogstraeten bears a great amount of the responsibility: when Reuchlin wanted to submit himself, he spurned his humble apology <sup>4)</sup>. Instead of

<sup>1)</sup> The Bull *Exsurge* was signed on June 15, 1520: Pastor, iv, i, 274.

<sup>2)</sup> It seems that in 1520, Leo X even required the Talmud to be printed in Rome: Reuchlin, 451; HutOS, II, 130, 151-153.

<sup>3)</sup> N. Paulus, who undoubtedly is partial to Hoogstraeten, admits that 'Der Umstand, dass an Reuchlins Namen sich das Feldgeschrei aller derer knüpfte, welche dem Papsttum feindselig gegenüber standen, musste notwendigerweise den Ausgang des Prozessen beeinflussen': *PaulDom.*, 99. Similar judgments are expressed e. g., in Pastor, iv, i, 222, where is pointed out that Hutten had changed the spirit of the *Epistolæ* in such a way that the libel became a hostile attack on the ecclesiastical authority, and the strife was directed against Papacy: which explains how many of the favourers of Reuchlin also became those of Luther, at least in the beginning. Cp. *Reuchlin*, 447, sq, 451, 453; Brecht, 17, sq; Paulsen, 87, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Namely at the rumour of the *Augenspiegel* being examined at the request of Peter Meyer, the parish priest of Frankfurt, by the Inquisitors (*PaulDom.*, 95; *Königstein*, 77; *Reuchlin*, 258, sq), Reuchlin wrote a most humble letter to Arnold of Tongres, Oct. 28 (*V Cal. Nov.*), 1511, which Pfefferkorn triumphantly reproduced in his *Defensio*. Reuchlin wrote also a letter — probably on the same day — to Conrad Cöllin, Koellin, or Köllin, a Dominican, professor of theology in Cologne from 1511 till his death, in 1536, through whose brother Ulrich, also a Dominican, spiritual director of the convent of Steinheim, near Esslingen, he had been warned of the danger: *ReuchlE*, 136-144; Conrad replied on January 2, 1512, and several more letters were exchanged: *ReuchlE*, 149-167. The two brothers Cöllin, natives of Ulm, had been friends with the Hebrew erudite since several years, which explains why Conrad, although later on a decided adversary of Luther and his

trying to conciliate the erudite, he roused him into a desperate defence, and branded as a heretic the man who gave the most evident proofs that above all he wished to live and die a dutiful son of the Church <sup>1)</sup>. Hoogstraeten may have chanted victory over Peter of Ravenna and Reuchlin : yet the after times have shown that Hebrew books *are* worth studying, and the excessive punishment of lesser crimes, — to mention one fact, — has not been condemned only by later generations, but even by his contemporary Thomas More, who points out the natural fear of escaping an unproportioned infliction as a way leading straight to far greater crimes <sup>2)</sup>.

Even though in his third great action, that against Luther, Hoogstraeten was backed by the Church, yet his inconsiderate zeal in the two former proceedings greatly harmed the final one, for he again displayed the animosity which had characterized his action in the controversies against Ravennas and Reuchlin, and he once more juggled the debate about literature and languages into the domain of his own jurisdiction, in which he could hurl the opprobrium of heresy at contradictors who had never thought of offending the Church. Consequently in the beginning a great number of his contemporaries, even amongst the most orderly and dutiful Christians, considered that, this third time, Luther was no more a heretic than Ravennas or Reuchlin had been, and that the whole question was a mere quibble between two envious Orders.

Even Hoogstraeten's way of carrying on the struggle against Reuchlin, must have had a lamentable influence on the third and infinitely more important controversy. His

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marriage, and an able polemist, besides lecturing in Cologne until his death, 1536, did not take then any part in the proceedings against Reuchlin, and was not mentioned in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* : Keussen, II, 491, 5 ; PaulDom., 111-134 ; ReuchlE, 85, 140-4, 147, 149, 150, 154-62, 165-67 ; *Reuchlin*, 259, sq, 323, 381, 447, 448 ; *CorpCath.*, XII, xiii.

<sup>1)</sup> In his letter to Arnold van Luyde, Oct. 28, 1511 (*Reuchlin*, 259, dates it Nov. 1), Reuchlin declares that he keeps to the precepts of the Church ; what she believes, he does ; if he has ever erred, he is ready to amend it : PaulDom., 120. His dutiful acceptance of his condemnation notwithstanding all efforts to make him take sides with Luther, is a further proof of his excellent disposition : *BeitSchlecht.*, 144.

<sup>2)</sup> MoreUt., 44, 354.

example of slighting Leo X's peremptory order about the Speyer Court, in 1514, was followed, five years later, by Frederic, Elector of Saxony, as to the prohibition of protecting Luther. Nor is it to be wondered that the Wittenberg reformer rejected the bull that condemned him, and burned it publicly, considering that, five years before, the '*inquisitor fidei*' had burned the *Augenspiegel* publicly in Cologne, and openly recused the judgment of a commissioned Court, which he himself recognized as legal as long as no decision was taken against him <sup>1)</sup>. If it is difficult to make out what would have happened if kindness and leniency had been used towards Ravennas and Reuchlin, instead of obstinate prejudice and premature condemnation, it is above all doubt that the way in which those controversies were conducted, prepared the circumstances in which the third and paramount conflict was actually carried on. Certain it is that the tragedy of Luther's revolt would have shaped quite differently if the prudence and thoughtfulness which characterized the measures taken by Rome and her Legates under Paul III, had been adopted twenty years earlier.

#### B. THE MISSION TO LOUVAIN

The influence of the obstinate repression urging inconsiderate searches for reprehensible cases, and suggesting charges of heresy long before any judgment had fallen, or even before the consequences of a rash statement could have been weighed, was so much the more to be regretted since Hoogstraeten was far from being blind to the evils that desolated the Church <sup>2)</sup>. The excessive severity in the execution of his office of inquisitor <sup>3)</sup> also harmed to a great extent

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<sup>1)</sup> *Reuchlin*, 298, sq ; *PaulDom.*, 96.

<sup>2)</sup> In his *Defensorium Fratrum Mendicantium*, 1507, Hoogstraeten bitterly criticized the lives of some clergymen, whereas he inveighed against witchcraft and superstition in his *Tractatus Magistralis*, 1510 : *PaulDom.*, 88, 93.

<sup>3)</sup> By the end of 1512, Hoogstraeten accused and convicted the Dutch physician Herman van Ryswyck, who had already been judged in 1502 : as a relapse he was handed over to the Council of Holland to be burned at the stake with his books : *PaulDom.*, 94 ; *CorpInq.*, 1, 498-503. Hoogstraeten further took part in the proceedings for heresy

the zeal he displayed in the service of truth and faith. No doubt, that severity made him hunt after subversive opinions, for if Luther's teachings sounded heterodox to several of his contemporaries, he was one of the first to bring about a formal opposition and also a dogmatic examination of the innovator's doctrines<sup>1)</sup>. After having already called the attention of their Cologne colleagues in February 1519 on some of Luther's writings<sup>2)</sup>, the Louvain theologians found suspicious doctrines in the *Opuscula* reprinted by Froben in February 1519<sup>3)</sup>; they consequently sent their messenger, — probably Josse van der Hoeven, afterwards president of the *Collegium Trilingue*<sup>4)</sup>, — to the Cologne Faculty to communicate that book and ask their judgment about it<sup>5)</sup>.

A few days later, on August 30, the Cologne University declared that the *Opuscula* were to be prohibited and suppressed<sup>6)</sup>, and they decided imparting their decision to their Brabant colleagues by one of the old students of their Faculty, James of Hoogstraeten, who had been as the animator of that move<sup>7)</sup>. He was the readier to take that message as he evidently had kept up a friendly intercourse with several of the professors, and especially with Nicolas Baechem, with whom he had talked at great length on a visit which he made to Louvain in September 1518<sup>8)</sup>. It is natural that he will

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against Nicolas van Broeckhoven and Cornelius Grapheus, in 1522, against the Augustines Henry Vos and John van den Esschen in 1523, and William Dirckx in 1525 : *CorpInq.*, iv, 130-32, 161, 203-4, 369-73, v, 228, 263; HoopSch., 57, 183, 330; H. Kaleysen, *Inquisition dans les Diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai* : Ghent, 1889 : i, 489; *BeitBrieg.*, 191; *Gran.*, 66, *pr*; Paquot, v, 22; &c.

<sup>1)</sup> Luther was not remiss in taunting him for it, and wrote a *Scheda adversus Jacobum Hochstraten* (1519 : Grisar, iii, 935), full of violent invectives. Cp. before, pp 421-22.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 348-49.

<sup>3)</sup> Conclusiones nonaginta quinque cum suis declarationibus et responsis ad Sylvestrum de Prierio...; item sermonem de pœnitentia, sermonem de preparatione ad eucharistiam, item Andreae archidiaconi propositiones apologeticas et præceptorium; cp. *CorpInq.*, iv, 15.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. XIV-XVII.

<sup>5)</sup> *CorpInq.*, iv, 12, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Dupless., i, ii, 358-59; *CorpInq.*, iv, 12-16.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, ix, 2445, 48, sq; *PaulDom.*, 102; de Jongh, 205, \*43, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Erasmus announced that piece of news to Herman of Neuenahr, on October 19 : Allen, iii, 878, 12-14.

have been informed at once of the difficulties they had had in the past year with Erasmus, and of the final *Concordia* reached on September 13/14. No doubt, that good understanding with the Humanist was far from being encouraged by Hoogstraeten : as it had been chiefly based on the categorical denying of having had any part in, and even any knowledge of, Luther's writings <sup>1)</sup>, it will have been most easy for him to instil a doubt about Erasmus' sincerity in the minds of several divines, who were never able to cast off their lifelong suspicions. Along with a book of 488 pages by Luther, with the comments of the Cologne Faculty, handed to the Louvain divines on October 12 <sup>2)</sup>, he had also brought the text of the letter to Luther of May 30, 1519 <sup>3)</sup>, so that he could point out how Erasmus clearly separates himself from the Louvain divines, whom he represents as arguing against the Reformer merely by *vociferationibus*, *temeritate*, *strophis*, *obtrectationibus*, *sycophantiis*, and whom he considers as insane and as suffering from an epidemic which they communicate to the larger part of the Academy <sup>4)</sup>. The mention of the good impression made by Luther's works <sup>5)</sup>, and the praise of his disciple, the Antwerp Augustinian Prior, James Proost, — the only one who, he says, preaches Christ : all the others, only

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 403.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*43, sq, and 205, n 3, referring to the 488 pages of the book mentioned by the Cologne deed of condemnation, whereas the volume only had 480 pages : the difference is probably a clerical mistake, — unless a few pages had been added with the list of incriminated articles.

<sup>3)</sup> Erasmus' letter to Luther of May 30, 1519, was first published, without Erasmus' knowing, at Leipzig by Melchior Lotther, probably in July 1519, along with Mosellanus' *Oratio de Ratione Disputandi*, which he delivered there on June 27, 1519, as well as Erasmus' epistle to him of April 22, 1519 : Allen, III, 948, *pr*, 980, *pr*. The pamphlet containing those documents is referred to on August 3 and 4, 1519 by Christ. Scheurl, at Nuremberg in his letters to Luther and to his friend Winsheim : Enders, II, 68, 100, 101 ; ScheurlE, II, 97. On account of its significance in the controversy, it cannot have been long ignored by Hoogstraeten.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 10-16.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 35, sq ; he adds that he has not read them himself : he only *degustavit* the Comments on the Psalms.

human fables or their own profit <sup>1)</sup>, — cannot but have been most welcome to those who were only too willing to have a reason to break off the alliance begun a few weeks earlier.

No doubt Hoogstraeten even provided to those who hesitated cancelling the solemn *Concordia*, a double means to test the truth of what he advanced : one being a close examination of Luther's book and the collation with Erasmus' writings, so as to check, at the same time, the judgment of his Cologne colleagues, and thus prepare a joint condemnation of the innovator's doctrine by the two Faculties ; the other, an inquiry about whether the *Episcopus Leodiensis* actually was in favour of Luther's writings, as Erasmus asserted in his letter <sup>2)</sup>. There is no doubt but the theologians checked the two points : they examined and collated the *Opuscula* and Erasmus' writings when preparing the solemn *Condemnatio* of the doctrine of Luther on November 7, 1519 <sup>3)</sup>. Moreover a delegation of three of their members was sent to the Bishop of Liège, who, about the middle of that month, happened to pass through Louvain, where he made a short stay <sup>4)</sup> : they went to enquire whether there was any foundation in the rumour that he favoured the innovator, and whether he approved of the measures taken by the Faculty against the Wittenberg Monk. They were well received, and the Bishop assured to them *in verbo sacerdotis* that, far from favouring an unknown and risky thing, he had not read Luther's book ; he encouraged them in their design, reminding them of Reuchlin's cause, which, although condemned by five universities, was not yet decided ; he also advised them to have

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 54-57. James Proost, *Præpositus* (1486-1562), from Ypres, was an Austin Friar of the Saxon province, who entered the convent established in 1513 by that of Enkhuizen at Antwerp, notwithstanding many difficulties ; he became Prior in 1518, but returned to Wittenberg, where he continued the studies begun under Luther, and became Lic. D. in 1521. On his return to Antwerp, he preached the new doctrine, and was obliged to recant on February 9, 1522 ; he left the convent, which was suppressed in the same year, and went to Wittenberg ; he died as preacher at Bremen : *Præp.*, 22, sq, 32, sq, 233, sq ; *GeldColl.*, 32, sq ; *AntwDiercx.*, III, 279, 328, 376 ; de Jongh, 154, 194, 249 ; Allen, III, 980, 54 ; Krafft, 39, 40-50, 195 ; *BeitClem.*, I, 33-39 ; Enders, II, 69, 101, 183, III, 164, &c ; *AntwChron.*, 19.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 980, 36-37.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, 213, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, pp 430-31, 433, 435.

their censure examined by the prudent and competent Cardinal of Tortosa, Adrian of Utrecht, before publishing it <sup>1)</sup>. That interview took probably place about the middle of October : and, as can be expected, the cordiality and mutual help that had been promised to Erasmus, made soon place again for the old hatred and diffidence.

### C. ERASMUS' STANDING

Erasmus, who had followed very closely the struggle between Reuchlin and Hoogstraeten <sup>2)</sup>, had never taken openly sides with either of them ; although he felt sympathetic to the former as the defender of languages and literature <sup>3)</sup>, he bewared from entering a quarrel <sup>4)</sup> of which the stakes seemed to be, at least in the beginning, the rights of the Jews, whom he personally detested <sup>5)</sup>. Nor could he bear the rabid and scurrilous tone of the pamphlets issued on either side <sup>6)</sup> : he tried to suppress some lampoons <sup>7)</sup>, and preached moderation as well to Herman Count of Neuenahr <sup>8)</sup> as to Ortwin Gratius <sup>9)</sup>. On August 11, 1519, he wrote to Hoogstraeten himself <sup>10)</sup>, blaming him for the grossly vehement language of his writings, and advising a calm and dignified tone in the argument, as far more in keeping with religion and more conducive to peace and general welfare. He gave an example of the moderation he enjoined, by his reply to some remarks which Hoogstraeten had made in his *Destructio Cabale* on a few passages in the *Novum Instrumentum* about marriage and divorce <sup>11)</sup> : he explained his meaning for some of the passages criticized <sup>12)</sup>, whereas for others he announced that they had been corrected in the second edition. The letter

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *LatoArt.*, ff a 2, r, v : dedicatory letter of James Latomus to Rudolph of Monnikendam, curate of Gouda, December 31, 1520, of his *Articulorum Doctrinæ... Lutheri per theologos Louanienses damnatorum Ratio* (Antwerp, M. Hillen, May 8, 1521).

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, I, 290, II, 300, III, 615, 8-10, 622, 32.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 856, 27-36, 877, 16, *sq.*

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, IV, 1006, 152-54.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, IV, 1006, 142, *sq.*

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, IV, 1006, 27-39, 63-74.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. EOO, x, 1639, D-F.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, III, 636, 1-11, 703, 3-24, 878, 1, *sq.*

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, IV, 1022, 1-14.

<sup>10)</sup> Allen, IV, 1006, 93, *sq.*, 152, *sq.*

<sup>11)</sup> Already in May 1517 Hoogstraeten had threatened to create trouble to Erasmus on account of some passages in the *Novum Testamentum* : HutE, I, 135.

<sup>12)</sup> Allen, IV, 1006, 156-300.

closed with an appeal in favour of the study of languages and literature, which, far from causing any harm to theology, illustrates and helps it, and therefore does not merit to be treated as heresy, as is so often done in private and public, and even in sermons and sacred speeches <sup>1)</sup>.

By the middle of October 1519, Erasmus had not received yet any reply from Hoogstraeten; it made him try to reach him indirectly through Ortwin Gratius <sup>2)</sup>, to whom, on October 15, he writes advising him to abstain from a most disagreeable controversy; he mentions having sent a long letter to Hoogstraeten, which, he hopes, will be received in the spirit in which it was written <sup>3)</sup>: for he had written 'amicissimo'; no doubt, that letter was meant as a gentle suggestion for Gratius to act as intermediary.

Two days later, Erasmus heard that Hoogstraeten had arrived in Louvain, running away from the pest, as some said; others related that his brethren had desired him to leave, on account of some trouble that was brewing; '*Nihil adhuc molitur: quid in posterum facturum nescio*', Erasmus confided to Bishop Fisher on October 17 <sup>4)</sup>.

#### D. STRUGGLE OF INFLUENCES

The fact that the famous Cologne Dominican had been some days already in the small University town without Erasmus' hearing of it, may be due to a short absence from Louvain <sup>5)</sup>; possibly the arrival had been kept a close secret, which would explain the pretended motive of his coming: for he had already communicated to the Faculty of Divinity on October 12, the condemnation of Luther's doctrine by that of Cologne <sup>6)</sup>. No doubt, Erasmus suspected that something was preparing: by October 19 he had learned that, on account of a letter badly understood and worse explained, the ill concluded peace was dissolved in such a way that, after the short spell of quiet, even a wilder tempest seemed to be brewing <sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1006, 328-352.

<sup>2)</sup> MonHL, 221, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1022, 14-17.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1030, 15-19, 1040, 2.

<sup>5)</sup> There are no letters between Oct. 2 and Oct. 15, 1519: Allen, iv, 1018-1022.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*43-44.

<sup>7)</sup> Letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Oct. 19, 1519: Allen, iv, 1033, 24-26.



That news was so much the more aggravating as, only three days before, he had announced to several of his friends in England that : *Cum theologis sarta pax, quam illi ultro expetierunt* <sup>1)</sup>. On or about October 15, Bishop Erard de la Marck had arrived in Louvain on his way to the Court : Erasmus had paid him a call <sup>2)</sup>, and they had evidently talked about the peace concluded with the theologians <sup>3)</sup> after the difficulties which the latter had made on account of Luther, and which they had even mentioned <sup>4)</sup> to the Princes de Berghes <sup>5)</sup> and to Antony of Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraeten <sup>6)</sup>. At that interview the Luther question was also touched, and most likely Erasmus propounded his views : at any rate, when during that same stay of Bishop Erard at Louvain, three *Magistri Nostri*, deputies of the Faculty of Theology, came to inquire of him whether he favoured the innovator <sup>7)</sup>, he gave a reply which was as an echo of Erasmus' statements in his letters <sup>8)</sup>. — When he came to pay a valedictory call, Erasmus found that the Bishop had left unexpectedly, and

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<sup>1)</sup> Viz., Oct. 16, 1519 : to William Dancaester, William Blount, Cuthbert Tunstall ; Oct. 17 : to Bishop John Fisher : Allen, iv, 1027, 13, 1028, 16, 1029, 1, sq, 1030, 12-14. To Bérault he wrote on Oct. 15 : *Cum cæteris <theologis> sic conuenit vt tamen obseruem quid agant. Dabo operam ne mihi rupti foederis crimen possit impingi, sed excubabo ne interoscitans opprimar* : Allen, iv, 1024, 6-9.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus relates details about Frederic of Saxony to Fisher on October 17, which he had learned from the Bishop returning from the *Comitia Imperialia* which he had attended : Allen, iv, 1030, 49-64.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1038, *pr.*

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1038, 15-18.

<sup>5)</sup> Probably John de Berghes and his brother Antony : cp. before, p 260.

<sup>6)</sup> Antony of Lalaing (1480-1540) was chamberlain to Philip of Austria and his son Charles, and one of Margaret of Austria's most influential Councillors. He was elected Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1516, and his wife Isabella of Culembourg brought him the barony of Hoogstraeten which was raised to a county in 1518. In February 1522 he succeeded Henry of Nassau as Governor of Holland and Zeeland : Henne, i-vii ; *BN ; BibBelg.*, 69 ; and, especially, Bruchet, 61, sq, 181-84, 251-54, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 427, sq, and *LatoArt.*, a 2, r, v.

<sup>8)</sup> <Rév. Dns. Leodiensis> asseruit Lutheri librum sibi non visum neque lectum, tantum aberat vt rei periculosæ et ignotæ faueret : *LatoArt.*, a 2, v ; cp. Allen, iii, 939, 66, 127, sq, 961, 31, sq, 967, 78, sq, iv, 993, 46, sq, 1033, 38-40. — Pope Leo X was greatly concerned about the rumour of Erard de la Marck's being partial to the Wittenberg movement : Pastor, iv, i, 273-74.

as bad weather prevented him three days from going to Brussels, he wrote instead an apologizing letter, most probably on the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> of October : he mentions in it the '*poculum duplex*' which Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg had sent him as a present <sup>1)</sup> ; he asks the Bishop to recommend him to the Councillors and to request them not to condemn him before having heard him, as recently the theologians had done : *Vt autem ultro prouocarent ad amicitiam, in causa fuit res attentius perpensa. Illud tumultus fuit, hoc iudicii* <sup>2)</sup>).

That evident reference to the *Concordia* shows that, when this letter was written, Erasmus had no knowledge of the rupture of the peace, which he mentions for the first time in his letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg on October 19. He meanwhile had learned that Hoogstraeten had gone to Court to spread some suspicion about him amongst the higher officials, and irrespective of the conditions of the weather he had hastened to Brussels <sup>3)</sup>. He there was told that his letter to Luther of May 30 had been shown by Hoogstraeten ; still he had no difficulty in allaying whatever displeasure there might have been conceived on that account in Margaret of Austria's surroundings. He had also been ascertained that it was his letter to Luther, and in part that to Mosellanus, that Hoogstraeten had used to upset the recently concluded *Concordia* <sup>4)</sup>. He found it much harder to placate the Louvain divines, as his friend Martin van Dorp was then in Holland for several weeks <sup>5)</sup>, and could mitigate no one : they were then busy checking the sentence of their Cologne colleagues, which resulted in the unanimous *Condemnatio*, read out in the solemn meeting of the Faculty on November 7 <sup>6)</sup>, and published in February 1520, with a letter of approval from Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht <sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1038, 1-14, III, 986, 35.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1038, 15, sq, 20-21.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 24-26, 1038, pr, 1040, 1, 1041, 25.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 24-26, 1040, 1-5, 1041, 44-46, 1042, 10, 1202, 199.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 217 ; and further, sect. 2, § c of this Chapter.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, 213, sq, \*43-44.

<sup>7)</sup> *Epistola... Cardinalis Dertusensis ad Facultatem Theologiæ Louanensem. Eiusdem Facultatis Doctrinalis Condemnatio qua condemnatur doctrina Martini Lutheri... Condemnatio Facultatis Theologiæ Coloniensis...* : Louvain, Th. Martens, February 1520 ; cp. Iseghem, 307 ; *LatoArt.* ; de Jongh, 213, sq ; Enders, II, 363-69, 372-5, 387, &c ; *CorpInq.*, iv, 14, sq ; NijKron., I, 7.

In reply to the charge of favouring Luther <sup>1)</sup>, Erasmus pointed out that he was the only one who gave him good advice, following Christ's example and that of the Saints, who, like St. Augustine, aim at saving, and not at ruining <sup>2)</sup>. That consideration was developed with other opinions of his in a document that soon became famous. Already on Oct. 19, probably the very day that he heard of the new disagreement with the theologians, he wrote an effusive letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, justifying at length that broadminded toleration, which his contradictors blamed as complicity; he mentioned some of the corrupt practices attacked by Luther, but which most venerable and venerated churchmen had denounced long before him; and finally complained that the study of languages and literature was mistaken by so many as heresy <sup>3)</sup>.

In other letters of those days, Erasmus was less communicative, so as to avoid further trouble; yet it is evident that he devised them as replies to the charges which Hoogstraeten brought in against him. Although denying all interest in Luther's cause as well as in that of Reuchlin <sup>4)</sup>, the incrim-

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 55, 1040, 3.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 59-118.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033 : that letter was sent by Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten, who was then in the Archbishop's service, with the request to destroy it if it might cause any harm; instead of that, Hutten edited it before Albert of Brandenburg saw it, and thus created great annoyance, both to writer and addressee : EOO, X, 1664, c; Enders, II, 305-6; HutE, I, 315.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1033, 192-93, 208-9, 1041, 13, 1042, 16, 1217, 93 : *Neque Reuchlini neque Lutheri factioni me vnquam admiscui*. — Still Erasmus carefully watched the incidents of the cause, until it was reserved to Rome, and finally judged there (Allen, iv, 1033, 254, 1135, 18); he knew of Reuchlin's removal to Ingolstadt, and of the attacks started against him after his final condemnation (Allen, III, 986, 46-49, iv, 1141, 14). He consoled the old erudite on November 8, 1520, with the assurance *Res est inuicta Veritas*, and affirmed that he had always separated his cause from Luther's (Allen, iv, 1155, 15-20). — There is neither *untruth* nor *inconsistency* in Erasmus' utterances, as Allen surmises (Allen, iv, 1155, 18, n) : it is quite admissible to reason that Erasmus did not become an active adherent to either Reuchlin or Luther, although for a quite different reason : he abstained from joining either, as it would have harmed his own life-work, and as moreover the controversies were carried on more by wild abuse than by calm arguing; but if he sided with Reuchlin and shared his opinions, he never could with Luther, who broke with the Church. — It was rumoured at a time that, once Reuchlin was vanquished, Erasmus would be attacked in his turn : Allen, iv, 1006, 153, n; ReuchlE, 231.

inated letter to the innovator of May 30 was inserted, with a few changes, in his *Farrago Nova Epistolarum*, issued by John Froben in October <sup>1)</sup>; the mention of Bishop de la Marck is omitted <sup>2)</sup>: — he thus safeguarded the interest of a third person, and asserted his unequivocal right to decide on the exact wording of his own composition when made public.

When, in November 1519, a reprint of the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* was issued by Martens <sup>3)</sup>, a letter, announced on the title page as *Contestatio Erasmi aduersus seditiosas calumnias*, was added at the end of the book. In that 'postface' Erasmus protests against editing his private letters without his knowledge, changing their text <sup>4)</sup>, and then using them to represent him as heterodox; he declares that he does not want to decide about Reuchlin, nor about Luther; he frankly owns having written to the latter <sup>5)</sup>, and mentions that the reference to the Bishop of Liège is omitted in the Basle edition <sup>6)</sup>; he further points out that a civil

<sup>1)</sup> Enders, II, 65-68; Allen, III, 980, *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 427, 430, and further, p 435.

<sup>3)</sup> BB, E, 424; Iseghem, 295: on f a 4, r, that edition has, after the second preface, *Th. Martinus Alostensis amico lectori*, seven Latin distichs: *Conradi Goclenii in commendationem Colloquiorum familiarium. / Vis cito parue puer...*: it is the first time that great artisan of the prosperity of Busleyden's Institute is mentioned; NijKron., II, 2869.

<sup>4)</sup> It was the case especially with his letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg: Allen, IV, 1033, *pr.*, 1153, 165, 1217, 25; RhenE, 191.

<sup>5)</sup> He emphatically declares that he is '*a causa Lutherii alienissimus*': Allen, IV, 1041, 43, 1033, 192.

<sup>6)</sup> Erasmus mentions that the reference to the Bishop of Liège, which is found in the text published at Leipzig, is not '*in eadem epistola, quam nescio qui euulgarunt Basileæ*': Allen, IV, 1041, 22-24. There is hardly any need to question Erasmus' ingenuousness for that *nescio qui*; for it seems to have been a custom with him, up to then, of pretending to ignore who published his collections of letters: cp. Allen, I, pp 593-95; it probably was a literary fiction, accepted and understood for its right value by all knowing ones, — such as that by which several literary works were then represented as having been issued against the author's wish. Yet the literary staff of Froben was responsible for the inserting and omitting of letters, as results from what Albert Burer writes to Rhenanus on Nov. 17, 1519: RhenE, 191; it is quite conceivable that they left out a disobliging detail about a third person, if it had not been deleted already: cp. Allen, IV, 1041, 27, n.

admonition, such as he gives, is more in keeping with humanity and Christian charity than oppression and destruction <sup>1</sup>).

Thus by asserting his views clearly and peremptorily, Erasmus made a far more efficient defence than by an actual debate with his contradictor. The hard struggle was carried on by influences rather than by the vehemence and pointedness of a discussion. Chief amongst those influences were the soundness of opinions and the uprightness of actions, which Erasmus brought to bear on the controversy. Neither of them excluded an angry outburst or a momentary wavering : it is the final decision that counts, and the exact form in which a composition is made public, irrespective of the provisory wording of the first draught <sup>2</sup>). To those influences was added that of the judgment of prudent and experienced men, such as the de Berghes <sup>3</sup>) and their fellow-councillors, who must have prevented all excess of zeal and animosity, especially since the question had not been decided by the authority of the Church. Nor can Erasmus' delicacy and discretion have failed to make a beneficent impression, since rather than

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<sup>1</sup>) The latter part of that letter, which takes up the two last pages but one of the book (cp. its description and summary in *BB*, E, 424, 2, 6-11), is similar in tone and expression to what Erasmus wrote, on Oct. 19, 1519, to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg (Allen, iv, 1033, 57-68), and may have been drafted soon after that date.

<sup>2</sup>) In his *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni*, Erasmus wrote on the subject : Quid... inhumanius quam... recensere quid effutitum sit in liberis computationibus, aut confabulationibus amicorum, cujus nec meminit is qui dixit, nec hi qui referunt? Verum ubi res agitur serio, tum apparet quid habeas animi. — And also further : In conviviis aut confabulationibus amicorum nugor, quicquid in buccam venit, sæpe liberius quam expedit. *Et hoc mihi vitium est maximum*, ut ait Terentianus ille Parmeno : EOO, X, 1639, D, F; *Hecyra*, 112; probably that *libertas* was extended to his impulsively confidential letters.

<sup>3</sup>) Erasmus confided to his intimate friend Martin Lips that Hoogstraeten 'Egit... apud aulicos, præcipue D. Bergensem', apparently John de Berghes : Allen, iv, 1040, 5-6, 1038, 15; cp. before, p 430. Most probably he had little success, for it appeared to Erasmus that, with the help of Nicolas Baechem, he had only made, less against him than against Luther, a kind of compact with two Carmelites, suffragans of the Bishop of Cambrai, viz., John Briselot, who resigned about that time, and died Sept. 11, 1520, and his successor Adrian Aernout, Arnoldi († Nov. 1536) : Berlière, 83-91; Allen, III, 597, 4, iv, 1040, 8.

abiding stubbornly by a first enunciation <sup>1)</sup>, he preferred confessing implicitly to a mistake or to an indiscretion about Bishop de la Marck's opinion of a man who, unto then, had not shown that obstinacy in an error which is the proper character of heresy <sup>2)</sup>. By those and similar influences, per-

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<sup>1)</sup> It may be accepted as certain that Erasmus, who was neither a noodle nor a liar, was not wrong in his assertion of that partiality towards Luther in the beginning : he was most familiar with the Bishop, and spent several days with him in 1519 : Allen, III, 916, 4, 927, 978, IV, 1001, 44, sq. On the other hand, Erard de la Marck had given public proof of his anti-Roman feelings : at the Diet of Augsburg, August 1518, he handed in a protestation against the inroads on the Concordat by the Papal Curia in the attributing of a long list of prebends : Ranke, I, 230 ; he objected to privileges and grants of indulgences if they interfered with his interests : e. g., *LiègeDoc.*, I, 296, 402, 457, sq ; *MonHL*, 481-82. Although the promotion to Cardinal and to the see of Valencia (1520), and his connection with the Legate Aleander, his former secretary and Roman agent, decided on his subsequent behaviour, yet his free and frank talk and action suggested some partiality for Reform as late as 1525 : Heumann, 306 ; Ranke, I, 344 ; Allen, III, 738, *pr*, IV, 1166, 55 n.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus had inserted the mention of Bishop de la Marck in his letter to Luther (Enders, II, 64-69), who evidently cannot have been very pleased with its being printed by Mosellanus, in July 1519, if he wanted to keep on friendly terms with the Humanist. The latter, no doubt, crossed off that reference in the copy he transmitted to Froben's staff, who added the letter to the *Farrago* of October 1519, to which he referred in his message to the Reader added after the *Colloquiorum Formulæ*, in the latter end of November 1519 ; the Humanist compares it to the abusive remark by John Eck about Duke George of Saxony to James of Hoogstraeten in a letter of July 24, 1519, which was left out of the copy he showed in Brussels : Allen, IV, 1041, 22-27. Erasmus, writing to Martin Lips, tells him that the trouble of which he had heard a rumour, was not about Lee, but, as he had learnt in Brussels, about his letter to Luther which Hoogstraeten had got : *eam putat idoneam ad conuincendum me quod faueam Lutero : cum ipse*, he adds, *in hoc ediderim, ut testetur nihil mihi esse rei cum Lutero* : viz., whereas I should edit it, just to prove the contrary ; that reference does not necessarily imply that the letter had *actually* appeared, or was appearing, but that he was ready to have it published : it only mentions that Erasmus had been to Brussels to inquire what was exactly the trouble ; consequently the *Epist.* 1040, which Allen places in November, is to be assigned soon after October 19, 1519, — whereas a letter from Lips and its reply by Erasmus, 1035 and 1036, dated by Allen <October ? 1519>, should be placed between July 4 and July 14, immediately after 995 : cp. before, pp 395, 396, 434.

sistently at work, Erasmus had not only gained the approval of several of the most prudent contemporaries, but even produced a reversal of the disposition of the Inquisitor who had come to Louvain to ruin him. 'Si sanabilis erat Hochstratus', Erasmus afterwards wrote in his *Purgatio ad Expostulationem Hutteni*, 'erat apta civilitas : sin erat insanabilis, magis illum apud bonos gravabat mea modestia, quam gravasset procacia' <sup>1</sup>).

#### E. FINAL UNDERSTANDING

The considerations communicated and duly explained in the letter to the Cardinal of Mayence and in that to the Readers of the *Colloquia*, were expressed at every possible opportunity by Erasmus and his faithful friends in that strange, and yet fateful, controversy against Hoogstraeten, and if not at once, yet after some time, calm reasoning prevailed over ruthless animosity : an understanding was reached, just as before, on Erasmus' advice, peace had been concluded between Hoogstraeten and his Cologne adversary, Herman von Neuenahr <sup>2</sup>). That reconciliation was made as

<sup>1</sup>) *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni* : Basle, John Froben, 1523 : EOO, X, 1638, c.

<sup>2</sup>) Count Herman of Neuenahr, *de Nova Aquila*, son of William († 1497) and Walburgis of Manderscheidt, born in 1492, in a County crossed by the streamlet Aar, *Araris*, was educated by John Cæsarius, with whom he went to Italy, 1508-10. He had matriculated in Cologne on Nov. 14, 1504, and entered the Church, becoming Canon of Cologne and Liège, Provost of Aix and Cologne, and Chancellor of the University in 1524. He took part in the election of Charles V and in other political events : he fell ill at the Diet of Augsburg, and died there, October 20, 1530. He left some political orations, some studies about Charlemagne and the Frankish History, and even about botany : Paquot, xiv, 317-28 ; Bianco, I, 764-66 ; Allen, II, 442, *pr* ; Keussen, II, 464, 60 ; *UniKöln*, 192 ; &c. — Herman was a close friend of Erasmus who often wrote to him and paid him visits. He was so versed in Greek and Hebrew that he taught those languages in the University in 1517. As thus and as Reuchlin's adherent, he got into so distasteful a controversy with Hoogstraeten, that his relatives prohibited the Cologne Dominicans to gather alms and gifts in their estates : as a result the brethren made the Inquisitor leave the Cologne Convent. He came to Louvain in Sept. 1518 (cp. p 425), and thought of settling there, when he decided to try and placate the Count by a *palinodia*, which, on Erasmus' advice, was accepted. That reconciliation operated by *casei ac ova* is a frequently recurring joke

calmly and silently as the struggle that had been carried on : it must have been long ignored, for the famous lampoon *Hochstratus Ovans*, of 1520 <sup>1)</sup>, was considered to have been intended as a vindication of Erasmus <sup>2)</sup>). Ulrich von Hutten, however, knew : when, later on, he quarrelled with the Great Humanist, he bitterly taunted him for praising Hoogstraeten : *Tu solebas*, he wrote, *qui hoc landas scelus nunc, exclamare hunc esse ab iratis Superis immissum terris pestem, quæ litteras ac ingenia conficiat !* Along with similar abusive language, he reminds Erasmus that he incited all his friends to write against the Inquisitor. In his *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni* <sup>3)</sup>, the latter accusation is denied, and mention is made, among others, of Reuchlin's writings and Herman von dem Busche's *Vallum Humanitatis*, of which the bitter style was moderated on his advice. And yet Erasmus readily owns to have been quite as wild in his language in private talks and amongst friends. He also adds that, although he has now made peace with his old enemy, he has never praised him ; 'I never wanted the friendship of that man', he states, 'but I never wished to quarrel with him either : all I desired was tranquillity for my studies : *consulens otio studiorum meorum*' <sup>4)</sup>).

Erasmus and Hoogstraeten had two interviews at Louvain : one, soon after their reconciliation ; in the other, Hoogstraeten laid the blame of the estrangement on Briart, who meanwhile had died <sup>5)</sup>). In later years Erasmus always emphasized that

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in Erasmus' correspondence, who, as late as March 21, 1529, refers to Hoogstraeten's recantation as being in his possession ; in his turn he was counselled by Neuenahr on March 14, 1520 to make peace with Lee : Allen, III, 877, 16, 889, 40-44, IV, 1078, 38-41, VII, 1892, 56-62, 2045, 200, sq, VIII, 2126, 116-128 ; Paquot, XVI, 321 ; *Mansfeld*, II, 210.

<sup>1)</sup> HutOS, I, 461, sq ; that lampoon is evidently written by a man who was not familiar with people and circumstances in Cologne, nor in Louvain either : it therefore cannot be attributed to Herman von dem Busche, as is often done : HutOS, I, 462 ; it seems far more judicious to ascribe it to Nicolas Gerbel, of Pforzheim, legal adviser of the Bishop of Strassburg : Merker, 290, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> EOO, X, 1641, B : HutE, II, 278, § 96.

<sup>3)</sup> Basle, 1523 : *EraBib.*, I, 177.

<sup>4)</sup> EOO, X, 1639, A-1641, C ; HutE, II, 275-78, especially §§ 76, 77, 79, 81, 83.

<sup>5)</sup> Letter to John Ecolampadius, c. February 5, 1520 : Allen, IV, 1064, 3-5 : cp. 1006, pr.



he had not made a pact with Hoogstraeten, and that he did not share all his opinions, although being at peace with him <sup>1)</sup>: in fact, in several letters, he still called him an 'old enemy of letters' <sup>2)</sup>; thus that antipathy for '*linguas ac bonas literas*' is mentioned in his proceedings against Nicolas van Broeckhoven and Cornelius Grapheus <sup>3)</sup>. Yet in his letter to Mark Laurin, he treated the news of the burning of some of his books in Brabant by Hoogstraeten, as a false rumour, spread by those who wished to see the old quarrel flare up again <sup>4)</sup>. It seems even as if some well-willing was growing up between them, for Erasmus called him '*vetus meus, si non familiaris, certe amicus*' in that same letter to Mark Laurin <sup>5)</sup>. He refers with interest to Hoogstraeten's writings against Luther <sup>6)</sup>, and notes with a real pleasure that he took in them great pains and care for the style and the wording, thus showing, at last, the necessity of the study of languages <sup>7)</sup>. Even his death, on January 21, 1527 <sup>8)</sup>, is mentioned

<sup>1)</sup> 'Et tamen nec usquam assentor Hochstrato', he replied to Hutten who reproached him to have made friends with his old enemy, 'nec amicitiam cum illo sarsi': EOO, X, 1640, B; HutE, II, 277, § 88. Cp. *CorpCath.*, III, 16.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, v, 1299, 95, sq, 1330, 51.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter to Josse Lauwereyns, July 14, 1522: Allen, v, 1299, 95, sq. Cornelius Grapheus was Antwerp town-clerk, and a great favourer of literature and learning. He had edited *De Libertate Christiana* and some fragments by the Mechlin spiritual director John Pupper, of Goch, who was considered as a forerunner of Luther up to quite recently; it has now been made out that Goch had no influence on Luther, except with his contempt for the then prevailing philosophical systems: cp. *BibRefNe.*, VI; *Goch*, 182, sq; *Denifle*, II, 311, 334; — and for Grapheus' biography: *Goch*, 269, sq; Allen, IV, 1087, 355, X, 2916; *Cran.*, 179, b-d.

<sup>4)</sup> February 1, 1523: Allen, v, 1342, 614, sq; EOO, X, 1639, B-1640, c; HutE, II, 277, § 89.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, v, 1342, 614-15.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, VI, 1780, 34, 1794, 36.

<sup>7)</sup> Letter to William Budé, March 23, 1527: Allen, VI, 1794, 31-36: 'linguarum cognitio simpliciter est necessaria... Declarant hoc Hoghestrati libelli, qui prodeunt indies cultiores'.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. VAnd, 244; *BibBelg.*, 412-14; Opmeer, I, 458, b; *BeitFried.*, 14, sq; Bianco, I, 736-37; HutOS, II, 394-95; Keussen, II, 431, 78; ReuchlE, 127, &c; *Reuchlin*, 199, 221, &c; Varrentrap, 34, 61-62; *ULDoc.*, IV, 387; Allen, I, 290, 10, IV, 1006, pr; *BeitSchlecht*, 143-144; *PaulDom.*, 87-106; Muther, 102, sq; MutE, 404, 410, 434, &c; de Jongh, 100, 187-88, 196, 215-17, &c; *Cran.*, 74, a; *MonHL*, 221, &c; ADB; *CorpCath.*, XII, xiii; *BibRefNe.*, III, 377, sq.

with respectful resignation by Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, whereas Goclenius, the witness of the struggle of the last months of 1519, brands him as : *vetus literarum hostis et totius mali quo laborat Germania seminarium* <sup>2)</sup>).

## 2. VEERING OF THE THEOLOGIANs

### A. RESUMPTION OF THE STRIFE

The rupture of the *Concordia* between the theologians and Erasmus on the arrival of Hoogstraeten in Louvain, about October 11, 1519, with the text of the famous letter to Luther of May 30, 1519, was so much the easier as several members had only accepted it begrudgingly. There was moreover the fire-brand Lee, who, after a few weeks of forced quiet, could continue his campaign of obloquy against Erasmus. His enmity had only started recently, although he was 'olim non admodum æquum in Erasmus', as Thomas More, who knew him from a youth, remarked in May 1519 <sup>3)</sup>. Even before he came to study in Louvain <sup>4)</sup>, he apparently felt for the Humanist more envy than appreciation, and he courted his friendship chiefly to get fame in the world of the erudites. The fact that Erasmus had not mentioned his name in his second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, March 1519, although he either worked out or refuted the changes that

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, vii, 1821, 22.

<sup>2)</sup> February 28, 1527 : Allen, vi, 1788, 30.

<sup>3)</sup> *EpErVir.*, 67.

<sup>4)</sup> Edward Lee, born about 1482 from a distinguished family in Kent, studied from about 1499 in Magdalen College, Oxford, and accepted a prebend at Lincoln in 1512. He resumed his studies, promoting B. D. in Cambridge in 1515, and entered the household of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester. He went to Louvain, where he matriculated on August 25, 1516 'Magister Eduardus lee anglicus' : *Excerpts*, 98. He probably applied himself to theology and languages ; as he was known to More (Allen, iii, 688, 23), he made the acquaintance of Erasmus in July 1517 (Allen, iii, 607, 15), when he had begun studying Greek. Hearing that Erasmus was preparing a new edition of his New Testament, he started looking for emendations to be proposed, which, to his opinion, were slighted ; it gave rise to the famous conflict, which is fully described in Bludau, 86-125. — Cp. Wood, i, 53, 577, 640, 673, 682 ; Cooper, i, 85, 535 ; *DNB* ; Froude, i, 253, 509, ii, 587 ; Constant, 9, 31, 376, 382, 386, 427, 680.

were suggested, caused so much disappointment <sup>1)</sup> that he started looking for errors or inexactitudes, not in order to further science, but to speculate on them and cause as much harm as possible to the reputation of Erasmus <sup>2)</sup>, from whom he meanwhile kept his criticisms as the closest secret <sup>3)</sup>. He found most abundant encouragement amongst the professors and students of divinity, who considered him as the actual leader in their struggle against the Humanist, and who judged it much safer to pass on their objections and censure to him <sup>4)</sup>: it made Erasmus declare as late as 1525, that Lee's personal contribution to his own books was very small indeed <sup>5)</sup>. Nor was it ignored either by friend or foe, that the English divine did not so much aim at a greater knowledge of truth than at the humiliation of his adversary's conscient eminence. On that account Erasmus appealed to his great friends and his protectors in England to make the younger scholar come to an understanding with an older erudite. Unfortunately the good result was nipped in the bud by the scathing remark at the end of the *Apologia*: on which, as he wrote to Thomas More on April 20, Lee decided on publishing his *Annotationes*. On the advice of Bishop Fisher and Colet, of Pace and even of his protector Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester <sup>6)</sup>, as well as on account of the unwillingness of the Antwerp printers to issue an attack on Erasmus, Lee resolved by the end of July to let the matter rest <sup>7)</sup>, when, a few days later, the appearance of the *Dialogus Bilinguium*, which he attributed to his adversary, made him change his mind again <sup>8)</sup>.

If the conclusion of the *Concordia* naturally appeased the controversy, the arrival of the Cologne Inquisitor gave again free course to Lee's animosity. Once more he triumphantly carried about everywhere the *Sacras Annotationes*, as an

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 324; Allen, iv, 1074, 30-53.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1074, 18, 46-47.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 993, 23-24, 1074, 56-68.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iii, 973, 7-10, iv, 993, 28-33, 998, 42-47, 1016, 15, n, 1074, 80-82, 1097, 6, 1098, 18; RhenE, 233; also, before, p 387.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1097, 24-27, vi, 1581, 185-190.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, iv, 1037, pr, 1074, 67, sq, vi, 1581, 183-185; FoxE, 120, 125.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, iv, 1001, 53.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, iv, 1061, 505; cp. before, p 439.

abbot called them, to show them in studies and Colleges, in convents and cells, heaping all possible kind of contumely on the head of Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, who all the time was tortured by his powerlessness to find out what was exactly objected to. By the end of October or in the beginning of November, Lee tried to come to an agreement with an Antwerp printer, and had received Michael Hillen's promise, when Erasmus managed to secure all his presses <sup>2)</sup> for the *Paraphrasis in Epistolam ad Timotheum*, which was issued in November 1519 <sup>3)</sup>. Meanwhile the '*Annotationes*' were finally accepted by Conrad Resch in Paris, and Lee poured into the text and the introductory matter all his bitter disappointment and fierce animosity, — on which fresh oil was poured by the appearance at Basle of the *Farrago* <sup>4)</sup> with Erasmus' letter to him, and with an abundance of scathing remarks about him in the correspondence with the various friends <sup>5)</sup>.

#### B. JOHN DE WINCKELE'S INTERFERENCE

In their spreading and increasing detraction of Erasmus and the languages and literature of which he was accounted to be the symbol, the theologians, headed by Lee and incited by Hoogstraeten, found a most active ally in an influential and rich doctor, who often held feasts which he seasoned by bitterly disparaging the great Humanist in his fame and life, as well as in his studies and opinions. He had done so before the *Concordia* was made up, and he continued after peace had been concluded; instead of helping to calm down all animosity, he rather blew up the waning cinders to a new blaze. Erasmus finally lost patience, and wrote to that *obtrectator* <sup>6)</sup>, reminding him both of Christian charity and of his own dignity. Assuring that the trouble came from the

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1074, 58, *sq.*, 1097, 21-25.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1061, 608, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1043, *pr.*; no copy is known of that first edition.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 998, 1061, 2, *sq.*, 1040, *pr.*; and before, *pp.* 432-33.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1037, *pr.*, 1074; RhenE, 233-34.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, iv, 1042: the letter is addressed '*Cuidam Obtrectatori*', and is dated 'Louanii, Anno m. d. xviii: still it evidently belongs to about October 19, 1519, as it is similar in tone and ideas to his letter to Lips and that to the Reader, added to the *Colloquiorum Formulæ*, of Nov. 1519: Allen, iv, 1040, 1041; cp. further, p 449.

want of understanding of 2 letters <sup>1)</sup>, he warned him against venturing on theological ground, of which he was fully ignorant, whereas he had better apply himself to the precepts of his Hippocrates, so as to be able to advise the sick people who consulted him. Erasmus finishes his letter with the threat that, if he persists in his slander, he will be exposed through centuries to come, as one amongst the 'virulentos sycophantas, inter gloriosos nebulones, inter malos medicos' <sup>2)</sup>.

That criticizing physician was the son and homonym of Erasmus' old friend John de Winckele <sup>3)</sup>; after brilliant studies in the Arts <sup>4)</sup>, he had started those of Jurisprudence to please his father, when an incurable disease made him turn to Medicine, in which branch he became doctor in the year 1515 <sup>5)</sup>. He had inherited a rich estate from his father, which was to become a college for Law students <sup>6)</sup>, if he himself and his only sister should die without children <sup>7)</sup>. He seems to have availed himself amply of the wealth entrusted to him : he was a most generous host, and even occasionally had received Erasmus himself as guest <sup>8)</sup>; he consequently

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<sup>1)</sup> Erasmus' letter to Luther, May 30, 1519, and that to Mosellanus of April 22, 1519, which was printed with it in his *De Ratione Disputandi* : Leipzig, June 27, 1519 : Allen, III, 948, 980.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, IV, 1042, 20-21.

<sup>3)</sup> John de Winckele, Master of Arts, 1449, and Bachelor of Laws, was a secretary or notary in the Court of the Conservator of the Privileges of the University. He had bought the old mansion of the van den Calster family, and other houses, in 'Hoelstraat', near the 'Calster-Put', which with his large fortune he wished to be converted into a College for Law students, if his children should leave no heirs, according to his will of June 10, 1505. He died on June 17, 1505 : *ExTest.*, 41 ; *Cran.*, 85, a. Cp. before, pp 94, 113.

<sup>4)</sup> John de Winckele, who had matriculated as a student of the Falcon on February 28, 1500, being only ten, as he was born in 1490, was the first amongst the Masters of Arts promoted in 1506 : *ULPromRs.*, 67 ; and was admitted to the Council of that Faculty in 1509 : *ActArtV.*, 271, v.

<sup>5)</sup> Mol., 565 ; Vand., 231 ; *Cran.*, xxxix ; having fallen dangerously ill, the young Winckele decided on studying medicine to ensure his health.

<sup>6)</sup> FUL, 2175-79, 2183-88.

<sup>7)</sup> A sister, Catherine, a natural child, married to Robert Viruli, died before her father ; his other sister Clara did not marry : *ULDoc.*, III, 144.

<sup>8)</sup> It was at Doctor John de Winckele's that, after a dinner, Erasmus first met Cranevelt, as Martin van Dorp, who was present, afterwards related : *Cran.*, 85, 19-27.

counted many friends : amongst them was John Briart, whom he attended in his last years : although he excited that irascible theologian instead of calming him down, he was not able enough to free him from bodily ailings <sup>1)</sup>. That John de Winckele should have been one of the most conspicuous opponents to the beneficent schemes of his father's old friend, especially to the *Collegium Trilingue*, is strikingly corroborated by one of the rules which he prescribed for the College to be founded : any student who should apply himself to the science of languages, namely to Greek or Hebrew, or to poetry, or to any of the *Artes*, so that it should harm his juridical studies, and who should not desist on the admonition of one of the *provisores*, was to be deprived of all the advantages offered by the College <sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> That John de Winckele is the *Obtrectator* of *Ep.* 1042 seems as good as certain from the mention which Nesen makes of him in the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus*, II 20-26. Nesen, no doubt, knew him, at least from hearsay, and from Erasmus' testimony. He names three men who are evil councillors to Briart : two of them, Latomus and Tapper, are also mentioned in Morinck's *Vita Briardi* as his most intimate friends (*Briart*, 397, r) : so, most likely, the third may safely be accepted to have been a confidant. Moreover all the details of this letter correspond with facts that apply to de Winckele : his dislike of languages, his riches, his sumptuous living, besides his poor fame as doctor : Nesen calls him 'iuuenem egregie indoctum' : *EpMagNos.*, 21. — The mention in Erasmus' letter that the detractor should refrain from slandering for the sake of his dignity : 'rectius consules dignitati tuæ' (Allen, IV, 1042, 14), might apply to John Calaber, professor of medicine, who was Rector from Aug. 31, 1519 to Febr. 29, 1520, as the *dignitas Rectoralis* was held in high esteem : still Nesen would then have, for certain, mentioned him in *EpMagNos.* for his hatred of languages if he had had the opportunity, after his incident of the last of November (cp. further, sect. 4, § B). Nor can the *Obtrectator* be identified with James Bogaert (as Allen suggests), who was a very clever physician ; he left a voluminous *Collectorium* in manuscript (preserved in Antwerp Town Library : F. H. Mertens, *Bibl. Antwerp.*, 1843 : I, 50-51), besides several sons, who proved eminent men : his daughter Margaret married this very John de Winckele : she died on October 3, 1545. James Bogaert entered holy Orders at his wife's death, and lived till July 17, 1520 : *VAnd.*, 229 ; *BibBelg.*, 402 ; *Mol.*, 563 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 144.

<sup>2)</sup> *FUL*, 2177 : will of December 20, 1549, with the rules of the College to be founded ; *VAnd.*, 300 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 142-43.

## C. DORP'S STAUNCH SUPPORT

In the growing animosity of the bitter strife in the last months of 1519, Erasmus was comforted and encouraged <sup>1)</sup> by the whole-hearted support of Martin van Dorp, who, after having been estranged for a time, had evidently veered round again to the great Humanist, in so much that he published his *Oratio in Prælectionem Epistolarum diui Pauli. De laudibus Pauli, de literis sacris ediscendis, de eloquentia, de pernicie sophistices, de sacrorum codicum ad græcos castigatione : & linguarum peritia* <sup>2)</sup>). He had delivered that speech in 1516 : he dwells in it on the necessity of an acquaintance with the languages, and frankly takes side in the struggle <sup>3)</sup>. If the publishing of that *Oratio* caused him some trouble from his colleagues <sup>4)</sup>, since he had exposed *animum sententiamque...ingenue...sine ullo fuco*, it brought him nearer Erasmus, to whom he apologized in a letter of November 28, for having ever been his adversary <sup>5)</sup> ; he also expressed his annoyance with his colleagues for causing just then such disturbance, and for molesting those who render such great services to studies and to Christianity <sup>6)</sup>. Dorp

<sup>1)</sup> On October 15, 1519, Erasmus announces that good news to Nicolas Bérault, who was for a large part its cause : ' *Epistola illa tua* ', he wrote (viz., the admonitory advice brought by Nesen : cp. before, pp 390-91), ' *felicissime cessit ; Dorpius blandissime respondit... Dorpius etiam edita oratione testatus est se mutasse sententiam. Proinde de huius constantia plane confido* ' : Allen, iv, 1024, 2-6.

<sup>2)</sup> The book was printed by Mich. Hillen, Antwerp, and came out on Sept. 27, 1519 : NijKron., i, 739 : it provided also a letter of Erasmus to Dorp, July 10, 1516 (Allen, ii, 438), and one of Dorp to Beatus Rhenanus, September 22, 1519. The *Oratio* was reprinted by John Froben, Basle, March, 1520, and a letter of Dorp to Erasmus from The Hague, Nov. 28, 1519 (Allen, iv, 1044), was added : *CatSél.*, 313 (with Rhenanus' handwriting).

<sup>3)</sup> In his letter of The Hague, November 28, 1519 (added in the Basle reprint), Dorp requests Erasmus to have the *Oratio* reprinted by Froben, and to mention him in his letters and writings, 'quo', he added, 'intelligent omnes pulchre inter nos conuenire : hoc mihi gratius facere non potes' : Allen, iv, 1044, 16-18, 34-60 ; *MonHL*, 214-21, 225-27.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 225-27.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1044, 16-18, 38-48.

<sup>6)</sup> *Mirror... quid acciderit istis vt ita sursum ac deorsum omnia versent, vt eximios aliquot sic de studiis, sic de re Christiana meritos male vexent. Polliceor tibi et Domino Deo, me non habebunt turbæ istius consortem* : Allen, iv, 1044, 1-4 ; *MonHL*, 215, sq.

himself was absent from Louvain from before the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, and throughout November 1519 <sup>1)</sup>, but, in his native country he had heard from, and had written twice to, Erasmus <sup>2)</sup>, who himself resided the greater part of the latter month in Antwerp, where he saw his *Paraphrasis Epistolæ ad Timotheum* through Hillen's press <sup>3)</sup>.

### 3. OPPOSITION OF THE 'ARTS'

#### A. CRITICISM OF THE ADMISSION

The breaking of the peace with the theologians had as natural result the vexation that, as consequence, the admission of the *Collegium Trilingue* had been ratified in an outburst of generosity. Their doubts about the connection of languages and literature, and of their great promoter, with heresy, had been roused up again by the disclosures of Hoogstraeten, and moreover, since the beginning of the new academical year, a question of interest had made the animosity against the new Institute more acute, if not amongst the professors of divinity, at least amongst their students. The larger part of them were, at the same time, *legentes* and readers in the Pedagogies, or they derived a considerable part of their income from their teaching or tutoring students of the wealthier families. They thus either saw their auditories becoming smaller, or they lost their pupils : for instead of having to pay a preceptor or private lecturer, one could have daily lessons free of charge from the choice professors of Busleyden's Foundation, especially since their success drew more and more hearers, who were glad to leave the old curriculum for the more up-to-date instruction.

The upholders of the traditional order, aggrieved as well in their economic and financial concern as in their intellectual and moral sympathies, felt exasperated at the sanction which had been recently given by the University to that unfair exception in the general conditions of the lecturers ; for it

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1044, *pr.*, 13, 61, 80 ; he probably had been already for some time in Holland, as he had written before to Erasmus : *MonHL*, 222.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1044, 69.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 441, and further, p 447 ; also *MonHL*, 214, *sq.*, 225, *sq.*



liberated Busleyden's professors from the yearly resigning and request for reappointment, which weighed on all the others. Displeasure grew day by day, in so far that steps were taken to have the matter examined at the next meeting of the University, on November 3, 1519.

At that assembly, the Rector John Calaber proposed several questions that had been submitted by the Faculty of Arts <sup>1)</sup>, to which belonged the larger part of the students of theology on account of their title of M. A. and of their connection with the Pedagogies <sup>2)</sup>. One of those questions was about the validity of the *litteræ*, or the deed, which the University had given and granted to the College of the Provost of Aire : the doubt was expressed whether that accord was to remain in force, or was to be altered, as there were members who found that some things had been omitted. The other question was as the corollary of what should be decided : would it not be advisable that the Rector should request those who want to lecture in that College, to supplicate for their permission to teach, so as to be admitted according to the tenor of the agreement ? The ensuing debate was evidently chiefly about the validity of the contract of June 12/16, ratified on Sept. 20 ; although the Faculties of Arts and Theology objected to it, the others, especially those of Laws, could not but insist on the absence of all motive to revoke what had been duly admitted and sanctioned ; so that the Rector had to conclude that the agreement had to be considered as sound and binding, and, consequently, had to be executed according to its true intent <sup>3)</sup>.

That conclusion did not satisfy those who had proposed the motion ; far from dropping the question, they decided to examine it more thoroughly, and produce arguments against the opportuneness of the conceding of that privilege, which seemed to be opposed to the genuine rights of the Faculties, and even to the autonomy of the University, as it granted to persons outside the Academic Commonwealth, the uncontested right to appoint some of the professors. As time advanced, it moreover became clearer and clearer, that the

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<sup>1)</sup> It results from the debate of the University meeting of November 29 : cp. further, pp 450, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 290.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*13-14.

new Institute was developing into a most dangerous competitor of the Faculty of Arts.

#### B. ITS INFLUENCE ON THE PROFESSORS

The opposition against the *Collegium Trilingue* thus passed from the Faculty of Theology to that of Arts in the autumn of 1519; as their interest seemed to be threatened by the incessant growth of the new Foundation and by the increasing success of its lectures, the members of that youngest and most turbulent of the academical bodies did not despise any longer the *Collegium Trilingue* as an outsider, but claimed it as their rightful property on account of the subjects it treated; they insisted that, instead of being independent, it should be ruled and, for certain, supervised by them, as were all the Pedagogies and all the Schools where languages had been taught from the beginning of the University. It followed that the agreement was to be cancelled at any cost, and they were then to become the practical masters of the Institute by means of the law of the yearly *supplicatio*, which they had decided to claim in their favour by a vigorous initiative at the next meeting of the University.

It is evident that in their demands, and in their efforts to extend and intensify the opposition against the untimely granted admission of Busleyden's Institute, they found the eagerest encouragement and readiest help imaginable amongst the worst opponents of Erasmus, the divines. It is also most probable that a personal enemy of the great Humanist like Edward Lee, will have gladly availed himself of the opportunity to pay in kind the man who only recently had spoiled his chance of having his *Annotationes* printed by Michael Hillen in Antwerp <sup>1)</sup>: he may have dissuaded his countryman Robert Wakefeld from continuing his service to the *Collegium Trilingue*; in fact, the Hebrew professor gave notice, and stated that he was leaving at the end of November <sup>2)</sup>.

The exceptional animosity of his Faculty against the School of the Three Tongues must have even shaken the confidence of Adrian Barlandus, who, with his mature experience, thought that he felt that there was little hope of lasting

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 441, 445.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 380-81.

success for Busleyden's Foundation, now that the larger part of the University was in league against it. He does not appear to have been ever over-satisfied with the position, which he probably accepted in a moment of enthusiasm, when he was offered to take the place of that glorious veteran Latinist John Becker <sup>1)</sup>. It was not long before he found out that he had made a *Diomedis & Glauci permutatio*, as his stipend was small <sup>2)</sup>, and his work such that there was no possibility to continue his far more remunerative preceptorships and private lessons of former years <sup>3)</sup>. Already after six weeks, in Oct. 1518 <sup>4)</sup>, the rumour spread that he intended resigning his professorate, and Erasmus, who wished to have in Louvain the experienced and widely known Herman von dem Busche <sup>5)</sup>, inquired about Barlandus' intention, and learned that he had decided to continue his professorate <sup>6)</sup>. No doubt

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 256, sq, 267, sq : he resigned his position of Latin professor two months before the lectures started, to accept the more lucrative office of Dean of Sandyck Chapter : *Cran.*, 12, e; Allen, III, 849, 6-8, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Barlandus' position in the College was not very remunerative, as according to the will, he was only entitled to half the wages of his colleagues, at least for the initial ten years : cp. *Test.*, 17-20. He had, with his superior experience and ability, the same salary as Rescius, 6 Flem. pounds, whereas the young Wakefeld had 9 : *Rek.*, 91, v, 92, r.

<sup>3)</sup> Barlandus had already had as pupils sons of the very first families of the nation, e. g., Leonard de Zevenbergen, Antony de Berghes and his two brothers, James de la Potterie, George and Philip of Egmont, Maximilian of Ysselstein : Daxhelet, 242, 247, 249, 270. They certainly monopolized his time (*Cran.*, 62, a), but were also the occasion, no doubt, that prompted Barlandus to correct the mistake of the Middle Ages, and to adapt instruction to the nation and its people, by dealing with its history, its constitution and its customs : cp. *UniEngl.*, 5.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 884. The letter has no year-date, but evidently belongs to 1518, as Erasmus mentions that Hoogstraeten had been to Louvain before his own arrival, viz., from Basle, on Sept. 21 : Allen, III, 867, pr; *PaulDom.*, 98 : his absence from the convent may have been a topic of conversation at Cologne with Busche, as is implied. Erasmus also mentions that he had written already before to Busleyden's executors that, if they had not appointed Barlandus, he had himself a suitable candidate : the mention of such letter is conceivable in 1518, three months after Barlandus' appointment; it would hardly be referred to after fifteen months.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. VII.

<sup>6)</sup> Letter to H. von dem Busche : Allen, III, 884.

it would have been as prejudicial to himself and his prospects as to the *Collegium Trilingue* if he had left his post after a few weeks. Now that the Faculty of Arts proved decidedly hostile to the new Institute <sup>1)</sup>, Barlandus was evidently exposed to lose the favourable position which he enjoyed amongst his influential colleagues <sup>2)</sup>, as well as the succession of John Paludanus, to which he obviously seemed entitled <sup>3)</sup>. He therefore decided on recovering his freedom on the occasion of Wakefeld's leaving, and apparently announced some days in advance his intention of resigning at the end of November. For it is certain that Erasmus wrote once more on the subject to Herman von dem Busche, offering this time a real vacancy and requesting him to come without delay to Louvain <sup>4)</sup>.

Hearing about the resigning of his two colleagues, and informed moreover that the '*supplicatio*' for the lectures was going to be imposed as a necessary condition to all professors, Rescius had some misgivings. His ultimate wishes had been realized by his appointment in the *Collegium Trilingue*; yet he probably did not wish to displease the Faculty. Erasmus was at Antwerp <sup>5)</sup>, so that his advice and encouragement was lacking for the moment: possibly moved by the fear that the right to lecture was going to be taken away altogether if he should omit asking the *veniam legendi*, he decided to placate the academical authorities: he handed in a supplication requesting a delay for his demand to lecture

<sup>1)</sup> In the month of November 1519 it was chiefly the Faculty of Arts that caused difficulties to the *Collegium Trilingue*.

<sup>2)</sup> Barlandus was an important member of the Faculty of the Arts: cp. *Cran.*, 62, a.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 184, sq, 190.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, Ch. VII, 2, A.

<sup>5)</sup> No letter of Erasmus is dated from Louvain in November 1519 after the first day, Allen, iv, 1039: that to Martin Lips, Allen, iv, 1040, was, no doubt, written soon after October 19, on his return from Brussels, where he had learned that he was criticized for having written to Luther: cp. Allen, iv, 1033, 24, sq; there is no need telling as a piece of news that '*Hoechstratus adest Louanil*', when he had been there nearly a month; as to the letter to the Reader in the *Colloquiorum Formulæ*, it was, most likely, also drafted soon after October 19, but finished a month later: Allen, iv, 1041; the letter to the *Obtrectator*, John de Winckele, Allen, iv, 1042, probably dates, too, from soon after Oct. 19: cp. before, pp 434, 435, 441.

and to obtain the *veniam legendi* prescribed by the Statutes of the University, until the arrival of his new colleagues, or at least until that of Busleyden's executors, as he had not yet been ordered by them to ask for the permission to lecture, and was afraid of taking that step on his own responsibility <sup>1</sup>).

When in the last days of November, Erasmus returned to Louvain, everything was topsyturvy : notwithstanding the growing success of the lectures, two of the three professors were leaving, and the third seemed to be abandoning, in a moment of excitement, the advantage which the executors had had so much trouble in securing. With all that the general discontent seemed to grow rampant.

### C. REQUEST FOR THE REPEAL

On November 29, at the meeting of the University, Rescius' request for a delay to make his formal *supplicatio legendi* was read, and granted at once <sup>2</sup>). Then the Faculty of Arts through her Syndicus John Macket <sup>3</sup>), proposed four points

<sup>1</sup>) The report of the meeting of Nov. 29 states : ' Continuo lecta fuit supplicatio porrecta per magistrum Rutgerum de Maseyck professorem grecum in collegio quondam domini prepositi Ariensis, qua in effectu supplicavit, ut domini de universitate supplicationem aut veniam legendi juxta statuta universitatis ab eo fieri petitam suspendere et continuare velint usque adventum suorum collegarum professorum in eodem collegio, vel dominorum executorum testamenti dicti quondam domini prepositi Ariensis, a quibus, ut asserit, adhuc jussus non esset supplicare pro licentia legendi in dicto collegio nec sine eorum mandato hujusmodi supplicationem facere esset ausus, ut asserit' : de Jongh, \*14. From that text it is clear that Rescius requested a *delay* in the supplicating for the permission to lecture, which was ordered by the University ; there is here no mention of Rescius' 'supplicatio' having been handed in for that permission, of which he wished to suspend the effect, as de Jongh, 200, supposes, not distinguishing the meanings of *supplicatio*.  
<sup>2</sup>) de Jongh, \*14.

<sup>3</sup>) John Macket, or Maquet, of Binche, Master of Arts, was appointed promotor of the University on August 31, 1507, and was accordingly admitted from that day to the Academic Council. He resigned, Dec. 23, 1508, but was again appointed on December 22, 1512. In that quality he went to the sister-University Cologne, 1516. In 1518, he resigned again, for two others were appointed in his place. Meanwhile he had been entrusted with the office of University Syndicus, and he is referred to in that capacity until the year of his decease, 1535 (VAnd., 52, 54, 406 ; *ULD*oc., 1, 325, 347-350 ; de Jongh, \*27, \*29, \*56, \*66). In 1518 he postulated and was granted the post of syndicus and promotor of the

to the assembly, two of which referred to the *Collegium Trilingue*. The most important was the one by which the members of the Faculty of Arts expressed their belief that, in the uncertainty as to which Faculty the lecturers, the bursars and the other students of Busleyden College were to be reckoned and submitted, they should belong to their allegiance; indeed they taught and studied literature and its first elements, which came nearest to the scope of the 'Artes'. The Faculty, therefore, intended prescribing to that College some convenient regulations and fitting hours to be observed in all its lectures for the greater benefit of their [own] hearers, and to avoid every impediment to all other regular teachers, — viz., those appointed according to the University prescriptions. — Indeed, so the Syndicus said, it is of the highest interest for the Faculty that not one of her lecturers should suffer any harm whatever in his audience through those who wish to teach and to instruct outside the Pedagogies. On that account, he added, he believed that — begging the University's pardon, — a certain agreement had been given most prematurely by letters to the staff and to the direction of the said College, since it had not been announced as an article in the order-of-the-day of the meeting in which it was granted, and consequently it had not been prepared for its discussion in the Senate in a legitimate way <sup>1</sup>). That agreement, moreover, was very prejudicial to those of the Faculty of Arts, as they were not provided for, nor made

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Faculty of Arts, and protested in vain when a few months later John Glaviman, of Ghestel, J. V. Lic., was appointed unanimously as promotor; still in the beginning of 1519, the Faculty decided to abolish the place of promotor, as the name was disliked, and to keep only the syndicus, who should fulfil the functions of both. Macket was definitely appointed at a salary of six Rh. fl. : *ActArtInd.*, 17, 18; *AcArExc.*, 63, 91, sq, 106; de Jongh, \*14 (note 1 is erroneous), \*24; cp. before, p 251. In 1525 Macket became notary to the Inquisitors : Henne, iv, 315.

<sup>1</sup>) Reference is evidently made to the Admission granted on Sept. 20 : cp. before, pp 411, sq. The 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph of Ch. IV, *De Congregationibus Universitatis*, of the Statutes made before 1459 (and adhered to until they were renewed in 1565 : FUL, nos 13-17) declared that before every meeting of the Academic Senate, 'rector teneatur die precedenti mittere cedula articulorum super quibus congregatio fiet' : FUL, 2; *ULStat.*, 619. That regulation was invoked on Jan. 15, 1436, by the Faculty of Civil Law, objecting to the nomination of a promotor 'quia non fuit specialis desuper factus articulus' : *ULAct.*, i, 249.

safe against, the effects of the privilege granted, as were the members of other Faculties ; they consequently besought the assembly for the sake of peace and concord that the agreement should be examined again more carefully than before, and should there be in it any grievance against them, that it should be taken away, and their interests be provided for <sup>1)</sup>).

It was especially to that point that the attention of the assembly was drawn, as the other items were merely as sequels to it. After deliberation it was resolved to entrust the matter to the examining and the inquiry of the Rector and his Deputies, to whom were joined the theologians John Briart, of Ath <sup>2)</sup>), and Nicolas Baechem, of Egmond <sup>3)</sup>), the jurists John Godefridi, of Wemeldinge <sup>4)</sup>), and Denis Vischaven <sup>5)</sup>), James de Mera <sup>6)</sup>) and James Edelheer <sup>7)</sup>) ; also the medical

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*15.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 301, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, pp 460-61.

<sup>4)</sup> John Godefridi, of Scondee, a native of Wemeldinge, in Zeeland, who became D. V. J. on June 11, 1493, had been professor of Canon Law since 1487 ; he was dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, and, since Oct. 9, 1513, *Conservator Privilegiorum* : he was an upright and most generous man, leaving at his death, Oct. 12, 1525, several legacies, besides two scholarships in the Porc : Mol., 540 ; Vern., 51 ; VAnd., 40, 70, 155-7, 177 ; FUL, 1095 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 275-299 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 260, 261, 501, 518 ; FUL, 2 : 331-334, 1095 ; de Jongh, 236, \*23.

<sup>5)</sup> Denis Vischaven, a native of Mechlin, became D. V. J. on Febr. 7, 1503 ; he was appointed professor of Canon Law about the same time ; he was canon of St. Peter's, and was elected repeatedly University Rector ; he died on April 7, 1531. Cp. Mol., 542 ; VAnd., 156, 179, 185 ; de Jongh, \*24, \*57 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 262-3. — Two of his relatives, Cornelius Vischaven, Wischawen, a chaplain of St. Peter's, and his nephew of the same name were amongst the first who entered the Society of Jesus in Louvain, 1543 : *DébEnCo.*, 194-95.

<sup>6)</sup> The name James de Mera, evidently a professor of Civil Law, is a mistake for Gabriel van der Meeren, *de Mera* (*Cran.*, 1, b ; FUL, 1938), a native of Breda, who promoted D. V. J. on October 9, 1498 : since 1493, he had replaced as secondary professor of Civil Law, William de Potey, appointed as Official of the Bishop of Liège at Diest ; he succeeded him in 1498 ; when Peter de Thenis resigned his primary professorate of canon law, it was given him, on Dec. 19, 1519, which disappointed Vives, John Paludanus, Cardinal Will. of Croy and others, who had expected Francis de Cranevelt as successor, and remarked that in that year '*omnia sunt talia ut alia via non ingrederentur, si iurassent se ταύτην Ἀχαδημίαν euersuros*'. Gabriel de Mera died on March 18, 1529 and founded a scholarship in St. Yves' College : Mol., 619, 630 ; VAnd., 40-42, 179, 297, 155-57, 184 ; FUL, 1938 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 283-300.

<sup>7)</sup> He became, in January 1539, President of Busleyden College : cp. Ch. XXI.

professors Adam Bogaert <sup>1)</sup> and John de Winckele <sup>2)</sup>, as well as the four *Regentes* of the Pedagogies <sup>3)</sup>. That committee, however, was not entitled to settle the question, but was to report to the University on what they found and proposed.

## 4. THE NESEN INCIDENT

### A. COMPLAINT ABOUT PRIVATE LECTURES

Another complaint, lodged before the assembly by the Faculty of Arts, referred to foreigners who, since some time, had come, and were still coming, to the University to teach in private; they behaved as if they were '*supposita*', and

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<sup>1)</sup> Adam Bogaert, following the example of his father James and of his grandfather Adam, became Doctor (May 25, 1512) and Professor of Medicine. He was elected Rector on Aug. 31, 1524, and at his wife's death, Nov. 23, 1525, he resigned his professorate and entered the convent of the Minorites in Louvain, where he died on March 23, 1550 : Mol., 257, 564 ; VAnd., 222, 229-31 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 264 ; *Cran.*, 26, g, 111, c, 186, 13. His sister Margaret had married his colleague John de Winckele : cp. before, p 443.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 442, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> They were : for the Castle, Cornelius Sculteti Braxatoris, of Weert (cp. before, p 363), for the Lily, John de Neve, of Hondschoote (cp. before, p 200), for the Falcon, Nicolas Coppin, Meuran, of Mons (cp. before, pp 403, sq), and for the Porc, Matthew Thierry, *Theodorici*, Diercks, of Albras, Dordrecht. That Matthew, Master of Arts and Licenciate in Divinity, was appointed Father, or administrator, of the *Domus Pauperum* founded by John Standonck, which *Domus* had become the owner of the site and buildings of the *Pædagogium Porci* by a deed of April 15, 1499. In 1515, he bought from the *regens* Thierry Thomæ, of Amsterdam, the right to the administration and emoluments of the Pedagogy, which thus virtually was united to the *Domus* of Standonck, and from then on was called '*Pædagogium Standonck, vulgo Porci*' : VAnd., 256. In 1516, he bought for the account of the *Domus*, the mansion of Henry de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, Erasmus' first patron († 1502), which had been for a time the property of John Lengherant, of Binche, Professor of Theology : *FUL*, 1003-6, 2026-31. He was elected Rector on Aug. 31, 1522 ; he died on February 3, 1536, and was succeeded in the regency by Servatius Heynsberch, whereas from 1520, Verone Ernoulx, *Arnoldi*, of Braine, had taken over the office of *Pater*, or administrator, of the *Domus Pauperum* : *AcArExc.*, 32, 49, 52, 56, 89, sq ; VAnd., 256-57, 271-72 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 264, IV, 88-90, 458-59 ; Godet, 127-129.



availed themselves of the privileges, although it was most doubtful whether they had ever matriculated ; it was even rumoured that they had the audacity to hold scholastic exercises in their houses, retaining unto them and keeping away from the Pedagogies, various young men and students whom, in consideration of a stipend, they instructed in grammar, literature and liberal arts, instead of sending them to the Schools of the Faculty <sup>1)</sup>. It was an old grievance : for throughout the three and a half centuries of her existence, the Faculty of Arts made that protest regularly at certain periods : the 'evil' always crept up again after it had been checked for a while. On the present occasion the complaint was prompted by the sensation caused a few days before by 'a German' who, without having matriculated, and without having asked any leave at all, had presumed to announce, and had already begun, public lectures in the monastery of the Augustines, where the professors of the *Collegium Trilingue* were teaching. Consequently the Syndicus of the Faculty informed the Rector and the University in full session, in order that the Academic promotor should make inquiries and convenient measures should be taken <sup>2)</sup>.

That *articulus* was clearly intended as an accusation against William Nesen, who since the beginning of July 1519, had resided with four of his pupils in Louvain. He had for some time, at least, boarded with them in the Lily, — probably until he actually tried to get other hearers, as he could not conveniently trespass on the hospitality granted to him <sup>3)</sup>. As he was rather outspoken and violent, he probably discontented several professors and students, judging by his attempt at getting connected with Martin Lips <sup>4)</sup> ; nor is it at all impossible that some of Erasmus' adversaries suspected

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*14 ; that private teaching by men who had not matriculated was opposed to the regulation which, a few months before, had been invoked against Alard, namely the § 4 of Cap. XIII of the Statutes of 1459 : *ULStat.*, 633 : cp. before, pp 318-20.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*14.

<sup>3)</sup> Nesen may have taught in a house or in rooms rented for the purpose, although his pupils, and especially Hompen, may have stayed as boarders in the Lily : cp. before, p 394.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 395-96.

him of being the author of the *Dialogus Bilinguium et Trilinguium*. Presumptuously arrogant as he was, he no doubt ignored all propriety : as Erasmus was absent in November, there may not have been anybody to keep him within the limits of decency. Rather than following a beaten path, it looks as if he wanted to secure by hook or crook the Latin lecture which Barlandus was going to abandon <sup>1)</sup>; accustomed to act on no other policy but that of the accomplished fact, he most impertinently put up a notice on the doors of St. Peter's, — the usual way adopted for academical announcements, — making known that he was starting lectures on Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis* <sup>2)</sup> in the room of the Convent of the Augustines placed at the disposal of the professors of Busleyden's Institute <sup>3)</sup>.

In his evident lack of prudence and considerateness, Nesen had not taken even the trouble to matriculate ; nor did he pay the least notice to the fact that the Faculties were just then so insistent on the necessity to request the *veniam legendi*, that Barlandus resigned, and Rescius considered it indispensable to ask for a delay. He, no doubt, must have heard of the vain attempt of Alard, nine months before, and he could be sure that he would not meet with any more success. To be true, he did not venture on theological ground : although with his vehement character and his spirit of acerbity, he could be expected to swerve frequently from innocent geography into bitter personal criticism. Worst of all, he had connected his cause with that of the fateful Institute, against which the Faculty of Arts was driving a wild and resolute assault : it was the second time that by his blind arrogance he brought Busleyden's great scheme very near ruin and disaster.

#### B. NOCTURNAL EXPEDITION

Nesen must have heard that his case had been entrusted by the University Senate to the examination of a committee, along with the other complaints of the Arts ; in despair, he or his friends decided on a vehement measure, which hardly any one acquainted with the academic institutions, would

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 449.    <sup>2)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1046, 23.    <sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 295.

have lighted upon. They evidently accounted as responsible men the Rector and the Vice-Chancellor, John Calaber and John Briart <sup>1)</sup>: as if the Chancellor were not merely an official, and, even regularly, quite a stranger to the University and to her inner life <sup>2)</sup>; and as if the Rector could do anything more than merely state the conclusion arrived at by the Faculties, without having even the right of the decision in a case of parity of votes <sup>3)</sup>.

In the evening of that day, between nine and ten, somebody knocked or rang the bell at the Rector's door; to the '*familiaris*' asking who was there, the reply was given: a friend; so he opened the door, and saw a man, wearing a sword at his belt, and covering his face with his sleeve, who handed him a sealed letter, saying: 'Give this to the Rector'; on which he at once ran off towards three companions, similarly armed, standing by the pit in the middle of the roadway near Calaber's house. The letter threatened both the Rector and John Briart with a sedition in the case that Nesen should be prevented from continuing the public lecture he had started at the Augustine Convent, unless he consented to supplicate for the permission according to the University regulations <sup>4)</sup>.

## 5. THE REPEAL DECIDED

### A. REDRESS OF THE TUMULT

The prank of Tuesday, November 29, was, without doubt, the work of Nesen's four private pupils, the two Stalbergers, Carinus and Hompen <sup>5)</sup>, who had been disappointed at the measure taken that day by the Academic Senate. No doubt that decree and the rather hostile disposition of part of the University had been fully commented upon by Erasmus and his friends and fellow-boarders Nesen and Rescius, which thus suggested the youthful revenge by threatening the first

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<sup>1)</sup> In the absence of the rightful Chancellor, the Provost of St. Peter's, the Dean of the Chapter was to take his place: VAnd., 57; ULDoc., I, 372.

<sup>2)</sup> ULPriv., 5; VAnd., 55, sq; ULDoc., I, 370, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> ULStat., 620-621. <sup>4)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*16. <sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 392-94.

academic official and the leader of the theologians, who evidently were the chief opponents. Their spontaneous interference did not testify to foresight, nor to a sense of opportuneness : their threat was as ineffectual as ill-timed : if it frightened the old Rector and his servant for a moment, it precipitated an unequivocal reaction.

On the next morning John Calaber convened the University Senate for the following day, Thursday, December 1, at nine in the forenoon in the Upper Chapter Room of St. Peter's, where he related the event, read out and handed round the letter, and invoked the help and assistance of the Academy, which, according to the Statutes, was due to him in the exercise of his function <sup>1)</sup>. It was decided that a summons was to be put up at St. Peter's by the *Conservator Privilegiorum*, ordering under rigorous ecclesiastical penalties and censures to reveal the writer and the carriers of the letter within three days. Moreover it was decided that the regulation as to the permission to lecture was to be adhered to '*ad unguem*', and was to be applied as often as it should be necessary <sup>2)</sup>.

Thus Nesen's case was settled for good, and as it was out of the question for him to submit to the matriculating and to the *supplicatio*, his public lessons came to an untimely end. If other Universities welcomed foreign lecturers, they probably did so only after their consent had been requested and given ; Nesen showed ill will instead of deference, or of even the most rudimentary good manners. Considered in that light, the decision of the Academic Senate appears perfectly natural and consistent : no other solution could be expected for a similar inroad on the constitutions of our modern institutes. That reasonable spirit of self-defence must have been most vivacious in those times, when the charter, granted to the Louvain *Studium Generale*, secured to her the monopoly of all public teaching, throughout the country, of such matters as fell within the scope of her Faculties, let alone lectures to be delivered as part and parcel of her own

<sup>1)</sup> *ULStat.*, 614-15 : *cap.* III, § 13.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*15, \*16 : *universitas... conclusit statutum... disponens de modo legendi ad unguem servandum et quotiescumque opus fuerit practicandum...*

programme. Nesen had not the least ground to complain about a bad treatment from either the theologians or from the rest of the University <sup>1)</sup>; for she vindicated her privilege not only against private persons, but even against the various religious Orders <sup>2)</sup> and the powerful Society of Jesus <sup>3)</sup>; in 1530 she compelled Tournai to break up the school which had been started by the famous Canon Peter Cotrel <sup>4)</sup> and she obtained, on different occasions, decrees from Kings and Emperors sanctioning her monopoly with force of law <sup>5)</sup>.

#### B. THE 'SUPPLICATIO' OBLIGATORY

It was only natural for the Faculty of Arts to take the matter in hand in this instance, since her own orderly working depended on the observance of the University regulations, as she was the most exposed to suffer from the infractions; for the incriminated private lectures were almost regularly given about philosophy, or about one of the seven Arts, which caused many defections amongst the auditors of the habitual lessons, and even amongst the boarders in her Pedagogies. She consequently was very watchful on that point, and prosecuted all offenders, in so far that, from 1520 to 1545, the scraps of records that have reached us, show no less than eleven proceedings or complaints on that subject <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *KalErFlug.*, 43, wrongly judges Nesen as 'übel mitgespielt'.

<sup>2)</sup> FUL, 108, 398 (against the Dominicans), 617, 737.

<sup>3)</sup> FUL, 109, 110, 397, 735, 736; *AcArExc.*, 38, 76, 140, 147, 150-51, 165.

<sup>4)</sup> A sentence brought out by Charles V in his Great Council of Mechlin at the request of the University, Oct. 8, 1530, compelled Tournai to dismiss the lecturers appointed: Mol., 498; FUL, 108.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULPrivCon.*, II, 610-622: eight decrees ranging from 1639 to 1683; FUL, 108; Mol., 1158, 1161-2, 1164.

<sup>6)</sup> The Faculty decreed special measures against those who were lecturing in private in 1521, 1523, 1534, 1538, 1539, 1542: *ActArtInd.*, 20, 23, 37, 38, 44; *AcArExc.*, 121, 125, 127; in 1527, in answer to a complaint of Margaret of Austria about some lectures opposed to faith and morals, the Faculty declares that there are private tutors, especially strangers, who do not heed the regulations; at which the President of the Privy Council, John de Carondelet, remarks that he is surprised that students in Arts can be independent from the Pedagogies, since he and his brothers, although having a preceptor, had to attend the lessons in the Lily: *ActArtInd.*, 25; *AcArExc.*, 122; in 1538, the Faculty stipulates

The only practical means to ensure that monopoly was the exacting of the request for the *venia legendi* from all her professors every year <sup>1)</sup>. Indeed, she was not any less severe towards her own members : when, in 1511, the *regentes* of the four Pedagogies requested the Faculty not to have to supplicate every year for the 'regency' of the institutes which were their own private property, as they had bought and paid for them <sup>2)</sup>, they suffered a repulse, and in the next year it was again stipulated that each *regens* had to 'supplicate' every year both for himself and for the four *legentes*, or professors of philosophy, he employed <sup>3)</sup>. Erasmus, who was well acquainted with the University laws, could not but acquiesce to the decision, especially considering the rather tyrannical way of influencing the Academic Senate. Still he made at the time a bitter remark, occasionally repeated afterwards, about the disapproving rebuke by which Nesen's volunteering zeal for the good of the students was quenched,

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that a loan to the University is to be dependent on her promise to see that the regulations about private schools are strictly adhered to : *ActArtInd.*, 37. The permission requested for such lectures is positively refused in 1542, and again in 1544, to 'mgr. Judocus Velsius' : *ActArtInd.*, 42, 44 ; *AcArExc.*, 127 : cp. further, Ch. XXII ; and in 1545 a Spaniard, 'mgr. Gratianus', who had been admonished already by the Faculty and the Rector, is threatened with a recourse to the Privy Council or the Brabant Council if he continues to read publicly on Titelmans' *Dialectica* : *ActArtInd.*, 48, 49. Cp. *AcArExc.*, 31, 47, 78, 121.

<sup>1)</sup> *ULStat.*, 605. The regulation ordering every professor to resign his right of teaching every year to his Faculty, and then ask for it again, was not merely in force in the Faculty of Arts, but also in the others : it allowed the Faculty of Divinity on Sept. 28, 1520, to refuse the right of lecturing to Dorp : de Jongh, \*46 ; *MonHL*, 240-41.

<sup>2)</sup> Although the four Pedagogies were integral parts of the Faculty, who had a right to examine their accounts and to approve of the election of *regentes* and of the appointment of *legentes*, they were not her unconditional property : the Castle belonged to the poor students of one family and of one region, and was administered as a patrimony ; the premises of the Porc had been bought in 1499 by the *Domus Pauperum* of John Standonck, and were as good as rented by the *regens* ; the Lily and the Falcon were the objects of transactions between the resigning *regens* and his successor, until they became the Faculty's own after protracted lawsuits and final agreements in 1560 and 1546 : *MonHL*, 180-187 ; *FUL*, 838-9, 1003, 1004, 1138, 1287 ; *ActArtInd.*, 49, sq ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 5, 172, 178-210, 302-3, 321-368 ; cp. before, pp 64-68, 94.

<sup>3)</sup> *ActArtInd.*, 2, 3, &c.

whereas, if it had been a matter of moral perversion, it would have hardly been noticed <sup>1)</sup>; what other academies would have welcomed, was considered worse than the noxious attempt of an incendiary <sup>2)</sup>).

## 6. SANCTION OF BRABANT COUNCIL

### A. APPEAL TO THE COUNCIL

The intempestuous interference of the four nocturnal visitors probably induced the academic authorities to prevent all further attempts at causing disorder, as might have been expected from a vehement and obstinate man like Nesen. In a numerous assembly of the University on one of the first days of December 1519 <sup>3)</sup>, it had been decided to send some delegates to the Brabant Council to have their decision about the *Supplicatio* sanctioned: Nicolas Baechem <sup>4)</sup> was chosen

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<sup>1)</sup> On Dec. 1, 1519, he wrote to J. Robbyns: 'Inhibuerunt et Nesenum, aggressum Geographiam Pomponii Melæ: qui si domi suæ lupanar aliquod instituisset, tolerandus erat. O sanctam Academiam, si cum aliis conferatur! sed dignam aliis quorum arbitrio temperetur': Allen, iv, 1046, 22-26. That remark may be an allusion to the licentious lives of some students; for although Louvain may have been comparatively free from the general corruption (cp. e.g., Renaudet, 43-52; and before, p 419, Ravennas' remark about Italian students), rigorous measures had occasionally to be taken: in 1512 the Faculty of Arts decreed: Nullus Scholaris potest frequentare tabernas, nec coreas laïcorum publicas aut privatas, sub poena dimissionis; nec cellulas meretricum aut lenonum, sub eadem poena. Nullus Scholaris tenere potest concubinam seu fornicariam, sive palam sive occulte; quod si contigerit, publice corrigendus est in Schola, et si fuerit recidivus, amovendus a Facultate: *ActArtInd.*, 4.

<sup>2)</sup> To Vives Erasmus wrote in <May> 1520: 'Hic Guilhelmo Neseno Pomponii Melæ Geographiam profiteri gratis aggresso nihilo remissionibus studiis obstiterunt quam si parasset totam hanc urbem incendio miscere'; and, in <June> 1520, he adds, referring to the same fact: 'Roma ipsa, Mediolanum, vt de cæteris taceam gymnasiis, ingentibus præmiis ambit et euocat eos qui linguas doceant': Allen, iv, 1104, 25-28, 1111, 61-64; Seck., i, 314, b.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*77.

<sup>4)</sup> Nicolas Baechem, a native of Egmond, 'Nicolaus Jacobi de egmonda', matriculated in Louvain, Oct. 29, 1487: *LibIntIII*, 16, r; he was the first of his promotion of Master of Arts in 1491 (*ULPromRs.*,

with the academic notary John Vullinck <sup>1)</sup>. On explaining the case at the Brabant Chancery, the two deputies obtained a *mandatum* confirming the decision taken by the University, but leaving to Nesen the faculty of pleading his cause : *cum clausula oppositionis*.

The day fixed for that '*oppositio*' was January 7, 1520, when the Brabant Council heard both parties <sup>2)</sup>. Baechem had evidently some trouble to convince his audience of the opportuneness of the measure taken on December 1, having

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63; Mol., 590); he taught philosophy in his pedagogy the Falcon, and became Doctor of Divinity on December 2, 1505. In the following year he entered the Carmelite Order and made his profession at Mechlin on March 1, 1507. On August 1, 1510, he was appointed *regens* of a study-house of his order in Louvain, and taught theology in the University; he remained there, with the exception of the year 1517, when he was prior in the Brussels Convent. He regularly preached in St. Peter's; in 1520, he became assistant Inquisitor in the Netherlands, and took part in all the proceedings against heretics until his death, August 23/24, 1526: Mol., 511, 582, 818; Vand., 98, 244; AdriReus., 203-8; Paquot, v, 22, xi, 210; PF, I, 57; ULDoc., iv, 392, v, 357-62; Hoochstr., 395-96, 404; Bludau, 75-79; KaGNie., I, 73, sq, 104, sq, &c; de Jongh, 152, sq; Allen, III, 878, 13, v, 1469, 1481, 57, sq; Cran., 213, 36. — Baechem was animated with a great zeal, but lacked a judicious control over his tongue: from the first years of his teaching he had had disagreeable experiences on account of his inconsiderate language: Mol., 582, 818; de Jongh, 152-53. He was one of the first and most annoying of Erasmus' opponents in Louvain: not on account of his arguing or criticizing, but of his obstinately calling him a heretic in his sermons, and coupling his name with that of Luther; it caused Erasmus to apply in October and December 1520 to the Rector Godschalk Rosemondt, and afterwards to Adrian VI, and to his friends in Rome, like Giberti and Pighius, to silence him: Bulau, 78; Allen, iv, 1153, 1162, 1164, 1172, 1173, v, 1481, 62, sq, 1506, 1509, vi, 1589; Cran., 97, c; Leplat, 48-51; BalaRef., 552-59; de Jongh, 257; NèveRen., 88-92, 95. — Baechem was moreover one of the most virulent opponents of the *Collegium Trilingue*: the peaceful beginning of that College, Erasmus wrote to Barbirius, 'male habebat quosdam, præsertim Nicolaum Carmelitam': Allen, iv, 1225, 32-33. Consequently in all the letters of 1519 and 1520, in which Erasmus mentions the difficulties he experiences in Louvain, he refers to the obloquy of that '*Carmelita*' (Allen, iv, 1033, 80, 1144, 28, sq, 1147, 95, &c), whom Vives called *ὁ Κάμηλος*: Allen, v, 1256, 24. Nesen poured out against him his hatred in his pamphlets, especially in his *Vita S. Nicolai*: cp. further, p 466, and APPENDIX III.

<sup>1)</sup> He was University notary or secretary since 1494, notary of the Conservator's Court since 1503, and head of St. Peter's Chapter School: cp. before, pp 8, 368.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*17, \*18.



against him a vehement antagonist, who, without doubt, was the more eloquent man. Erasmus, moreover, had given him a letter of recommendation to a young councillor, Josse van der Noot <sup>1)</sup>, who had only recently arrived from Italy where he had studied many years, and who had made the Humanist's acquaintance. He had evidently brought home a love of literature, and the letter which Erasmus wrote to him, turned it to full account <sup>2)</sup>. The matter is represented as an incident in the struggle for the liberty of studies, which is as a necessary condition to a flourishing academy; Nesen is a stranger, not speaking the language of the country, and therefore, is worthy of favour, especially as he is learned, upright and modest. The objection brought in against him on account of the *supplicatio*, is a mere artifice adopted by a few men who do not want to become any wiser, but only think of increasing their profits instead of encouraging learning. They pretend to be afraid of a tumult, and yet no University has, at the time, quieter and more sedate students than Louvain, in so much that some professors turn that goodness to bad use, and make them into slaves. He himself is quite independent, being merely prompted by the public good of studies, which he recommends to the favour of his correspondent's relative, the Brabant Chancellor Jerome van der Noot <sup>3)</sup>. Nesen's plea, which is most probably summarized in Erasmus' letter, evidently made a good impression on the Council, so much the more since Antony Sucket may have brought to bear his influence: at any rate no decision was arrived at on that day.

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<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1057. That Josse van der Noot is most probably identical with the 'Jodocus de Nooth Bruxellanus' who, on January 26, 1516, was a member of the *Natio Germanica* in Bologna. He was the son of John van der Noot, mayor of Brussels, and of Frances Schoff; he is mentioned as 'Brabantiae consiliarius' in 1523, and as having married Barbara Mandoets. He died in his 30<sup>th</sup> year, probably about 1525: Knod, 377. His father was apparently the John van der Noot, mentioned repeatedly as alderman and as receiver of Brussels from 1500 to 1537, and as mayor in 1511, 1515, 1520, 1523, 1526 and 1528: he is referred to as deceased in 1550: *BruxHist.*, i, 270, ii, 529-535.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1057.

<sup>3)</sup> Jerome van der Noot, Lord of Risoir, succeeded John le Sauvage as Chancellor in 1514 and remained in that function till 1531, when he resigned: cp. *Cran.*, 66, 10; *Busl.*, 94, 321; and further Ch. XIV.

## B. DECISION LEFT TO UNIVERSITY

The matter was afterwards taken up again, and both parties repeated their arguments before the Council, which, that time, was presided by the Chancellor. The discussion was very lengthy and did not lead to any decisive result ; so that it was agreed to leave the matter to be settled by two commissaries, the Councillors Francis van der Hulst <sup>1)</sup> and William Back <sup>2)</sup>. Those deputies heard once more the arguments on either side, and finally concluded to request the University to meet on the subject, and to declare whether

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<sup>1)</sup> That Councillor was chosen in December 1521 to take part in the proceedings against Cornelius Grapheus and James Proost, after which he was created Inquisitor by Charles V, April 29, 1522, and by Adrian VI, June 1, 1523, although being a layman. He also was active in the suit against Vos and Van den Esschen, but was prevented of doing his office against Cornelius Hoen, whom he had ordered to be transferred to Geertruidenberg from The Hague, whereas the Holland Council urged their privilege *de non evocando*. On account of that mistake, which gave occasion to discontent and even riots, Margaret of Austria was displeased, and dissuaded him from continuing his office, February 21, 1524 ; on June 17, 1524, he was replaced by Nicolas Coppin on Clement VII's order. Hulst had studied in Louvain where he promoted Licentiate in Laws : he there made Adrian of Utrecht's acquaintance ; on November 8, 1511, they were sent both to the University by the Archduke Charles to show their credentials as Inquisitors : *AdriReus.*, xv ; *Busl.*, 315. Probably on account of that friendship with his late master, Thierry Hezius, Liège canon, saved his position through Bishop Erard de la Marck and Prince John de Berghes, and Hulst was used after 1525 for minor affairs until his death, which happened before Sept. 1534 (*Inv.*, 18, r) : his anniversary was kept by the Utrecht Carthusians on Nov. 7. Erasmus called him, as well as Baechem, a bitterer enemy of languages and literature than of Luther : Allen, v, 1345, 38-39 ; whereas Hezius believed that no vestige of Lutheran heresy would have remained in the country, if he had not been destituted from his office : *BalaRef.*, 554 : Oct. 26, 1525. — Cp. *BelgArch.*, Corresp. (1522-25), 679 : 69, 71, 84, 160-65, 172, 176, 190 ; *HEpU*, 154 ; FG, 15, 374 ; *ActArtV*, 198, v, 204, r, v ; *Cran.*, 74, a, 213, a ; *Præp.*, 31, sq ; *HoopSch.*, 141, 144, 150-53, 174-96, 495 ; Henne, iv, 297-330 ; *AntvDiercx.*, iii, 365 ; *CorpInq.*, iv, 100-43, 179-81, 215-45, 273-84, v, 261, sq, 362-3 ; de Jongh, 250 ; Pastor, iv, ii, 105 ; Allen, v, 1345, 39, 1299, 75, 1358, 24-26, 1466, 14, 1467, 9, iv, 1087, 355.

<sup>2)</sup> William Back, a Councillor for Brabant, accompanied Archduke Charles of Austria, when on January 23, 1515, he came to Louvain to be inaugurated as Duke of Brabant : Gachard, 523.

they intended standing by the regulation about supplicating, even in the case of the person of William Nesen; in the affirmative, the latter had to obtain the grant to lecture as prescribed by the Statutes.

On January 23, 1520, that meeting took place; Baechem reported on what had been done, and the University, confirming her former decision, declared that the Statute was sound and reasonable, and was to hold good even in the case of Nesen, and of all similar to him, in one word against all those who wished to come and lecture in public in the University <sup>1)</sup>.

### C. NESEN'S EXIT

Frustrated in his expectations, Nesen stayed in Louvain, at least for some time; he was with Erasmus <sup>2)</sup> in the particularly bitter period when Lee's *Annotationes* were published, about February 15, 1520, and became a taunt and torture to him and his friends; once more he registered in his memory and in his notes, all hasty, sarcastic sallies of the disappointed man against Lee, as well as against Latomus, and especially against Baechem, to whom he owed himself a grudge since he was the cause of his failure before the Brabant Council.

It seemed, indeed, as if John Briart had managed to keep within bounds some of the theologians about him, and as if he had tried to make up to Erasmus for having contributed to create difficulties to him. At his death, on January 8, 1520 <sup>3)</sup>, it was as if the constraint was finally taken off from Lee and Baechem <sup>4)</sup>, and from the Dominican Vincent Dierckx <sup>5)</sup>; and it

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*18.

<sup>2)</sup> Thomas More, in his letter about Germain de Brie's *AntiMorus*, sends to Erasmus his greetings for Dorp, Nesen and Vives: 'viris in re literaria primariis', in March-April 1520: Allen, iv, 1087, 621.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Briart, 398, r, sq: on August 13, 1521, Erasmus wrote to Barbiarius: Cum Joanne Atensi cumque cæteris mihi facile conuenisset, si placari potuisset vnus aut alter Carmeliticus Dominicalisque sodalitiis theologus: Allen, iv, 1225, 16-18.

<sup>4)</sup> On April 9, Erasmus wrote to Judocus Jonas: Hæc Academia concepit immedicabilem insaniam. Periit Atensis, sed odiosius agunt Edmondensis et Latomus, alter lippus, alter claudus: Allen, iv, 1088, 12-14.

<sup>5)</sup> Vincent Dierckx, *Theodorici*, of Beverwijk, 1481-Aug. 4, 1526, entered the Dominican Order at Haarlem in 1500, and was sent to study in

seemed as if they availed themselves of the occasion to take their revenge for the bitter criticism on their Orders <sup>1</sup>). They were up in arms against languages and against the principles dear to the Humanist <sup>2</sup>), and were joined by James Latomus <sup>3</sup>),

Paris. When in 1515 the Province of Low Germany was erected, he was Bachelor of Divinity, and was allowed by the Chapter of Utrecht in 1517, to continue his studies in Louvain. He there promoted Licentiate and Doctor on June 30, and October 13, 1517. He became member of the Faculty of Divinity and taught in the convent of his Order; on Sept. 30, 1519, he was allowed to lecture in the University. In 1525 he was appointed Definitor of the Province and Inquisitor for the Utrecht diocese: Allen, iv, 1196, *pr*, 1166, 42, v, 1330, 51-52; de Jongh, 171-72, \*41, \*46; VAnd., 104; Mol. 514; *BatavDom.*, 66-7; *Cran.*, 148, *a-h*. From his arrival in Louvain, Dierckx started attacking Erasmus in his sermons; a letter, March 1521: Allen, iv, 1196, an interview, and even a pamphlet failed to silence him; finally an appeal to the Faculty of Divinity prevented any further invectives by Dierckx, whereas his brethren replaced him in his activity. In 1525 he cooperated with Godfried Stryroy, Walter Ruys and Cornel. Campensis, of Duiveland, to issue an *Apologia* attacking Erasmus' opinions about confession and abstinence under the joint name *Godefridus Ruysius, Taxander, Theologus*: *Cran.*, 148, 151, 10, 157, 43, &c. In the letters of that period, Erasmus often refers to Dierckx and his obloquy: Allen, iv, 1126, 223, 1144, 23, 1164, 73, 1165, 6-11, 1166, 42-44, 1186, 16-19, 1225, 17, 157; he introduced him into the colloquy *Funus*: EOO, I, 812, E, *sq*.

<sup>1</sup>) In the letter to Barbirius, Aug. 13, 1521, just referred to, relating the whole struggle from September 1520 on, Erasmus declares that he easily would have remained in agreement with Briart and his colleagues, if there were not one or other of the Carmelites or the Dominicans, who, at the least alarm, started a tragedy; and, he adds, 'sum natura propensor ad iocos quam fortasse deceat, et linguæ liberioris quam nonnunquam expediat': Allen, iv, 1225, 16-24, 157, *sq*.

<sup>2</sup>) Instead of confining their invectives to what there was exaggerated in Erasmus' remarks, they attacked not only his books, as if they were thoroughly bad, but also the study of languages and literature, and the real method of studying and teaching, condemning all as heretic: cp. Allen, iii, 939, 55, *sq*, 948, 29, *sq*, 136, *sq*, iv, 1006, 329, *sq*, 1007, 37-39, 1033, 121, *sq*, 236-243, 1082, 13, *sq*, vii, 1891, 200, *sq*. Cp. *NèveMém.*, 67-77.

<sup>3</sup>) Latomus started his polemics with Luther by his *Articulorum... Lutheri... damnatorum Ratio*, May 1521, and continued till the year of his death (May 29, 1544), when he edited his *Duæ Epistolæ*: Antwerp, 1544: de Jongh, 175-179; *CorpCath.*, XVIII, 6. After Briart's death he seems to have grown bitterer against Erasmus who, in return, even mentioned his bodily defect: Allen, iv, 1088, 12-14: 'claudus', which was amply insisted on by Nesen in his pamphlets. Even the meek-minded Vives uses that word of contempt in his letter of January 19, 1522, to

whom his friend and master Briart could not mitigate any longer.

That hostility against Erasmus and the *Collegium Trilingue* also touched, in a way, Nesen, who, after some time, left Louvain in bitter disappointment <sup>1</sup>). He took a fearful revenge by writing and publishing a most scathing pamphlet, the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus, quot, & quales sint, quibus debemus magistralem illam damnationem Lutheranam* <sup>2</sup>), which was written in the form of a letter to Zwingli <sup>3</sup>) : it laid open to the world the defects of some of the Louvain theologians, who had condemned the Wittenberg Monk, whose adherent he soon became. He poured out all his hatred into the description of Nicolas Baechem, who, moreover, is made the only object of a second lampoon, cruel and scurrilous as no other, joined to the first : *Vita S. Nicolai siue Stultitiæ Exemplar* <sup>4</sup>). As author of such literature, Nesen was useful to Erasmus : on April 9, 1520, he was sent on a mission to Germany, to request his friends, the erudites and humanists, to express their censure about the *gloriosu-*

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Erasmus : he mentions that, to the proceedings against an Austin friar in Brussels, ‘*conuolarunt δ̄ χωλὸς καὶ ὁ Κάμηλος*. Istos audio criminose quibusdam conuiciis locutos esse de te ; quod iam faciebant antequam Lutherus nasceretur. Nunquam sic Orestes insaniuit aut Hercules vt isti duo, sed incredibiliter Saxicida <Latomus> : cuius omnia, siue loquatur quid siue agat, mera sunt saxa ; homo dignior tragoedia quam illi veteres’. To that crushing judgment about a man he knew since several years, Vives added further in the same letter : ‘*Saxicidam collegæ oderunt, vt ferunt : tantos spiritus sumpsit ingressu huius domus Cameracensis <Robert of Croy>, et arbitrantur eum plurimum posse, quod puerum sectetur. O homines vmbris exterritos*’ : Allen, v, 1256, 24-29, 74-76. Cp. before, pp 324, sq, 347 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 451 ; Paquot, xiii, 43-57 ; — also *ErasBur.*, i, 332, sq ; *ErasRott.*, 129, sq.

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, iv, 1126, 356-57.

<sup>2</sup>) As it still mentions John Briart, it probably was conceived and drafted before the date of his death, January 8, 1520 ; yet, as he was the foremost amongst those who condemned Luther in Louvain, he may have been represented as still alive in the fiction of this lampoon ; it reproduces several sentences of Erasmus’ letter of Oct. 19, 1519, to Albert of Brandenburg : Allen, iv, 1033, *pr.*

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. further APPENDIX III ; *SchelAL.*, i, 248-61 ; *ZwiOZ*, vii, 36, sq ; Steitz, 79, sq ; de Jongh, 223-24 ; Bludau, 78 ; *KalErFlug.*, 43, &c.

<sup>4</sup>) *SchelAL.*, i, 246-47 ; *ZwiOZ*, vii, 36, sq ; *KaWormEd.*, 25 ; de Jongh, 224. — Both pamphlets were printed anonymously in ‘MDXX.’

lum and fucatum antagonist Edward Lee <sup>1)</sup>, in letters, which were to be printed together so as to serve as a counterpart of Erasmus' reply <sup>2)</sup> to Lee's *Annotationes* (Paris, middle of February, 1520) <sup>3)</sup>. Nesen, who meanwhile had returned, took care, from April 20, of a first edition of eight letters issued early in May by M. Hillen as : *Epistole aliquot Eruditorum... quo magis liqueat, quanta sit insignis cuiusdam sycophantæ virulentia* <sup>4)</sup>. In the following month Hillen printed an *Appendix Epistolarum quibus eruditi viri detestantur Edouardi Lei virulentiam* <sup>5)</sup> : it brought four new letters, and was still arranged by Nesen, who soon after returned for good to Germany. A few weeks later, Erasmus' friends in England and at Basle began a third edition : in the latter end of August it was issued with fourteen new letters, but without the Humanist's acknowledgment, by John Froben, as : *Epistolæ aliquot Eruditorum Virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia* : it contained several letters written to Lee by More and Pace <sup>6)</sup>.

Nesen, to whom Herman von dem Busche still sent his greetings on June 5, 1520, had left Louvain for Germany in July : 'tædio stolidissimarum tragoediarum quas hic quidam agunt sine fine, ad vos se recepit', Erasmus wrote of him on the last day of that month <sup>7)</sup>. He had been looking out for a convenient appointment, no doubt, whilst taking care of the messages entrusted to him by Erasmus. On September 14, he took in Frankfurt a three years' engagement as head of the

<sup>1)</sup> Letter to Judocus Jonas, in Erfurt : Steitz, 96-7; *Erasmiana*, II, 598-9; Allen, IV, 1088, 2-10; *EpErVir.*, 53. In that letter Erasmus refers to instructions imparted, through Nesen, no doubt in view of preparing some documents against Lee. Nesen sent word, and also Erasmus' *Apologia*, as well as Lee's *Annotationes*, to Pirckheimer, who, on April 30, wrote a letter which was inserted in the Antwerp *Appendix* of June 1520, and, with some emendations, also in the Basle edition : Allen, IV, 1095, *pr.* In the very first edition were letters from Lupset to Nesen and from Nesen to Lupset. Cp. Lomeier, 174.

<sup>2)</sup> *Responsio ad Annotationes Eduardi Lei* : Antwerp, M. Hillen, April 1520 : NijKron., I, 864.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Allen, IV, 1037, *pr.*

<sup>4)</sup> NijKron., I, 765; Bludau, 111, *sq*; Allen, IV, 1083, *pr.*

<sup>5)</sup> NijKron., I, 128; Allen, IV, 1083, *pr*; *MonHL*, 381-84.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Allen, IV, 1083, *pr*; *MonHL*, 381-84.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. Allen, IV, 1109, 23, 1126, 356.

new Latin School <sup>1)</sup>. Erasmus may have been pleased at the *Epistolæ Eruditorum Virorum*; still he soon felt irritated at his too virulent friend : for he learned that Nesen, not knowing what to say and what to keep for himself, blabbed out whatever had been uttered in hours of wild excitement or confidence, but what never was intended for the public ear <sup>2)</sup>. It had already caused displeasure at the publishing of the *Dialogus Bilinguium et Trilinguium* <sup>3)</sup> : therefore, hearing of the new pamphlet which was going to be printed, he confided to Wolfgang Capito, that he hoped that this time the author's name would be added, so as to prevent any wrong attribution <sup>4)</sup>. In several letters he speaks out his annoyance at Nesen's *Germana fides*, and a chill fell on the connection <sup>5)</sup>. In 1523, Nesen left Frankfurt to visit Luther at Wittenberg, where he stayed and joined the Reformers <sup>6)</sup> : the old friend-

<sup>1)</sup> Steitz, 117; Allen, iv, 1215, 10; *Micyllus*, 38-39, explains that the town authorities had reminded Erasmus of a promise made at one of his visits to Frankfurt, and that he had recommended Nesen in consequence for the Latin School they wished to found. — Cp. *KalHuRe.*, 219, 573-74 : letter from Hutten to Nesen, Ebernburg, Dec. 27, 1520.

<sup>2)</sup> On February 6, 1522, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius : 'Neseno si quid scribis, caute scribe. Ille sane mihi fuit amicus infelicissimus. Nihil continet; nec dispicit quid quando dicendum. Nec prodest bonis literis, nec causæ Lutheranæ, nec suis discipulis' : Allen, v, 1257, 5-8; cp. also 1335, 3, n.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 409, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Letter of December 6, 1520 : 'Neseno scribe vt, si edat Vitam S. Nicolai, quod prorsus ille meretur, addat suum nomen, ne quem alium grauet suspicione' : Allen, iv, 1165, 38-39.

<sup>5)</sup> It seems as if Nesen had also committed indiscretions in the editing and choosing of Erasmus' letters in the bundle *Epistolæ ad Diversos* : Basle, J. Froben, Aug. 31, 1521, following on the *Farrago Nova Epistolarum*, of October 1519. Cp. Erasmus' letters to Pirckheimer, Nov. 29, 1521, to Peter Barbirius, Aug. 13, 1521, to Conrad Goclenius, February 6, 1522, to Martin Davidts, February 9, 1522, and to Andrew Alciati, April 25, 1522 : Allen, iv, 1244, 36, 1225, 357-61, v, 1257, 5-7, 1258, 26-27, 1278, 10-13.

<sup>6)</sup> Nesen reached Wittenberg in April 1523 : Steitz, 125-27; *Micyllus*, 41-42; *CorpCath.*, III, 13, 17; Luther had visited him and his school in May 1521, and had induced him to translate one of his works : Steitz, 122-24; *Micyllus*, 40. Nesen had passed a book by Cochläus, Dean of Frankfurt, *De Gratia Sacramentorum*, to Luther; to him is addressed Luther's (as well as Joh. Cochläus') reply : *Adversus Cucullatum Minotaurum*, 1523 : Enders, III, 180, sq, 242, iv, 82; Seck., I, 283, a; *CorpCath.*, III, 7, 13, 14, sq; *KAlgLu.*, 5, 148; P. Kalkoff, *W. Capito im Dienste Erzbischofs Albrechts* (in *Kunden zur Gesch. der Theol.*, I) : Berlin, 1907 :

ship then was dropped <sup>1)</sup> and was never taken up again. A few months later, on July 5, 1524, on a boating excursion on the Elbe, Nesen was drowned <sup>2)</sup>, ending a stirring life in a wretched mishap <sup>3)</sup>.

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136-38; Allen, vi, 1729, 4. — Amongst the friends Nesen made at Wittenberg were Joachim Camerarius, James Micyllus, who took his place in Frankfurt, 1524, as well as Eoban Hess: *Micyllus*, 32-33; *Hessus*, i, 254, 362, 382, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> Nesen, however, still wrote to Erasmus: RhenE, 319, who felt more and more acerb whenever he mentioned his old friend: RhenE, 367; Steitz, 152, sq; he made a scathing allusion to him without naming him in his *Hyperaspistes*: EOO, X, 1250, B; Seck., ii, 29, a. To his change of religion (cp. Allen, v, 1368, 5; *Micyllus*, 39, 40, 41, 42), was added the old grievance about the edition of Seneca, 1515: Allen, ii, 325, pr, v, 1479, 88, vii, 2040, 8, 2056, 1-13, &c. Melanchthon commented on Erasmus' displeasure with Nesen, on March 23, 1528: Allen, vii, 1981, 35; cp. before, pp 292-93.

<sup>2)</sup> Enders, iv, 363-65; Seck., i, 314, a, b. On December 10, 1524, Erasmus wrote to Melanchthon, in answer to his letter of Sept. 30, 1524: 'Neseni mortem acerbissime tuli. Erat amicus candidus et constans, etiamsi mihi minime foelix': Allen, v, 1500, 62-63, 1523, 202; *Micyllus*, 42. — Nesen's death inspired a poem by Camerarius, an *Epicedion* by Micyllus and another by Hess: *Micyllus*, 32-33; *Hessus*, i, 383-84, ii, 18. In his *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri Saxonis* (Mayence, 1549), John Cochläus made a marginal note on p 145 on Nesen's death: Ad. Herte, *Die Lutherbiographie des Joh. Cochläus*: Münster, 1915: 8.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. J. G. Schelhorn, *Analecta de Wilh. et Conr. Nesenis*, in *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani Selecta*: 1755: iv, 299-333; Em. Fr. Haupt, *Wilhelm und Conrad Nesen*: Zittau, 1843; Steitz; *DelPoGer.*, ii, 1412-16, iv, 515-22; ADB; P. Kalkoff, *Erasmus und seine Schüler W. Nesen und Nicolas von Herzogenbusch im Kampfe mit den Löwener Theologen*, in *ZwiOZ*, vii, 402-20; FG, 396; *Melanch.*, 190-94; Allen, ii, 329, pr, v, 1482, 39, &c; *MonHL*, 200-214, &c.



## CORRIGENDA

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*On p*

17	<i>l</i> 16	<i>please read</i>	Antony	<i>instead of</i>	John
22	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Lambert	» »	Louis
76	<i>n</i> 1	» »	extension	» »	extensions
93	<i>l</i> 10	» »	to	» »	tho
112	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Ger. v. Goetsenhoven...226	» »	A. van Engelen...228
128	<i>l</i> 11	» »	(John)	» »	John
130	<i>n</i> 5	» »	Ch. VII	» »	Ch. V
221	<i>l</i> 22	» »	Gregory	» »	George
463	<i>n</i> 1 <i>l</i> 14	» »	were	» »	where
528	<i>n</i> 1	» »	<i>LibAct V</i>	» »	<i>LibAct VI</i>

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## CHAPTER VII

# THE INCORPORATION GRANTED

## 1. RESCIUS IN TROUBLE

### A. HIS 'SUPPLICATIO'

The last days of November and the first of December 1519 were amongst the darkest in the gloomy months in which an institution devised for the enlightenment and the intellectual development of the nation and of humanity at large, was almost hopelessly struggling for life. The Admission granted on September 20 after weeks of wavering was not merely repealed, but rendered as good as impossible through the Nesen incident. Meanwhile the works had started on the site bought for the College, where Walter de Leeuwe's house was being arranged for its new destination, and preparations were making for the wide buildings to be erected; and yet the teaching staff had been reduced to the only Rescius. He, too, was greatly alarmed at the insistence of the Faculty of Arts on the '*supplicatio*': although the agreement of September 20 had declared it superfluous for the professors of Busleyden's Institute<sup>1)</sup>, the president John Stercke and Barth. van Vessem, one of the executors, who was then in Louvain<sup>2)</sup>, probably advised the Greek professor to show his peaceful disposition by requesting the University Council to grant him a delay for his petition of the *Venia legendi* until the executors, who paid him, should have given a definite order on that head<sup>3)</sup>.

At the meeting of November 29, the delay requested was

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 415-16.

<sup>2)</sup> He lived in one of the rooms of the *Old House* of Walter de Leeuwe, directing and surveying the works of the new College.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 449-50; de Jongh, \*14.

willingly conceded ; still the turn things took, did not inspire great confidence to the small group that represented the *Collegium Trilingue* : it was probably feared that as reaction against the threat of Nesen's friends, the Academical authority might also prohibit the Greek lesson for want of the *Venia* <sup>1)</sup>, which would cause a complete interruption in the Foundation, at which, no doubt, some of the opponents were aiming. To prevent a cessation in the lecturing, which was sure to cause a bad impression, Rescius introduced his *supplicatio* for the permission to teach, abandoning the delay obtained. At the general meeting of the University Senate on Thursday December 1, that 'licentia legendi in greco in Collegio Buslidiano' was duly granted <sup>2)</sup>.

#### B. HIS CAPTIVITY

The permission of lecturing given to Rescius, on Dec. 1, was decided upon after the Rector John Calaber had made his complaint to the Academical Senate about the violent proceedings against him on account of the conclusion voted at the meeting, two days before, and after due measures had been proposed, discussed and approved of. It shows that at least at the time of that *Congregatio*, about nine before noon, there was not the least suspicion yet of Rescius' having had any connection with the ungracious nightly call, as it would have been mentioned, and would for certain have influenced his request for the *venia legendi* <sup>3)</sup>. Still, before many hours had elapsed, Rescius was not only suspected, but was actually arrested and imprisoned *propter certam causam* by the University Promotor Lambert Bont on the order of the Rector and with the approval of the Deputies <sup>4)</sup>.

Without losing any time Erasmus sent Bartholomew van Vessem to John Robbyns at Mechlin with a letter dated

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*14-15.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*16.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*15-16.

<sup>4)</sup> Lambert Bont, or Loen, a native of Louvain, was appointed secondary promotor on Dec. 22, 1518, and became the only one on May 28, 1519 when Walter de Vaddere, his senior, was dismissed. He himself did not give satisfaction, and after complaints about 'abusus' on May 31 and Dec. 22, 1520, he was replaced on Dec. 23, 1521 by Rombaut Nicholai : VAnd., 54 ; ULDoc., 1, 350-51.

December 1, announcing the event. He compares Rescius to St. Paul, and states that he is a prisoner for the College, as the real cause of the trouble is the displeasure with the New Undertaking, whatever other pretext might be feigned or alleged ; and that displeasure is so great and evident, that it cannot be anything but an augury of the flourishing future of the unwelcome Institution <sup>1)</sup>).

Although it is certain that Calaber considered Rescius as one of the four nocturnal visitors and punished him for it <sup>2)</sup>), it is not recorded on what grounds he based his conclusion. It is not at all likely that the withdrawal of the request for a delay granted two days earlier and the unexpected decision to make the actual *supplicatio*, should have suggested a probability, or at least a suspicion, of guilt ; for if that withdrawal could be taken as a clumsy way of hiding conscious culpability <sup>3)</sup>), it would have been noticed at the time of the meeting, and the permission to lecture would have been thus prevented. It is more likely that Rescius came under suspicion on account of subsequent reports or rumours of imprudent and even abusive talk : like all favourers of the languages, he evidently felt for Nesen, and must have been disagreeably surprised when the Senate made it impossible for his friend to continue the lessons he had just started. On that occasion he may have naturally given vent to his indignation in the presence of Nesen's pupils, and gone so far as to lay the blame on the theologians, on their leader Briart and on their favourer the Rector Calaber, uttering perhaps some threat or other, which he would not have stuck to on second thoughts ; still some of his young admirers, and especially the wards of the disappointed humanist <sup>4)</sup>), may have taken them in full earnest, and may have executed them in their spontaneous enthusiasm.

That supposition seems to be as good as proved, from the plea in Erasmus' letter : your humanity, he argues, made it a duty to favour the professor when he committed something of a mistake, as human things are never absolutely correct, referring, no doubt, to the kindness with which he had been

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1046.

<sup>2)</sup> *MotJuris*, 32.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, 201.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz. Haio Hompen, Louis Carinus and the two Stalberger : cp. before, pp 392, sq.

treated by Robbyns and the executors in February of that year, when he had actually called the divines *matæologi* in a public lesson <sup>1)</sup>. Now, Erasmus concludes, you must not fail the same professor, especially since he is most innocent <sup>2)</sup>, as will be attested to by Bartholomew, the bearer of the letter, who has not only been the witness, but even the sharer of the danger <sup>3)</sup>: it implies that van Vessem had uttered similar criticisms about the severity of the University in general. It is evident that Rescius was in no way a participator in the nocturnal incident, nor even a direct inciter. Taking exception to the strict decision of the academic senate was most natural for a favourer of languages <sup>4)</sup> and for a friend of Nesen's. Moreover, he himself had been sorely provoked <sup>5)</sup>, Erasmus remarks, which seems quite admissible, since he was the only professor left in the Institute, and it appeared as if he obstinately held on where others were put out of countenance by the general disfavour of the *Collegium Trilingue*, and almost suggested by their resigning the volunteering of the German humanist. Rescius had been aimed at, Erasmus added, instead of others who might prove more dangerous <sup>6)</sup>, meaning the executors and above all, himself, whom the measure taken certainly was intended to offend. It seems, after all, as if the whole incident originated in the familiar chats and, evidently, the hasty unburdenings of the group of

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 315.

<sup>2)</sup> Vt sunt res humanæ non vsquequaque puræ, etiam si quid commissum esset, tamen humanitatis vestræ fuerat aliquousque fauere Professori. Nunc et tali et innocentissimo multo minus debetis deesse : Allen, iv, 1046, 10-13.

<sup>3)</sup> Omne cognosces ex Bartholomeo qui fuit non modo spectator, verumetiam affinis periculo : Allen, iv, 1046, 9-10. That Bartholomew is not Bart. Gravius, who was possibly not known yet to Rescius or Erasmus, nor certainly to Robbyns : Allen, iv, 1046, 9, although the use of the mere Christian name implies a person with whom the three were familiar. There is no doubt but van Vessem is meant here, who was only a subdeacon yet, and had not resided up to then at Aire to fulfil his canonical duties ; cp. de Jongh, 202.

<sup>4)</sup> Erasmus remarks to Robbyns : Dissimulent quantumlibet, hoc collegium illos pessime habet : Allen, iv, 1046, 4.

<sup>5)</sup> Ille tot modis fuit lacessitus : Allen, iv, 1046, 15-16.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, iv, 1046, 16 : hunc enim studio expetunt, ne quid offendant magis masculos. Cp. further, p 474, note 2.

friends who took their meals at one table in the Lily — Erasmus, Rescius, Vessem, possibly Nesen with his pupils ; for Erasmus assures Robbyns that, although they eat at the same board and talk over a cup about all and everything, he had never heard Rescius speak outrageously <sup>1)</sup>). Although that testimony of a man who himself was far from being a model of moderation in his confidentiality with his friends, does not amount to proof perfect, still there is little doubt but the punishment fell undeservedly, and though Rescius may not have been the most able, yet it was difficult to find one more eager and more upright professor <sup>2)</sup>). His injured innocence even claimed amends from the executors, so Erasmus continued, in the shape of a rise in his salary <sup>3)</sup>, which actually was granted at once <sup>4)</sup>.

#### C. HIS DEFENCE

The unexpected rise in Rescius' salary instead of an admonition, is a perfect proof that John Robbyns, Antony Sucket and their colleagues, all straightforward and most honourable men, were fully convinced by Vessem's and Erasmus' testimony that the young professor had been punished undeservedly. They did not think it necessary to inquire into the case, for which every opportunity existed, though ; the evidence seemed to them such that they did not judge it opportune to send some one back with Vessem to plead for the release of the prisoner : they possibly just wrote a letter <sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Vtimur eadem mensa, et inter pocula quiduis garrimus... nec vnquam tamen audiui illum quicquam impotentius loquentem : *ibid.*, 15-18.

<sup>2)</sup> Doctior an inueniri possit nescio, certe diligentiores ac moribus puriores vix inuenias : Allen, iv, 1046, 13-14. On Sept. 24, 1521, Erasmus described Rescius to Bernard Bucho as : qui doctrinam non vulgarem incredibili quadam modestia planeque pudore quodam virgineo condecorat : Allen, iv, 1237, 31-34.

<sup>3)</sup> Mihi multis modis videtur hoc mereri Rutgerus, vt illi salarium, quod iam aliqua portione est auctum, augeatur vsque ad octodecim libras : Allen, iv, 1046, 26-28.

<sup>4)</sup> Whereas the stipend for Sept. 1, 1518 to Sept. 1, 1519 had amounted to 36 Rh. fl., that for the same period 1519-1520, and for the following year came to 48 Rh. fl., showing a rise of one Rh. fl. a month : *Rek.*, 91, v, 92, r.

<sup>5)</sup> Apparently from Robbyns, taken to Louvain by Vessem.

to help him in getting his freedom. For, if he was not kept in an actual dungeon, it is most likely that Rescius had been taken to a convent, where he was to remain confined <sup>1)</sup>, or possibly he was ordered not to leave his room in the Lily. At any rate, although the University gathered again on December 2 to approve of the measure taken by the Rector, it did not last long before the conclusion of an inquest, maybe the production of an alibi, gave the assurance that Rescius could in no way be made responsible for the nightly outrage. It seems even that he was soon allowed to continue his lecturing, not only by the permission of the executors, but by that of the whole University <sup>2)</sup>).

One more proof of Rescius' guiltlessness is the fact that the executors used the captivity as a handle in their further negotiations for the incorporation. On January 1, 1520, Antony Sucket claimed in their name from the University, that venerable and powerful body, a public apology for the injury which had been done, first to Rescius himself, but also to the Institute, of which he was a member, to the executors, in whose pay he was, and even to the founder Jerome de Busleyden and to his family, the natural protectors of their great kinsman's foundation. The Faculties, who had to deliberate on that and on another request before Febr. 4 <sup>3)</sup>, were not full-heartedly certain that the Rector had acted rightly : even that of the Arts, who had provided the most impetuous defenders of the '*Supplicatio*' in the preceding November, humbly owned on January 26, 1520 : '*sibi satis displicere M<sup>r</sup>i Rutgeri captivitatem*' <sup>4)</sup>. Still, according to the University regulations, they were to stand by the Rector <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Amongst the duties assigned by the *Statuta* to the Promotor is mentioned that '*notabiles personas mandabit custodiri in aliquo monasterio ipsi Universitati incorporato, si ita videbitur*' : *Statuta* (1565), *Tit.*, xii, § 14; Mol., 908; *ULDoc.*, i, 335, 339 : the inner Mechlin, or Castle, Gate, which served as prison, was only arranged to that purpose in compliance with an arrangement of June 5, 1551.

<sup>2)</sup> *MotJuris*, 32 (in carcerem misit... / assumptum ad... professionem a tota vniuersitate); de Jongh, 200-204, \*19; Allen, iv, 1046, pr.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*17, and further, sect. 4, § b.

<sup>4)</sup> They added : '*præsumebat tamen [Facultas] D. Rectorem ad quem spectabat cognitio causæ nihil temere vel sine justa causa fecisse*'.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *ULStat.*, 614-15 (1459 : *Tit.* iii, § 13); Mol., 897 (1565 : *Tit.* iii, § 11).

Moreover there was another regulation : that a Rector could not be prosecuted by any of his *supposita* before the end of his office <sup>1)</sup> : which entailed a delay until the last of February.

When, on the final day of that month, Calaber resigned his office, Rescius sued him for the injury done, bringing in an action in the court of his successor Nicolas Coppin <sup>2)</sup>. The University, called together on account of the reply to be given to Antony Sucket and to the executors, on March 3, declared in that meeting at the late Rector's request, that they had approved and assumed on their account John Calaber's measure on December 2, the day after it had been taken ; they consequently begged the executors, and they instructed Rescius, to desist from that suit, and to let things rest <sup>3)</sup>. The professor refused complying with that request, and the executors encouraged him, in so far that, on April 26, 1520, the sum of six pounds was given to him by the patrons of the College with one consent to prosecute the action <sup>4)</sup>.

A few months later — in the latter half of August 1520 — a composition was offered to Rescius, evidently through the theologians who almost compelled him to accept it. He applied to Erasmus, who wrote <sup>5)</sup> that the best vengeance should be

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<sup>1)</sup> That regulation does not seem to have been written, but follows from the very high honour in which the Rector's dignity was held : e.g. Adrian Barlandus, *Germaniæ Inferioris Urbium... Catalogus* : Schola Louaniensis vnum habet caput, vnum principem cui omnes pareant : *BarlHist.*, 235 ; *Vern.*, 24, sq ; *VAnd.*, 29, sq ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 243, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *ULDoc.*, 1, 263.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*19, \*25.

<sup>4)</sup> *Rek.*, 92, v-93, r : 'Item meester Rutgher vors. gegeuen xxvj aprilis xx om te veruolghen zyn proces injuriarum teghen den Recteur vniuersitatis betaelt bij ordinantie vanden ghemeynen executuers vj £'.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1240. The letter bears only as date *Anderlaci* in the *Epistolæ ad Diuersos*, printed at Basle, J. Froben, Aug. 31, 1521 (p. 650) ; the *Opus Epistolarum* (Basle, 1529) adds the year 1521. In Allen, iv, 1240, it is placed amongst the letters of October 1521, on account of its 'position' in the *Epistolæ ad Diuersos*, viz., after letters dated in the last half of September (1236, 1237), as well as on account of an allusion to an offending word (18) which is also mentioned in the letter to Nicolas Everaerts, of autumn 1521 : Allen, iv, 1238, 93. Still that 'resemblance' is only the allusion to the same incident, and there is only one word, *vocula*, which is found in the two passages. On the other hand, the various circumstances explained in this section prove that the letter to Rescius belongs to the latter half of August 1520, when the late Rector



a brilliant professorate and an upright life; that, however, he durst not urge him to agree to an unequal peace, since the injury had been so heinous, especially as it was inflicted by those whose duty it was to protect their well-behaved subjects from all harm <sup>1)</sup>; it looked like tyranny that those, who themselves had felt offended by a single word spoken at random <sup>2)</sup>, now wanted him to bear in silence a public personal contumely, and almost to apologize, so that their dignity should be safe. Yet if Rescius could not of his generosity give up his claim, Erasmus advised him to sue his adversary without that animosity which causes harm to one's constitution; but rather to contrive it so as to improve his health. He remarks that when he last saw him, Rescius was stoutish, flushing and spirited, and proved to be in fit condition <sup>3)</sup>. He is, he adds, a worthy adversary of John Calaber, to whom he is so very alike that with the similar paleness and leanness of face, and by their different ages, it

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Calaber, who had been involved since March 1520 in the lawsuit, of which he had neither foreseen the length nor the course, tried to finish by a compromise the quarrel that was decidedly turning against him. As he probably had acted less out of ill will than out of obsequiousness to some theologians (Allen, iv, 1240, 22-23), the latter probably made an insistent offer to Rescius. He wrote for advice to Erasmus who had followed Charles of Austria, after his two days' stay, August 23 and 24, in Louvain (Gachard, 28), to Brussels: he met there Albert Dürer who drew his portrait, and presented him with an engraving (DürerD, 66; Allen, iv, 1136, *pr*); he stayed for several days, probably as a guest of his friend Peter Wichmans, Canon at Anderlecht. He there wrote probably about August 26 or 27 to Rescius dissuading him from accepting the terms proposed, and thus provoked a negative reply; in consequence Calaber applied on August 30 to the University meeting for help and for a subsidy in his lawsuit: de Jongh, \*25; and further, sect. 4, § B.

<sup>1)</sup> The Rector was, with his council, the natural protector of all the 'supposita': VAnd., 29; Vern., 24, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> This is evidently an allusion to the name *matæologi* which Rescius had given to the theologians in his lecture in February 1519: *MotJuris*, 40; it is recalled to Nicolas Everardi in October 1521: Allen, iv, 1238, 93-95. Cp. before, pp 315-16.

<sup>3)</sup> *Nam quum proxime essem Louanii* (<viz., from about August 13, when he returned from Antwerp, to Aug. 24, when he went to Brussels in Charles of Austria's train: Allen, iv, 1132-34, 1136>), *sic obesulus, rubicundulus et alacer eras, vt mihi lite non macerari sed saginari videaris*: Allen, iv, 1240, 17-19.

almost seems as if a son is bringing his own father before the judge <sup>1)</sup>. Erasmus, however, expresses his conviction that Calaber did not act from ill will, but from obsequiousness to the influential opponents of the *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>2)</sup>.

Rescius did not relent : on August 30, 1520, Calaber saw himself compelled to implore the help of the *Congregatio*, as things took a bad turn for him : since the injury had been done in the execution of his office, it was decided that he should be defended and subsidized at the expense of the University on the strength of the Statute that she should stand by her Rector <sup>3)</sup>.

## 2. THE LATIN PROFESSORATE

### A. VON DEM BUSCHE PROPOSED

The letter which van Vessem took to John Robbyns on December 1, 1519, refers to the two vacancies in the staff as if they were filled, at least provisionally <sup>4)</sup>. There was no difficulty in replacing Robert Wakefeld as Hebrew professor, as he probably had proposed, or at least recommended, his successor ; but it was not easy to choose amongst the various candidates who requested the succession to Barlandus. In all probability the latter had given notice in good time, so that the president John Stercke sent word at once to Mechlin and Brussels, advising Robbyns, as well as Giles de Busleyden, Adrian Joseph and the other executors, about the most able candidate to the Latin professorate <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> ... Ioannem Calabrum medicum, qui te pallore macieque refert : excepta ætate adeo tui non dissimilis, vt periculum sit ne cui videaris litigare cum patre : Allen, iv, 1240, 20-23.

<sup>2)</sup> Quanquam vir ille mea sententia non peccauit malicia sed obsequio : Allen, iv, 1240, 22-23.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*25.

<sup>4)</sup> De Professore Latino prospectum est, ni fallor, ex animi vestri sententia. De Hebræo non possum iudicare, sed consulam eos qui sine dubio possunt : Allen, iv, 1046, 23-30.

<sup>5)</sup> In Vessem's account is made this entry : 'Item van twee brieuen gesonden bij Mr. Jan van Meerbeke te Mechelen ende te bruessel ter begheerten van Mr gielys onder lessen wille jn latine doen vacerende betaelt den seluen meerbeke ij st. ende noch van eenen anderen brief aan M. adriaen 3 st v3. tsamen ij st vj d : *Rek.*, 38, v, 39, r.

As Erasmus spent the greater part of November 1519 in Antwerp, it was probably there that he received the news of the resigning of the Latin professor; ignoring the intentions and the choice of Stercke, he decided to try once more and secure for Louvain his friend Herman von dem Busche, whom he had already contemplated substituting to Barlandus in October of the preceding year <sup>1</sup>).

That Herman von dem Busche was only a few months younger than Erasmus, being born in 1468 at Sassenberg, near Münster; he belonged to a noble family, and was a relative of Herman and Rudolf von Langen <sup>2</sup>) two of the earliest humanists in Westphalia <sup>3</sup>); by them the boy was sent to Alexander Hegius, in Deventer. He also enjoyed for a short time Rudolph Agricola's lectures in Heidelberg, and then journeyed to Italy <sup>4</sup>), where he studied under the direction of Pomponius Lætus and Philip Beroaldo the elder <sup>5</sup>). On his return he served for a time at the Court of Henry of Schwarzburg, Bishop of Münster, and gained some fame as poet. On October 8, 1495, he started the study of Laws in Cologne <sup>6</sup>), but left that town about 1500 for the vagrant life of a πολύτροπος. He remained for some time as private teacher in Rostock, where, notwithstanding the name *Pasiphilus* which he affected, he quarrelled with Tilman Heuerling about the explanation of Juvenal <sup>7</sup>). In Leipzig, he was first a friend of Martin Mellerstadt Polich, the great physician, and afterwards his opponent, and an ally of Conrad Wimpina <sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) Letter of October 21, 1518 : Allen, III, 884. Cp. before, pp 448, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) Langen, 24, sq, 34, &c ; *HuMünstCor.*, 5, sq ; *MünstBib.*, 84-86 ; *HuMünst.*, 2-42 ; *MünstSchule*, 9, sq ; cp. before, pp 153, 198.

<sup>3</sup>) Busche also knew very well John Murellius, whose *Pappa Puero-rum* he recommended by verses : at his decease he composed a *Carmen Elegiacum ad Rudolphum Langium de acerbo Joannis Murellii obitu* (1517) : *Murell.*, 127 ; *MurmO*, IV, 3, III, 76, 124.

<sup>4</sup>) Busche apparently did not study in Bologna : cp. Knod, 669, 82.

<sup>5</sup>) *CorpCath.*, IV, 93.

<sup>6</sup>) Keussen, II, 427, 56 ; cp. Krafft, 59-61, 66-67, 139 ; *HuNieWe.*, 24-26, 31 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 128, 306 ; *BeitKlette*, III, 18 ; *CeltE*, 79, 90, 564 ; Polain, I, 943, II, 1435, 2406, III, 2440, IV, 3883.

<sup>7</sup>) Amongst his writings is an *Oestrum in Tilmannum Heuerlingum* : cp. *Gratius*, 30-31 ; *Hutten*, 53, 504.

<sup>8</sup>) Kaufmann, II, 551, sq. He published there poems and his letter : *Præstabili et raræ eruditionis viro Martino Mellerstat alias Polichio ducali phisico et litteratorum omnium favisori* (n.d.) : cp. *Wimpina*, 58-60.

Having accepted to start in the recently founded University of Wittenberg the lecture of Rhetoric and Poetry, he picked up a quarrel with the Italian poet Richard Sbrulius, and had to leave in consequence of some libels against him <sup>1)</sup>. He returned to Leipzig, where his wild life made a long stay impossible <sup>2)</sup>. His first biographer made Busche spend some time in Louvain <sup>3)</sup> before 1507, when he returned to Cologne, where he was allowed to teach by the Town authorities, and where he made an excellent impression by his eulogy of the city in verses, *Flora* <sup>4)</sup>. He got involved in a quarrel with the professor of Latin, Ortwin van Graes, who held that the

<sup>1)</sup> Muther, 231-232; *Gratius*, 31; Bianco, I, 641, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> He wrote a *De Laude Cultuque Urbis Lipsensis Silva*, cui titulus *Lipsica*: Oct. 18, 1501: Neff, xxviii, 73-91. Cp. Liessem, I, 22-26.

<sup>3)</sup> In his *Vita Hermanni Buschii*, Herman Hamelmann relates that before starting in Cologne the quarrel with Ortwin van Graes, Busche passed some time in Louvain where he taught 'ex Organo Aristotelis tractatum de prædicamentis: Rethoricam Ciceronis ad Herennium cum aliquot epistolis ad Atticum, his adjecit Hesiodi librum primum & Horatium de arte poetica, & ita in utraque lingua specimen suæ eruditionis eximie & præclaræ ibidem edidit, & cum admiratione & exultatione studiosorum auditus est: WestphalOV., 48. There must be a confusion here, for that stay of Busche in Louvain, which, judging from the matters taught, must have been rather long, is mentioned in no other document or record. Moreover, in the few lines preceding that quotation, the author states that Busche met in Louvain the professors Adrian of Utrecht, — who left for Spain in October 1515 — and Francis Titelmans, — who matriculated in June 12, 1518 and promoted master of arts in 1521: *AdriReus.*, xvii; *Excerpts*, 99; *ULPromRs.*, 72. He moreover mentions that amongst the future professors of languages he met, *reperit*, Herman Stuvius, of Vechta, near Oldenburg, Westphalia, who was at work at Zwolle about 1517-20, and only came to Louvain under the influence of Goclenius, 1520: Keussen, II, 488, 17; Allen, IV, 1237, 25; as well as John van Campen, who was absent just then: cp. sect. 3, § B. Still the greatest anachronism is that Busche, after leaving Louvain, went over to England, taught in Colet's School (which started only in 1509: *Colet*, 162, sq), and when he returned, heard of the decease of his master and friend John Murmellius, († October 2, 1517); he then wrote the poem in his memory, dedicating it to Rudolph von Langen, and arrived in time in Cologne to start the quarrel with Gratius, which began in 1509: *Gratius*, 32, sq. It is evident that if Bussche ever came to Louvain, it was before 1507, and he certainly did not teach publicly.

<sup>4)</sup> In *Præclaræ Urbis Coloniae Agrippinæ Laudem Carmen Heroicum*; Neff, xi, xxv; *Gratius*, 32, sq; Bianco, I, 646, sq; Rupprich, 27, 140, sq.

grammar of Donatus was not a book to be used in a University, but at the lower Latin schools, and who paid back a personal attack in Busche's edition of *Priscian*, 1509 <sup>1)</sup>). When, a few months later, the Reuchlin controversy started, Busche wrote a *Tetrastichon* in recommendation of Arnold van Tongeren's *Articuli*, 1512, condemning the *Augenspiegel* <sup>2)</sup>): since, however, Ortwin van Graes also attacked Reuchlin, Busche became a wild defender of the Hebraist <sup>3)</sup>, and, leaving aside Jews and Jewish books, he made the controversy into a ruthless attack of traditional doctrine, typified by Gratius, on whom he took a dastardly revenge in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, several of which are his <sup>4)</sup>). As he was suspected to have a hand in those letters, which evidently refer to many details about people and things in Cologne such as neither Crotus Rubeanus, nor Hutten could know, life was made hard for him in that town, and he accepted the direction of the School of Wesel <sup>5)</sup>). He stayed hardly one year; yet he edited several classic manuals, and prepared a defence of the advantages of the study of literature and arts, which, in 1518, was published as *Vallum Humanitatis* <sup>6)</sup>, in Cologne, where he had settled once more. That most welcome apology of Humanism came at the time when Luther occasioned another veering in the mind of Busche:

<sup>1)</sup> Gratius, 34-36; *Tricoron.*, 30, sq; and before, p 421.

<sup>2)</sup> HutOS, II, 78: in Judeos iudeorumque amatores preposteris Elogium.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. MutE, 351, 434, 461, 598, sq; Hesus, I, 174; *Reuchlin*, 337, 359, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Gratius, 36-41; *HuMünstCor.*, 24, sq; *KalHuVa.*, 175; *KalHuRe.*, 37; *WestphalOV.*, 49, sq; *Tricoron.*, 33-42; Brecht, 33, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> It seems as if the place was offered to him through Herman of Neuenahr's brother, William Count of Neuenahr and Morse, lord of Bedber, &c. Busche had as *conrector* Judocus Hetlagius, afterwards secretary, senator and mayor in his native place Osnabrück. It was at Wesel that he started writing his *Vallum Humanitatis*, and edited several manuals: *WestphalOV.*, 51-52.

<sup>6)</sup> Cologne, Nicolas Cæsar, April 12, 1518. That book, dedicated to Herman of Neuenahr, was as the amplification of Murmellius' *Scoparius*, a collection of texts from the classics, the Bible and the Fathers of the Church, with the author's comments to prove the advantage of the humanistic education: that systematical exposition, in eight books, was as the eulogy of the Humanistic movement: MurmO, v, c-xxx, 1-127; *Heresbach*, 18.

he became a champion in the struggle against Rome <sup>1</sup>). He shadowed Aleander in Cologne, and afterwards in Worms, infesting him with squibs and epigrams <sup>2</sup>).

Erasmus, who had met Busche in March 1515 in Frankfurt, at once highly valued him <sup>3</sup>), and that good opinion was strengthened by an interview at Speyer in September 1518, when the Humanist returned from Basle to Louvain <sup>4</sup>). No doubt, he wanted to secure for the *Collegium Trilingue* the author of *Flora* and of *Vallum Humanitatis*, and after the disappointment of October 1518 <sup>5</sup>), he sincerely wished to have him nominated as Barlandus' successor in November 1519. Busche readily accepted the invitation, and he came to Louvain, where, meanwhile, the executors had made their own choice. The expenses of the journey were paid to Busche <sup>6</sup>), who returned to his wild and quarrelsome pursuits <sup>7</sup>). No doubt, the *Collegium Trilingue* was fortunate,

<sup>1</sup>) Enders, iv, 91-92; *KalHuVa.*, 14, 33, 117, 269, 411; *KalHuRe.*, 3, 11, 29, 141, 209, 266, *sq.* 296, *sq.* 305, 311, 397-401, 413, 418, &c; *KaLuEnt.*, 229, 236, 243, 260, 263, *sq.* 274.

<sup>2</sup>) *Hutten*, 374, 387, *sq.* Several of the pamphlets and epigrams were wrongly attributed to Erasmus by Jer. Aleander, and helped to incite the animosity of the papal Legate against the erudite, who thus had to suffer obloquy and prejudicial blame. Cp. *KalHuVa.*, 27, 38, 95, 99; *KalHuRe.*, 22, 37, *sq.* 189, 236 (*Hochstratus Ovans*), 266, *sq.* 337, 347, 352, 379, 405, *sq.*; *KaLuEnt.*, 5, 153; Enders, iii, 6.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, iii, 967, 72. Erasmus already had conceived an esteem for Busche's writings in 1514: H. Glareanus, *Dodechachordon*: Basle, H. Petri, Sept. 1547: 188. Busche had composed (probably in Febr. 1516) a poem *In Erasmum Coloniam recens Ingressum*.

<sup>4</sup>) Allen, iii, 866, 37, 867, 33, 877, 16. Erasmus wrote to him in a most friendly way on April 23, 1518: Allen, iii, 830, 808, 2, and again, at great length, on July 31, 1520, in reply to his letter of June 5: Allen, iv, 1109, 1126.

<sup>5</sup>) Allen, iii, 884; cp. before, p 448.

<sup>6</sup>) To Busche refers this entry in Vessem's account: Item den voers. Heeren Herasmo voer een Reyse gedaen bij eenen die hij ontboden hadde vuten duijtsschen lande omde lesse te hebben jn lattijne jnt collegie de welcke te late quam want dair af versien was. betaelt ten beuele van M. anthonijs sucket ij gouden gulden vj £ xvj s: *Rek.*, 36, r, v.

<sup>7</sup>) Busche certainly had a hand in the first series of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, — for although Crotus Rubeanus may have had the first idea, and put uniformity in style and language, yet there are letters which are so full of details of Cologne life and people that it is

after all, to have had to miss that man, who, in April 1522, aroused the public feeling in Basle : it led to an estrangement from Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>, which, at the feud with Hutten, envenomed to such an extent that Busche would have attacked the old scholar if Melanchthon had not interfered <sup>2)</sup>. Only in 1523 some calm came into his life : he taught for a time in Heidelberg <sup>3)</sup>, and, from 1527, in Marburg <sup>4)</sup> ; in 1533 he even stood forward as opponent against the anabaptists in Münster at the public discussion of August 7 and 8. It was not a success for Busche, who on leaving the meeting was even insulted in the streets of his favourite town <sup>5)</sup>. He did not long survive that humiliation : he died at Dulmen in April 1534 <sup>6)</sup>. As on September 7, 1527, the anabaptists had burned the library of Münster with all its books, he bequeathed his collection to the Dean and Chapter <sup>7)</sup>. He left himself several works for the

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absurd to reduce Busche's part to that of an informer, and to conclude that he was not able to imitate the example given by Ravennas (cp. before, pp 299, 419) ; it is a mystery, too, why Crotus should have taken Gratus as addressee, instead of Hoogstraeten or one of the divines, whereas that choice is easily explained by the controversy which Busche had with Ortwin in 1509, and which made him into a relentless adversary (cp. before, pp 480-1 ; Brecht, 40, 46 ; *Hutten*, 512-13, 516, 519 ; Merker, 291, sq). It is moreover certain that Busche wrote several squibs, if not *Hochstratus Ovans*, at least the libels against Aleander (*BeitClem.*, III, 17-18 ; *Hutten*, 387, sq, 516, 519) ; he plainly showed at Worms that he was far more ruthless for Luther's sake than Hutten, whom he taunted with inactivity and cowardice : *KalHuRe.*, 209, 266, 309, 405, sq, 415, sq ; *HutE*, II, 62-65.

<sup>1)</sup> Busche contributed a letter to the *Epistolæ Eruditorum Virorum*, in 1520 : *EpErVir.*, 171-75 ; *KalHuVa.*, 207 ; he met Erasmus at Basle in 1521, and again in April 1522, when he sacrificed his friendship to defend most wildly Hutten, his opponent : *CantE*, 33 ; *ZwE*, I, 204 ; *Allen*, v, 1342, 86, 1383, 31, 1386, 28, 1406, 49, 1437, 170, 1466, 27, 1496, 85, 1523, 102 ; *Hutten*, 455-56.

<sup>2)</sup> *Enders*, IV, 91, 92, 233-37 ; *MelECle.*, 356 ; *Nolhac*, 116 ; *Hessus*, I, 349.

<sup>3)</sup> *KaLuEnt.*, 280.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *MatriMarb.*, 21, 272, sq ; *UniMarb.*, 16 ; *Hessus*, II, 127, 184, 201 ; *Rommel*, I, 195, 205, II, 186.

<sup>5)</sup> *WestphalOV.*, 57-66 ; *Heresbach*, 84-85 ; *HeresMon.*, 14.

<sup>6)</sup> Viglius, in his letter to Erasmus, dated from that very Dulmen, August 12, 1534, ascribed his death to his *indignatio et tædium* resulting from his quarrel with Bernard Rothmann and his adepts : *VigIEB*, 12.

<sup>7)</sup> *WestphalOV.*, 69 ; *Heresbach*, 227-240 ; *HuMünst.*, 20 ; *Lomeier*, 414 ; *SchelAL*, VII, 105.

advancement of study and teaching, the most important being his *Vallum Humanitatis* : Cologne, 1518 <sup>1</sup>).

#### B. GOCLENIUS APPOINTED

Passing by the candidates proposed by Erasmus and by Barlandus <sup>2</sup>), the executors appointed as professor of Latin Conrad Wackers <sup>3</sup>), a native of Mengeringhausen, near Arolsen, in Waldeck <sup>4</sup>), who, on account of a secondary name Gockelen, or von Gocklen, has become famous as Conrad Goclenius. After having been trained under Alexander Hegius at Deventer <sup>5</sup>), Goclenius started his University studies in Cologne in November 1510 <sup>6</sup>), removing to Louvain for the

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *MünstBib.*, 15-17; Opmeer, I, 464, b; Herm. Hamelmann, *Vita Hermanni Buschii*, in *WestphalOV.*, 28-72, 78; Bianco, I, 639-48; *HuMünstCor.*, 17, sq; Langen, 24, 34, 56, 65, 102, 108, 132; *HuMünst.*, 3, 20, &c; *MünstSchule*, 16, sq; H. J. Liessem, *De Hermanni Buschii Vita et Scriptis* : Bonn 1866, and *Hermann van dem Busche. Sein Leben und Seine Schriften* (Programma of the Cologne Kaiser-Wilhelm Gymnasium) : Cologne, 1884-1906; *ADB*; Goldast, 151; FG, 209, I, 313; Krafft, 59, sq, 118, sq, 131, sq, 177, 186-87; *HuNieWe.*, I, 53, sq, II, 3-4, 10, sq, 30, 52, sq, 55, sq; Mummell., 5, &c; MummO, v, 56, sq; A. Bömer, *Westphalische Lebensbilder*; P. Kalkoff, *Der Humanist Hermann von dem Busche und die Luther-freundliche Kundgebung auf den Wormser Reichstag* (Arch. Ref. Gesch., VIII) 1910-11 : 341-79; *KalErFlug.*, 69; *HutOS*, II, 330-33; *Reuchlin*, 337, 359, 361, sq, 413, sq, 429; Allen, III, 830, pr; *ReuchIE*, 209, 226-7, 233, 235, 265, 292-93; *Hutten*, 153, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) See further, pp 488, sq.

<sup>3</sup>) The entry of April 19, 1525 in the first *Liber Nominationum* calls him 'Conradus Wackers alias Goclenius' : *LibNomI.*, 184, v; cp. 185, r, 141, r, 171, v, 200, r. — The matriculation register has 'Conradus Wickart', probably a wrong copying by the Rector Peter Zelle Winckel (cp. before p 139), who inscribed him : for, instead of writing the names of the *intitulati* in the register in the order of their arrival, as was generally done, he arranged them alphabetically at the close of his office : *LibIntIII*, 172, v.

<sup>4</sup>) In Westphalia, in the diocese of Paderborn; in *LibIntIII*, 172, v, that name is written 'Waeldyck'. As Nannius, in his *Oratio Funebris* (Louvain, 1542 : B 2, r), declares that he died prematurely on January 25, 1539, at the age of forty-nine, he seems to have been born at the end of 1489 or in the beginning of 1490 : Polet, 50-51.

<sup>5</sup>) *WestphalOV.*, 31, 71, 77; Allen, IV, 1209, pr.

<sup>6</sup>) Keussen, II, 488, 75 : November 10, 1510 : *Conr. Waldeck, Pad[erbornensis] d[ioc.]*; art.; he was, no doubt, the future Louvain professor, about whom Ludolph Coccius, on July 9, 1532, affirms : *Conradus Gocle-*



next winter. He stayed in the Castle, and was amongst the poor students of that Pedagogy who matriculated, as was the custom, in a body on February 28, 1512 <sup>1)</sup>. He became Master of Arts in 1515 <sup>2)</sup>, and continued his residence in the University town, where he taught Latin, and even Greek. He was so proficient and successful, that, when in the autumn of 1519 Erasmus was requested by Florent of Egmont, Lord of Ysselstein <sup>3)</sup>, to become preceptor of his son Maximilian <sup>4)</sup>, he thanked him profusely, but excused himself, whereas he most heartily recommended *Conradus Goclenius, iuuenis utriusque literaturæ peritissimus* : he praised him <sup>5)</sup> for his excellent style both in metre and in prose, for his knowledge of philosophy, and for his unobjectionable moral character. He did not hesitate assuring that he was worthy to be Ferdinand of Austria's preceptor <sup>6)</sup>. He readily took the responsibility of his suggestion, and even offered his interference to secure his service for the young boy, with as much solicitude and prudence as if it were for his own child <sup>7)</sup>. The future Count of Buren availed himself of the opportunity to

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nus oriundus est ex ditione Comitis a Waldeck : Allen, x, 2687, 96. On that account he cannot be identical with the 'Coenradus Paterbornis', who, according to Mummell., 53, is recorded as having started the tests for the *gradus magisterii in artibus* in Cologne on March 26, 1504.

<sup>1)</sup> Conradus Wickart <no doubt, a misreading for : Wackirs> de Waeldyck, paterbnonensis dioc., paup. : *LibIntIII*, 172, v.

<sup>2)</sup> *LibNomI*, 184, v.

<sup>3)</sup> That great councillor, general and Stadhouder of Friesland, was Erasmus' patron already from the last months of 1503 : Allen, i, 178, 44 : cp. further, Ch. IX.

<sup>4)</sup> Maximilian of Egmont of Ysselstein was in Louvain since 1516, for Barlandus dedicated to him and to his two cousins on April 29, *De Hollandiæ Principibus* (Antwerp, July 1519), reminding them of the three years they had attended his lessons : Daxhelet, 270-71. Cp. further, Chs. IX and XVII.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1018, 12-16 : Est hic Conradus Goclenius... stilo cum primis felici, siue prosam orationem tractet siue metri legibus astrictam, philosophicæ rei non vulgariter doctus, moribus incorruptis spectatæque integritatis. Quid multis? dignus vel ipso Ferdinando discipulo.

<sup>6)</sup> Erasmus himself had been solicited to become Ferdinand's tutor : cp. before, pp 322, 324, 338.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, iv, 1018, 16-18 : Id tibi meo polliceor periculo, quod si videbitur hic filii familiæ adiungendus, agam cum illo, et agam non minore fide quam si filii mei negocium ageretur...

provide an excellent tutor for his only son Maximilian, who was not only a frequent visitor to Erasmus, but his zealous disciple : he owned the copy of his *Novum Testamentum omne iuxta Græcorum emendata volumina* (Louvain, Th. Martens, Sept. 1, 1519), which now belongs to the Ghent University Library <sup>1</sup>). He, no doubt, greatly profited by Goclenius' teaching, for on March 13, 1521, Erasmus requests Count Henry of Nassau's secretary Alexander Schweiss to greet '*dominum Florentium Iselsteinium*' and mention to him that his son translated the Greek of Homer with an admirable ease at a recent visit <sup>2</sup>).

The great value of Goclenius as erudite and teacher, acknowledged by the most judicious Erasmus, fully explains his appointment in the *Collegium Trilingue* : as he had not been spoiled as yet by fortune, he readily accepted the offer of the executors ; he apparently intended staying and working in Louvain, for as a member of the Faculty of Arts, he availed himself of the recently granted Privilege of Leo X to regularize his precarious situation. He was nominated by the Faculty to the first vacancy at the collation of the Abbot of Floreffe on October 3, 1518 <sup>3</sup>), and as an earnest man, he also entered Orders about that time, and was ordained in the Liège diocese. The right use he made of the Privilege intended as a help to young teachers, is an unmistakable proof of his noble and disinterested character : he was duly satisfied to work at the conditions which Barlandus found too onerous <sup>4</sup>), and, far from trying to secure a few most profitable preceptorships, such as that of Maximilian, which did prove successful, he knitted his destiny to that of the lofty-spirited Institute at the time when, even to many a well-wisher, it seemed as unsafe as a capsizing craft <sup>5</sup>). He thus evinced a clear-sighted con-

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, iv, 1010, *pr*, 1192, 81 ; Iseghem, 299-300 ; NijKron., i, 335.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, iv, 1192, 80-83 : cuius filius heri me visit ; quod subinde facit, ac mira promptitudine reddit Græcum Homerum. Seruet Deus puerum magno ornamento futurum suæ patriæ.

<sup>3</sup>) *LibNomI*, 141, *r*. Goclenius afterwards was appointed to other first vacancies : on July 18, 1522, to that of St. Bavo's Abbot, Ghent, on April 19, 1525, to that of the Chapter of St. Mary's, Antwerp : *LibNomI*, 171, *v*, 184, *v* : only the latter brought him some profit after much trouble : cp. further, Ch. XIV.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. before, p 448, and p 489. <sup>5</sup>) Cp. before, pp 470, *sq*, and sect. 4, A.

fidence in the grand cause of study and instruction to help the onward movement of mankind, and he faithfully devoted his great ability and his life to his *Collegium Trilingue* : he brought to it a prosperity which far exceeded the boldest expectations, and procured to it a glory, which made him a constant object of general envy and tempting solicitations <sup>1)</sup>. He put his hand to the work without the least diffidence, without the slightest wavering, as a real master, and from the very first, his lectures testified to an unmistakable superiority.

### C. BARLANDUS' DISPLEASURE

Goclenius, starting his lectures on December 1, 1519 <sup>2)</sup>, at once showed a mastery which conquered Erasmus' full-hearted admiration, and made him forget his own candidate. That was not the case with Barlandus, who had proposed his successor : instead of accepting placidly the executors' choice, he criticized it wherever he could, and said evil things about Goclenius. Erasmus, consequently, wrote a short letter <sup>3)</sup> requesting him to *συγκρατίζειν*, rather than to cause a division amongst, the friends of letters, since the ranks of the *barbari* were just then thickening ; slandering Goclenius was neither in accordance with Adrian's excellent character, nor with the merits of the newly appointed professor, whom he praised as a very learned and upright man, without any envy or ambition. Erasmus further warned Barlandus against the evil spirit of some people at the University, who liked harming and calumniating, not only those who had never done them any wrong, but even those who had bestowed many a kindness upon them ; he advised him not to let himself be contaminated by their company, and invited him to come and talk it over more profusely.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, Chs. VIII, XVIII-XX.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rek.*, 92, v : Item betaelt mgro. conrado professorj latino voer zijn stipendien van prima decembris anno xix tot primam septembris anno xx xxvij £ viij s.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1050 : the letter is not dated, but evidently belongs to the first days of December 1519, before Erasmus left for Antwerp, where he certainly was on December 7 : Allen, iv, 1051, 17.

## D. ALARD'S DISAPPOINTMENT

One of the slandering men of Barlandus' acquaintance, referred to in that letter of the first days of December, was, for certain, the applicant whom he had proposed for the vacancy caused by his resigning; evidently that disappointed candidate did not stop venting his displeasure and his obloquy, in so much that Erasmus sent a rather violent letter from Antwerp, where he had gone on visit <sup>1)</sup>, to that 'Ἀθυρογλώττωρ, or *obtrektor* <sup>2)</sup>. He declared namely in that letter, that it was useless criticizing him, as he was not responsible for the choice, which, to be sure, had already been made before his interference and recommendation had been asked. Had he actually given, he continued, his preference to Goclenius for that nomination, the *obtrektor* should have had no reason whatever to complain; for the executors would never have appointed him, the addressee, even if he had offered twelve pounds instead of requiring them for his stipend <sup>3)</sup>. He, Erasmus, added that he knew as much, and that he would never have mentioned that excluding, had it not been for the addressee's impudent obloquy, thus doing to himself more harm than good, and fully explaining the little interest taken in him by 'the Abbot'.

Various suppositions have been made about the identification of the '*cuidam* Ἀθυρογλώττωρ' to whom that letter was written, and the solution of the difficulty is considered to be offered by notes added to a copy of Erasmus' *Epistolæ ad Diversos* (Basle, J. Froben, Aug. 31, 1521), which belonged at one time to one of Erasmus' guests and *conviventes* <sup>4)</sup>, to Henry of Eppendorf <sup>5)</sup>. In that copy the young student cleared up, by means of annotations, some of the allusions and of the unnamed persons whom he knew from his intimacy with Erasmus in 1522 and 1523: thus, in this instance, he suggests

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1049, 9.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1051.

<sup>3)</sup> According to the Founder's will, the Latin professor was to be paid '*sex libras ultra mensæ portionem*', which was estimated at six pounds a year: *Test.*, 19, 23.

<sup>4)</sup> That copy belongs to the library of the late Dr Seeböhm, at Hitchin: Seeböhm, 536; Allen, iv, pp 615-619.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, p 492.

Barlandus. Notwithstanding his authority, Eppendorf's information is not always correct <sup>1)</sup>, and the name 'Hadriano Barlando', which he added to ἀθρογλώττω, is one instance of his inaccuracy, resulting either from a misunderstanding or from a slip of memory. Indeed Barlandus had some interest in the ἀθρογλώττω, who, no doubt, was his candidate; but he certainly was not himself that 'obtretractor', to whom the letter of December 7 was addressed. For instead of having been put aside for Goclenius, he had been the Latin professor for more than one year, and it was only because he resigned that Goclenius was appointed <sup>2)</sup>. The executors saw him go with displeasure, for they, as well as Erasmus, understood that, after all, he was prompted by the same reason as John Becker had been <sup>3)</sup>, by the modicity of the wages and by the absence of all prospects <sup>4)</sup>; for, notwithstanding his long experience, he was equalled with, if not postponed to, occasional professors, without any real practice <sup>5)</sup>, whereas he had, up to then, enjoyed the lucrative private teaching which had made him famous <sup>6)</sup>. Far from finding in that all a cause of displeasure, Barlandus remained a staunch friend as well of Erasmus as of the *Collegium Trilingue*, as is amply shown by subsequent letters of the Great Humanist, full of sympathy and appreciation <sup>7)</sup>, which would have been out of the question had Barlandus been the disagreeable ἀθρογλωττω <sup>8)</sup>.

That troublesome personage was, without doubt, Alard of

<sup>1)</sup> E. g., Allen, III, 948, 110, IV, p 618, 21.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, II, 492, pr, IV, 1051, pr; *Cran.*, 62, a.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 262, sq, 448, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> *Test.*, 17, 18, 19. Barlandus was evidently aware of the difference in the wages, but he may not have known that Rescius had been engaged at the same low terms, 3 Rh. florins a month for stipend and 3 for board and lodging, whereas Adrianus and Wakefeld had 9 Rh. fl. a month: *Rek.*, 91, r-92, r. Rescius seems, or at least pretended, to have been ignorant of the stipulations in the will and of his colleagues' earnings until Goclenius' death: cp. Ch. XX.

<sup>5)</sup> Rescius had been taken from Martens' office, and Wakefeld was only a student who happened to be in Louvain when Adrianus left.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 226, sq, and *Cran.*, 62, a.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, IV, 1163 (November 30, 1520), 1237, 38 (Sept. 24, 1521); *Cran.*, 62, a, d, 5, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> The reference to the *Abbas* does not apply at all to Barlandus: Allen, IV, 1051, 12.

Amsterdam <sup>1)</sup>, the private tutor, who, in March 1519, had tried to enter the College by a back door <sup>2)</sup>, and who now apparently availed himself of the opportunity to secure Barlandus' succession. He had already before shown his forward and overofficious character by winding himself into Erasmus' acquaintance and into that of the chief humanists <sup>3)</sup>; he thus had estranged from him several people, since *homines illici volunt, non cogi*, as the letter remarks <sup>4)</sup>. He had requested the patronage of Erasmus, who had his own candidate, and who, as the matter lay beyond his reach, could not do anything. Still he spared to Alard the information that the executors were in no way favourable to his application, which seems quite natural after the experience of March 1519. They wanted to cause as little offence as possible to the University, for the College still had to be incorporated, and as the unavoidable difficulties already were most numerous, they did not wish to add any others; and there *would* have been trouble, if they had appointed the man against whom the Faculty of Divinity had roused up the whole Academy a few months before.

Moreover the reference to the reserve of an Abbot connected with him <sup>5)</sup>, applies to Alard; for he was related to Meinard Man, of Wormer, Abbot of Egmond from 1509 to 1526 <sup>6)</sup>, who, although a favourer of learned men and of learning, seems to have strangely neglected his kinsman, who had to toil the whole of his life in poverty as tutor and preceptor, whereas Dorp already felt in August 1511 the benefit of his influence and generosity <sup>7)</sup>. And that Erasmus was really

<sup>1)</sup> *Cran.*, 96, a-f; and before, pp 316, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 318-20.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, II, 433, 485; *Cran.*, 96, a, b.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, IV, 1051, 11-12.

<sup>5)</sup> *Nimirum isti sunt mores ob quos Abbas tam parce tecum agit*: Allen, IV, 1051, 12.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *EgmChron.*, 140, 259; *HEpII*, 76, 79; Hoynck, III, i, 201; *MonHL*, 64-72, &c; Allen, II, 304, 161, III, 676. 38. Two epitaphs on 'Meynardum Mannium Vormiensem optimum Abbatem apud Hæcmondam Abbatiam', by his 'cognatum Alardum' were published in the latter's *Epitome Primi Libri de Inventione Dialecticæ Rod. Agricoltæ*: Paris, Chr. Wechel, 1539: f F 8, r.

<sup>7)</sup> *LibNomI*, 81, v; *EgmCart.*, 4, v, 5, r; *Cran.*, 24, a; *MonHL*, 315, sq.

incensed against Alard, to whom he had dedicated, in 1517, the *Epistola... Eucherii... ad Valerianum* <sup>1)</sup>, is shown by the scathing and spiteful remarks made in later letters <sup>2)</sup> and in the *Colloquia* <sup>3)</sup> whenever his name is mentioned; he never forgot nor forgave the animosity displayed against himself and Goclenius at the latter's nomination, with which, in a way, he had been disappointed himself. Yet, although contemplating as collaborator and companion in Louvain Herman von dem Busche, he readily accepted the decision of the executors and their candidate; at Goclenius' death, it was even recorded as an instance of his candour and perspicacity <sup>4)</sup>.

A few years later, on April 2, 1524, when Erasmus gave

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 676.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 29, VII, 1889, 18, IX, 2587, 50, XI, 3052, 5 (*Quicquid veneni hauserat ex Alardo...*); *Erasmiana*, II, 604.

<sup>3)</sup> In *Domestica Confabulatio*, first issued in 1522 (BB, E, 441), Alardus is referred to by these words: *Homo minime mutus est. Quod auribus diminutum est, lingua pensat*: EOO, I, 635, D; *Cran.*, 96, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Peter Nanning, Goclenius' successor, referring to that incident in his *Funebris Oratio pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1542: B 3, r), says that Erasmus wished to have Ceratinus appointed; that statement is repeated by Valerius Andreas (VAndEx., 9, 47) and Allen, 622, 31, IV, 1051, pr. Still it is certain that Nannius made a mistake, mixing up the appointment of Rescius with that of Goclenius. When the Greek professor had to be chosen, Erasmus had proposed Ceratinus, as Lascaris did not accept; but the executors had to cut down their expenses, as their plan of incorporating the foundation into an existing college had to be abandoned; so they nominated Rescius, to whom they could offer, besides board and lodging, only half of the wages stipulated by the will, which Ceratinus might not have accepted: cp. before, pp 281-82. On the other hand Ceratinus was only desirable as professor of Greek, and would probably not have agreed to fill a vacancy which, besides the expenses, yielded only half of what was due to Rescius, who came to him for lessons after he had been appointed. Moreover the entry in van Vessem's account states that Erasmus' candidate for the Latin lesson, — and that can only apply to this present occasion, — came from Germany (Rek., 36, r); that cannot be said of Ceratinus, who was in the country, driven away from Basle by an epidemic in September 1519 (RhenE, 173; *Cran.*, 218, a), and may have even been in Louvain (Allen, III, 622, 31); it refers without doubt, to Busche, whom Erasmus wanted to secure since long for Louvain (cp. before, pp 448, 482; Allen, III, 884, 6-8), and who was then either in Cologne, or at any rate in Germany (he was at Speyer in 1518 and at Worms in 1520): Bianco, I, 639, sq; FG, 313; Goldast, 151; *Cran.*, 62, a, 96, c.

an account to Goclenius of the difficulties and the trouble he was then experiencing from Ulric of Hutten and Henry of Eppendorf <sup>1)</sup>, he stated that the latter had taken his invectives partly from what he had learned during the time that he had stayed with him as friend and guest, partly from what he 'isthic <i. e., Lovanii> hauserat e tragoedia Alardica et Paschasiana, quæ tibi <i. e., Goclenio> notissima' <sup>2)</sup>. Judging by the context, that *tragoedia* was — for what concerned Alard, — a slandering attack on Erasmus; and thus it cannot refer to the outcry against his attempt to explain the *Methodus*, in March 1519 <sup>3)</sup>, for they were then on excellent terms, and Goclenius only could know what happened from hearsay, as he was then a stranger to the *Collegium Trilingue*. The only *tragoedia notissima* to him, was apparently that caused

<sup>1)</sup> Henry of Eppendorf, a place to the E. of Chemnitz, in Saxony, studied in Leipzig, where he promoted Bachelor of Arts in 1508. With a letter of recommendation of Duke George, who had paid for his studies, he came to Louvain to visit Erasmus in July 1520, and remained some weeks until he went to Freiburg, where he matriculated on September 26, 1520: *MatriFreib.*, 246. By May 1522 he went to Basle, and stayed in Erasmus' house. A visit of Hutten to Basle started the estrangement from his host, which was completed at Hutten's death: it then appeared that Eppendorf was not a nobleman as he pretended to be, and that he had incited Hutten to write the *Expostulatio* as a threat to make Erasmus pay money to stop further pamphlets. The Humanist then wrote about him to the Duke, and for several years Eppendorf, who had heard of that letter, caused all possible difficulties; having at last secured a transcription of it, he wanted to sue Erasmus for diffamation. A settlement was tried by Bon. Amerbach and Rhenanus, but did not prove effective. Since the young man vaunted everywhere his victory, Erasmus wrote the colloquies *De Rebus et Vocabulis* and 'Ἰππεὺς Ἀντιππος, with other pamphlets. The quarrel ceased by 1532, thanks to the intervention of Julius Pflug, the prudent councillor of Duke George. Eppendorf spent the latter part of his life (from 1523) at Strassburg, and worked at German translations of the classics: amongst them are Plutarch's *Apothegmata* and *Moralia*, parts of Pliny the Elder, and books about history. Cp. Chr. Saxius, *De H. Eppendorphio Commentarius*: Leipzig, 1745; *ADB*; *FG*, 344; *BB*, E, 278-81; Allen, iv, 1122, *pr*; *ErColTran.*, viii, xiv, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 27-29: that, at least, is what Erasmus thought about the origin of Eppendorf's invectives; still, the latter's note about the Ἀθρογλώττω does not prove correct, and his acquaintance may have been only indirect: cp. before, pp 488-89.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 318-20.



by his own appointment in the first days of December 1519, when Alard's obloquy was such that it prompted the rebuking letter '*cuidam* 'Αθρογλώττω' <sup>1)</sup>). Indeed, Alard, who was *natura surdaster*, compensated that defect by a *lingua volubili* <sup>2)</sup>; he probably had blabbed out in his disappointment whatever he had learned during a few months' familiarity; in so far that, notwithstanding his advances, and those of his friends, he never again found favour in Erasmus' eyes.

#### E. PASCHASIUS BERSELIUS

When relating to Goclenius on April 2, 1524, how Eppendorf, in December 1522 <sup>3)</sup>, had excited Hutten into writing his *Expostulatio* (June 1523) against him <sup>4)</sup>, although living with him as guest, Erasmus explained that, besides betraying the confidential information given about Hutten's disappointed wild schemes in their recent talks <sup>5)</sup>, *Argumenta... isthic hauserat e tragoedia Alardica et Paschasiana, quae tibi notissima. Hinc sunt illi tituli 'Presbytero Theologo'... et crimen illud quod minitatur Otho* (Brunfels, then Hutten's protagonist <sup>6)</sup>) *Eppendorpium mihi posse aspergere.*

Those words evidently refer, as already explained, to Alard's obloquy in December 1519, at the appointment of

<sup>1)</sup> Antwerp, Dec. 7, 1519 : Allen, iv, 1051.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. the already mentioned reference in *Domestica Confabulatio* : cp. before, p 491. He himself found an excuse in the adaptation of the old adage : *Regium est bene facere et male audire.*

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 27-31.

<sup>4)</sup> Hutten came to Basle on Nov. 28, 1522, and remained till January 19, 1523 : Erasmus did not want to see him, and sent him an excuse through Eppendorf, which turned the decided estrangement that had followed on a mutual admiration, into open hostility : cp. Allen, v, 1331, 57, n.

<sup>5)</sup> Hutten wished to unite the various states under Charles V, into one strong and great Germany, cemented by Luther's doctrine against Rome and Italy : it caused a mutual disappointment between him and Erasmus, who did not judge it fit to protect him in the misery resulting from his wild extravagance in his last months.

<sup>6)</sup> Otto Brunfels, of Mainz, c 1488-1534, who, from a Carthusian, became Zwinglian preacher, was a clever botanist ; he died as town physician of Berne. He defended the memory of Hutten, and attacked Erasmus by a *Responsio ad Spongiam* (about December 1523) ; still the old friendship was restored by 1525 : Allen, v, 1405, *pr*, 1406.

Goclenius to the professorate, which he considered as due to him and as having been diverted maliciously by Erasmus. He therefore reviled him with what he had learned from him in the few years of hearty friendship <sup>1)</sup>. Apparently Eppendorf did not witness that 'tragedy', for he only came to Louvain in July 1520 <sup>2)</sup>. Still, although the obloquy had long ceased, there no doubt was an abundant aftermath of discontent, of which he was given a good taste, as it is more than probable that he soon made the acquaintance of the inquisitive Alard. It is also possible that he met the second actor of the 'tragedy', Paschasius; for since Erasmus only refers to one '*tragoedia Alardica et Paschasiana, quæ tibi notissima*' <sup>3)</sup>, and since it is a fact that both Alard and Berselius became disagreeable to him at the same time, there is no other way of explaining that unequivocal singular, except by understanding that Alard was seconded by Paschasius in his obloquy of Erasmus and his friends. It consequently follows that the *Paschasius* mentioned here is not the Carmelite John van Paesschen, *Paschasius*, the famous preacher <sup>4)</sup>, who does not seem to have had any connection with Louvain in those years; nor is he mentioned in any letter referring to the admission of the *Trilingue Collegium*: it is

<sup>1)</sup> As already stated (cp. before, pp 323-24), there had been no friction at all with Erasmus as a result of Alard's attempt to explain the *Methodus*, in March 1519 (cp. pp 318-320), nor was Goclenius mixed with it. The note in the copy of the *Epistolæ ad Diversos* is evidently wrong in identifying Barlandus with the Ἀθρογόλωττος (cp. pp 488-91); it explains Allen's note, v, 1437, 29, about the *tragoedia Alardica*: 'Of this I know nothing'.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, iv, 1122, 10; he had just brought a message and a present from Matthias Meyner, superintendent of the silver mines of Schneeberg, belonging to Duke George of Saxony: Erasmus replied on July 30, 1520, and, on July 31, he wrote to the Duke himself mentioning the bearer of his present: Allen, iv, 1125, 50, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 28-29.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 29, n (iii, 674, pr), suggests that identity as possible: yet it is completely contrary to undeniable facts: Paschasius was connected with Liège, he was a classic scholar, and he was studying Greek most zealously: cp. e. g., Allen, iii, 926, 17-21, three facts which are realized in Berselius, and certainly not in van Paesschen: in the autumn of 1526 he declared from the pulpit in St. Peter's that, having Greek taught to children, was educating them as heretics: *Cran.*, 213, 14-15.

only in the autumn of 1526 that he attacked the Greek teaching carried on there <sup>1</sup>). Nor is it at all likely that either Alard or Paschasius were the addressees of the sketch of the history about Erasmus' entrance into, and his liberation from, the convent <sup>2</sup>), which, moreover, can hardly have been inscribed to Gerard Geldenhouwer <sup>3</sup>), but may have been the draft of a reply to a Nicolas Baechem or an Edward Lee <sup>4</sup>), who, in their bitter attacks on the Humanist, must have unearthed very indelicately the objection answered years before in his letter to his Prior Servatius Rogerus <sup>5</sup>).

That *Paschasius* was most certainly Paschasius Berselius, a Benedictine monk of St. Laurent's Abbey, near Liège, who was a great student of languages and literature. He was born in Liège diocese, probably at Bersel or Beersel <sup>6</sup>), which would explain his name <sup>7</sup>). He made the acquaintance of

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *Cran.*, 213, *a-b*, 9-21.

<sup>2</sup>) The document, reproduced in Allen, v, 1436, seems to have been composed, or at least corrected, some time after the publishing of Luther's *De Votis Monasticis*, dated 'de insula Pathmos' (the Wartburg), Nov. 21, 1521 : Allen, v, 1436, 5-6 ; Grisar, III, 937.

<sup>3</sup>) It is hardly possible to conceive that Geldenhouwer would have ever dreamt of rebuking Erasmus for leaving his convent, considering that in those very years, he himself did whatever he could to free himself from his Order : cp. *Cran.*, 240, *d-i*.

<sup>4</sup>) The difficulty was evidently one of the objections used by some Louvain theologians to humiliate Erasmus : they preferred having it enounced by Lee, to whom they passed their criticisms (cp. pp 387, 440) ; it accounts for a reply to some points, inserted in the *Apologia qua respondet duabus Inuectivis Eduardi Lei* : Antwerp, M. Hillen, March 1520 : F 4, v, sq ; *ErasJort.*, II, 522-23 ; Allen, I, p 51, 134, v, 1436, 118, 135. It also explains passages of Erasmus' two letters to Lips of November 1518, referring to Lee's malicious objections : '*Leo graue peccatum est mutatus cultus* : which had been mistaken as being shared by Lips, and were therefore fully answered : LipsE, 685-88 ; Allen, III, 899, 23-24, 12-26, 901, 1-4.

<sup>5</sup>) Letter of July 8, 1514 : Allen, I, 296, 171-204, II, 447, *pr*.

<sup>6</sup>) Bersel or Beersel, now Molen-Beersel, a little village, 11 kms. to the N. W. of Maeseyck, Limburg, — which may account for Paschasius' acquaintance with Rescius, a native of Maeseyck, whom Erasmus called *filius meus*, and Berselius, *fratrem meum*, in his letter to Erasmus of January 1518 : Allen, III, 748, 45-46, 674, 46.

<sup>7</sup>) In *BibBelg.*, 711, he is said to be originary from 'Bersey', near Liège, which all subsequent biographers identify with 'Berset' or 'Bierset' : Paquot, x, 67 ; BN ; &c. — Yet that birth-place would have given the name *Bersetius* instead of *Berselius*.

Jerome Aleander, the Bishop's secretary, who taught him Greek during his first stay in the diocese, from December 1514 to March 1516 <sup>1)</sup>, and introduced him to Erard de la Marck <sup>2)</sup>. He wrote to Erasmus, who made him happy by an encouraging reply; on September 17, 1517, he sent a second letter to the great Humanist, then in Louvain <sup>3)</sup>, by a young man who had spent a month in his Abbey, and had taught him the rudiments of Hebrew: that Hebraist, either John Cellarius <sup>4)</sup> or Robert Wakefeld <sup>5)</sup>, wished to make Erasmus' personal acquaintance, but Berselius expresses the hope to see him return very soon, so as to continue his lesson; he himself even seems to have worked with such zeal at that language, that in April 1518 Herman Neuenahr mentions him as a favourer of Reuchlin <sup>6)</sup>.

In the autumn of that year, Paschasius was in Louvain, attracted, no doubt, by the friendship of Rescius <sup>7)</sup>, and by

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 674, 32, 735, 5; *MarckHalk.*, 101. — On April 16, 1515, Aleander noted in his diary that *Πατριάρχης* had told him about some people who had criticized him: *AleaJour.*, 16; and amongst his letters there is one of 1515 or 1516 by which he thanks for the gift of a large quantity of rice where he had expected only a small portion: it suggests the joke that monks judge of people's appetite by their own, and shows the contradiction in the wording *agmen monachorum*: *AleaLiège*, 121-22.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 735, 2, 746, 1, 748, 16, 757, 33-35.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, III, 674.

<sup>4)</sup> John Keller, *Cellarius*, of Kundstadt, *Gnostopolitanus* (1496-1542), studied in Bologna. He is said to have been teaching Hebrew at Liège, and, — no doubt privately — in Louvain: in his letter of September 17, 1517, Berselius announces to Erasmus that the bearer, a *iuuenis*, had stayed in his convent for a month, and had taught him 'Hebraica rudimenta': he recommends his 'præceptorem Hebraicum', and explains: 'Is Louanium adit vt te videat: commodum ad nos reuertetur, atque vltinam non sine tuis literis': Allen, III, 674, 29-38. Unless it was Robert Wakefeld (cp. p 379), this *iuuenis* may have been Cellarius, who, then returned to Liège; he afterwards went to Mayence, and saw Reuchlin in June 1518 at Zell, in Baden: ReuchlE, 299-300; *Reuchlin*, 108, 133, 368. He studied in Heidelberg from January 1519, and then in Wittenberg: Enders, II, 57, 58; he taught in Leipzig and in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder in 1521: *UniFrankf.*, 130. Cellarius afterwards took up theology, joined first Zwingli, then Luther, became vicar at Frankfurt-on-Main, and died as superintendent in Dresden: Enders, II, 58; Allen, III, 877, 5; *CorpCath.*, IV, 20, 52, 53, 98.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 379-386. <sup>6)</sup> Allen, III, 674, 29-38; Brecht, 38, 39, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, III, 748, 46; *Cran.*, 150, e.

the fame of Dorp and Paludanus <sup>1)</sup>; he paid every day a visit to the great Erasmus during his illness <sup>2)</sup>. He did not stay, but certainly returned in the spring of 1519, as results from the letter of March 16, 1519, which the ambassador of the French King at Liège, Louis Ruzé <sup>3)</sup>, entrusted to their common friend, '*nostrum Paschasium, iuuenem*', when the latter left again for Louvain, '*Græcitatibus... capessendæ miro amore flagrans* <sup>4)</sup>. He studied, at least Greek, in the *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>5)</sup>, matriculating on July 18 <sup>6)</sup>; he also took a great interest in all questions about languages and the methods of teaching, just then debating on the occasion of the establishment of Busleyden's Foundation. He thus made the acquaintance of Vives <sup>7)</sup> and Dorp <sup>8)</sup>, as well as that of the younger humanists, Goclenius <sup>9)</sup>, Amerotius <sup>10)</sup> and especially Alard, whose intimate friend he soon became.

When Barlandus resigned his professorship, Berselius backed Alard's candidature wholeheartedly, and possibly wrote to Erasmus, who was then at Antwerp: still neither he, nor his friend knew then that his choice had already been made a year earlier, whereas, on the other hand, the executors were taking their decision independently of all influence.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, III, 674, 43-45.

<sup>2)</sup> Sept. 21 to Oct. 15, 1518: RhenE, 131; Allen, III, 867, 256, 894, 30-31.

<sup>3)</sup> Louis Ruzé († Jan. 1526), member of Parliament and vice-prefect of Paris, was a friend of Budé: Allen, II, 493, 420; *BudERép.*, 10, 29-31, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, III, 926, 16-21.

<sup>5)</sup> March 16 and 19, 1519: Allen, III, 926, 18, 928, 6.

<sup>6)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 255, r: '*frater & dñs paschasius barselius*'.

<sup>7)</sup> In his dedicatory letter of *De Initiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philosophiæ*, 1518, to Herman Count of Neuenahr, Vives praises Berselius for his encouragement: VOO, III, 2; *Vivis Opuscula Varia*: Louvain, Th. Martens [1519]: Iseghem, 302-3; NijKron., I, 2172.

<sup>8)</sup> To his letter to Erasmus of November 25, 1519, Martin van Dorp adds: '*D Berselio, Reschio et ceteris meo nomine plurimam dicito salutem*': Allen, IV, 1044, 77.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. his poem *Lucubrationum Erasmicarum Elenchus* (f e 3, v), in Eobanus Hessus' *Hodoeporicon*: Louvain, Th. Martens [1519]: Iseghem, 302; NijKron., I, 764.

<sup>10)</sup> In his preface of *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices*: Louvain, Th. Martens, October 1520 (cp. before, p 223), to Antony de la Marck, Abbot of Beaulieu, Adrian Amerot mentions his friend Berselius with great praise: Iseghem, 310-11; NijKron., I, 115; Allen, III, 956, 4, IV, 1237, 29; NèveMém., 209.

Naturally the nomination of Goclenius caused a bitter disappointment to Alard, who, in consequence, started reviling not only the new professor, but also Erasmus, whom he suspected of having frustrated him in his expectation: the latter saw himself obliged to try and close the mouth of the Ἀθυρόγλωττος, who was blabbing out whatever he had heard in the hours of hearty confidence <sup>1)</sup>. Berselius, who seconded Alard the more eagerly since he may have contemplated himself to become the successor of his friend, and possibly his master, Robert Wakefeld <sup>2)</sup>, helped him to bring out secret information and abuse about Erasmus: some months later, it reached Eppendorf, who may have heard it directly from them. At any rate Berselius was certainly incensed against Erasmus as late as February 16, 1520 <sup>3)</sup>, although he appears to have tried soon after to make friends again with the great Humanist, who could not but have welcomed a penitent sinner that was at least a friend and favourite of the powerful Erard de la Marck: on March 8, 1520 <sup>4)</sup>, he announced to Erasmus, who was correcting his answer to the *Annotationes* at Antwerp, that he had caused Martens to print a letter received from Ghent about *Leo et caudatis suis* <sup>5)</sup>, and that he had put it up in several places, as had been done before <sup>6)</sup>; he also tells that he, Erasmus, soon will hear of a *Tragediam... non illepidam* <sup>7)</sup>, and expresses the general longing for the final reply in the controversy: *Omnes responsionem tuam expectamus* <sup>8)</sup>.

Whether Berselius' good disposition towards Erasmus

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1051.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 379, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> On February 16, 1520, Erasmus wrote to Antony de la Marck that he had tried to do good to his friend Berselius; unfortunately, he said, res in diuersum exiit; hoc ipso videor alienasse quo conabar deuincere: Allen, iv, 1065, 1-4.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, iv, 1077; Ent., 3.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1077, 4; cp. note to *DiaBiTril.*, 419.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1061, 505, sq, where Lee ascribes those libels to Erasmus.

<sup>7)</sup> Probably the sullyng of the copy of Lee's *Annotationes* in the library of the Franciscan Convent by a German, referred to in an epigram by Goclenius, quoted in Nesen's letter to Lupset as a *lepidus facinus*: cp. Lomeier, 174.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, iv, 1077, 6.

outlasted very long that letter, is difficult to make out : he rather seems to have joined once again the discontented Alard, and helped him to instil antipathy into the heart of Eppendorf. That second estrangement, no doubt, did not escape the great Humanist, who on April 2, 1524, confided to Goclenius that he had no confidence in an Antony, a Minorite, who had taken letters to Brabant, for he had mentioned that he was going to see Paschasius <sup>1)</sup>. The arrival at Liège of the inveterate enemy of Erasmus, Thierry van Heeze, *Hezius*, certainly did not improve Berselius' disposition <sup>2)</sup>. By 1527 his inborn partiality for studies made him try to renew the old acquaintance : he even applied to Goclenius in August 1530 with a complaint about Hezius, of which he was advised to inform Erasmus himself <sup>3)</sup> : in those years he endeavoured to interest the great Erudite by texts which he had found and which he communicated in part to Martin Lips <sup>4)</sup>; still the past friendship was never revived. Meanwhile

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, v, 1437, 29, 205-7 : is cœpit mihi esse suspectus, posteaquam aiebat se velle inuisere Paschasium.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 509-515.

<sup>3)</sup> In his letter of August 28, 1530, Goclenius narrates that on the preceding day a messenger had come in all haste from Liège, announcing that Berselius, with whom he had not had a suspicion of a connection since he left Louvain, sent notice that Thierry Hezius had made an inquisition in the School of the Brethren of the Common Life, and confiscated all books by Erasmus, prohibiting to read or use them, and prevented even their importation. He suggested that Erasmus should be advised. Goclenius raised some doubts to inquire into the truth, and finally requested the messenger to ask Berselius to inform Erasmus himself : Allen, ix, 2369, 25-68, 2566, 174-185 ; *MonHL*, 510.

<sup>4)</sup> In November 1531 Martin Lips announced to Erasmus that he had gone to see Berselius who was displeased with the way in which use had been made of the rare old texts he had found. He had passed one, the second book of *Interpellationes* by St. Ambrose, to Martin Lips, to be transmitted to Erasmus for his edition of the works of that Father, considering it an excellent opportunity to oblige the great Humanist, and recover his friendship ; he also had expected a good reward from Froben. When the fourth volume of St. Ambrose appeared in August 1527, it announced four books of the *Interpellationes*, but the text of the second was omitted, as Erasmus did not accept it as genuine : Paschasius probably was disappointed, and sent through Lips another copy of it and variants, December 1528 : Allen, vii, 2076, *pr*, 5. Since Lips heard that he was angry at having his help despised, he, as just mentioned, called on him at Liège, Nov. 1531 ; Berselius only had

he devoted his time and attention to the search for, and the study of, manuscripts of classic authors, and to gathering a fine collection of books. His visit, on August 17, 1534, to William Budé shows that his interest in Greek had remained vivacious <sup>1</sup>). He also took great pleasure in art <sup>2</sup>): he adorned with paintings and metrical inscriptions, the crypt and some chapels of his Abbey <sup>3</sup>); the church of the neighbouring Dalhem still preserves a statue of Our Lady carved for him by Daniel Mauch, of Ulm, probably after 1530 <sup>4</sup>). He died from dropsy about the end of May 1535 in St. Laurent's, where his books and his writings, as well as his paintings <sup>5</sup>), were kept for several centuries.

### 3. THE HEBREW LECTURE

#### A. ROBERT SHIRWOOD

When, in his letter to John Robbyns of December 1, 1519, Erasmus could inform the executors that the question of the Latin professorate was settled to their hearts' desire <sup>6</sup>), he

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been sorry that others reaped the benefit of his labour; yet he offered more texts to Erasmus, such as the *Commentum Victorini Rhetoris in Ciceronis Rhetoricam* (Halm, x, xi, 153, sq), and Alcuin's *In Sacrum Bibliorum Codicem*; he (Berselius) also said that Bishop de la Marck had told him that Erasmus was *fax et seminarium totius Lutheranismi*, — possibly ironics, — whereas he had found, he said, *Legatum Campegium tui [Erasmi] fauentissimum*: Allen, ix, 2566, 108-127; *Erasmitiana*, III, 758-59.

<sup>1</sup>) Budé noted in one of his copy-books: 'Paschasius Berselius Leodiensis uenit domum meam 17<sup>o</sup> die augusti M. 5. 34.': Budé, 275.

<sup>2</sup>) He wrote some poems, e. g., the *Excidium Civitatis Leodiensis*: Paquot, x, 69, and the epitaph on William Bollart, of Brussels, Abbot of St. Trudo's, in *SweMon.*, 237; *MonHL*, 479; *Busl.*, 455; *MorMS*, 184, v; also three distichs in memory of John Crommoys, Abbot of St. James', Liège († Sept. 29, 1525): U. Berlière, *Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique*: Maredsous, 1894: 56-57.

<sup>3</sup>) Paquot, x, 67.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. further, Ch. XVII; J. Ceyssens, *Bersélius et la Statue de la Vierge de Dalhem*: Liège, 1925; Allen, vi, p. xxlii; *BerghAutr.*, 69.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. Paquot, x, 67-70; *BibBelg.*, 711; *LiègeBiogr.*, i, 193; Allen, III, 674, pr; *MonHL*, 187, 352, 375, 510.

<sup>6</sup>) De Professore Latino prospectum est, ni fallor, ex animi vestri sententia: Allen, iv, 1046, 28.



added that, being unable to judge of the Hebrew teacher, he would consult those who could <sup>1)</sup>. Indeed, on leaving, Robert Wakefeld had recommended as his successor a countryman, Robert Shirwood, Shirwode or Sherwood, a native of Coventry, who had learned philosophy in Oxford, but had applied himself more successfully to Greek and Hebrew, which he went to study abroad. He thus happened to be in Louvain at the right moment to be appointed, at least provisionally; for the report gathered by Erasmus does not appear to have been very favourable, seeing that the stipend, which, by common agreement, was decided upon, was only half of what had been paid to Wakefeld <sup>2)</sup>. It is not known whether the conditions did not satisfy him, or whether his teaching did not come up to the mark: at any rate after a month Shirwood resigned: *professionem inglorius deseruit* <sup>3)</sup>.

That remark of Valer. Andreas is not necessarily a blame, but merely the negation of a frank success, caused by the absence of the experience, which Shirwood still wished to acquire, and which he in time did acquire. In January 1523, William Vorsterman printed at Antwerp <sup>4)</sup> *Liber Hebræorum Concionatoris, seu Ecclesiasten, nuper ad veritatem Hebræicam recognitus, per præclarissimum virum Robertum Shirwode, Couentrensem, cum nonnullis annotationibus Chaldaicis, & quorundam Rabbiorum sententijs. textus obscuros aliquos litteraliter explanantibus*. The book was dedicated to the Prior of the Benedictine Cathedral-Abbey of Coventry, *Joanni vvebe*, John Webb, or Webbe, by a letter dated 'Louanij, Anno incarnationis secundum supputationem Romanam. M. D. xxiii. xx. Ianuarij'. That date — which is in contradiction with that of the colophon: M. D. xxiii. die vero xv. mensis Ianuarij, — implies that the book was printed off before the dedicatory letter was composed; it does not prove

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, iv, 1046, 29.

<sup>2)</sup> Rek., 92, r: Jtem eenen anderen Roberto anglico ghesustineert bijden voig. jersten Robbert <Wakefeld> om te lesen jn Hebreo voer een maent dat hij las betaelt ex pacto vj £ — Those 6 Rhine flor. comprized the expenses of board and lodging (3 Rh. fl.) and his wages (3 Rh. fl.); he consequently was paid as much as Goclenius, and as Rescius had been paid up to then.

<sup>3)</sup> VAnd., 284; VAndEx., 68.

<sup>4)</sup> NijKron., II, 2431.

that he stayed in Louvain for several years : no doubt he studied some time in other universities, where he gained the knowledge shown in that edition, and where he may have promoted *Doct. S. Theol.*, as he is styled. He may have spent even part of that time in England, where, in Febr. 1522/23, a 'Dr. Sherwood' is mentioned for having preached on a Sunday in Lent 'before the Kinges grace' <sup>1</sup>). It is quite possible that, on his way back, Shirwood passed through his familiar Louvain, and put the last touch to his book whilst Vorsterman was printing it : he may have seen about it his successor in the *Collegium Trilingue*, John Campensis, who, in 1532, published the *Ecclesiastes* in a paraphrastic rendering <sup>2</sup>). Nor can the printing of the book, 16 double pages, 4to, have taken much time. At any rate the elegantly written translation was esteemed very highly, and ample use was made of Shirwood's comments by subsequent exegetical editors <sup>3</sup>).

Of his further life little is known : surely he is the 'Dr. Sherwood', parish priest of (Derham or) Dirham, Gloucestershire : it fittingly explains his *Sermones Varii*, which were printed, and dedicated also to Prior John Webb, of his native town. By 1531 he protested against the rash and uncharitable judgment on Popes, bishops and priests brought out by Hugh Latimer <sup>4</sup>) in his sermons in the neighbouring parish of West Kington, Wiltshire, as well as against his strange commentary on the xvi<sup>th</sup> chapter of St. Matthew, about Peter's powers and the Primacy. To his written protestation, Latimer replied by a letter, of which the text has been preserved after it passed through Bishop Foxe's still <sup>5</sup>) : it denies

<sup>1</sup>) *TresPap.*, i, 175.

<sup>2</sup>) It was edited along with his rendering of the Psalms : *Enchiridion Psalmorum* : Lyons, Seb. Gryphius, 1536 : O 5, r-Q 6, r. Cp. further, Chs. XV, XVI.

<sup>3</sup>) E. g., *Ecclesiastes Salomonis ex versione J. J. Pineda cum Commentariis* : Paris, 1620 ; Lelong, Boerner & Mash, *Bibliotheca Sacra* : Halle, 1783 : III, ii, 548.

<sup>4</sup>) Hugh Latimer (c 1485-1555) who, in 1525, refused to refute Luther's doctrines, was famous for his preachings ; still he was accused of heresy : brought before Convocation by the Bishop of London, he was absolved on a complete submission in 1532 : *DNB* ; G. E. Corrie, *The Works by Hugh Latimer* : Cambridge, 1844-45 : i, i-xvi.

<sup>5</sup>) John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* : London, 1563 : 1318, sq.

all charges, as if Shirwood had quite misunderstood the arguing <sup>1)</sup>; and since he had pointed out some opinions also shared by Luther, (Ecolampadius <sup>2)</sup>) and Melanchthon, Latimer maliciously reverses the objection, pointing out that his opponent is quite familiar with those authors, — about whom he, naturally, must have heard during his stays at several Universities on the Continent <sup>3)</sup>.

#### B. JOHN CAMPENSIS

When Shirwood left at the end of December 1519, the executors probably had already chosen as successor a young scholar, John van Campen, *Campensis*, who for several years had studied Hebrew, and was even then teaching it by private lessons. He was from Kampen, *Campi*, in Overijssel, where he was born in the last days of July or the first of Aug. 1491 <sup>4)</sup> : the name of his birth-place seems to have clung to him, rather than that of his family, which, however, appears to have been well off, as he enjoyed an excellent instruction, most likely in the neighbouring Deventer, and started theological studies, in all probability in Louvain <sup>5)</sup>, attracted by the great renown of his countryman Adrian of Utrecht. Judging by his assertion, expressed in a letter of February 4, 1535, to John Dantiscus, that he had been studying for twenty-six years the question of the identity of St. Paul's doctrine conveyed in his Epistles, chiefly the one to the Romans, with that expounded in the other Sacred Books <sup>6)</sup>, it looks as if, already from the first weeks of 1509, he had been applying himself thoroughly to divinity, and preparing for priesthood.

As years went on, he became weary of the unceasing and useless scholastic disputes, in which the preparation for the

<sup>1)</sup> G. E. Corrie, *The Works of Hugh Latimer* : Cambridge (Parker Soc. Publ.) : 1844-45 : II, xv, 309-17, 468-74.

<sup>2)</sup> *Oecolampad*, 68-82 ; Gough, 563-64 ; *BeitSchlecht*, 14-44.

<sup>3)</sup> Wood, I, 22 ; Pits, 934 ; Warton, III, 270 ; *DNB* ; *VAnd.*, 284 ; *VAndEx.*, 68 ; *PF*, I, 513 ; *ULAnn.*, 1845, 185 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 526 ; *NèveMém.*, 234, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> In the first days of August 1531, he wrote to John Dantiscus that he was just forty : *ErmArEp.*, D 6 : 125.

<sup>5)</sup> The 'Joannes Kampis', who matriculated in Arts in Cologne on November 17, 1515, and *determinavit* on Nov. 24, 1516 : Keussen, II, 508, 63, is evidently quite different.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *ErmArEp.*, D 3, 102, c.

degrees in theology then chiefly consisted. His characteristic disposition, which prompted him to find a solution to all his doubts by a proper and quite personal investigation of the matter <sup>1)</sup>, created in him an increasing desire to read the Bible in the original languages. He therefore started the study of Hebrew by 1516, — in 1522, he refers to the five or six years that he had been engrossed in it, — and availed himself of the lessons of Adrianus and of his successors. He was encouraged in his endeavour to master the Sacred Language when Luther and the far more erudite Melanchthon started attacking tradition : he read their books so as to know their doctrines, and to check the right they had to base them on the Scripture, in order to refute them by that very Scripture : *cuius rei me adeo nondum poenituit*, he wrote to Olah, to whom he explained his aim and his studies, *ut optarim illos, qui sedandis huius temporis tumultibus adhibentur, eandem libertatem in iudicando seruare, et non potius affectibus propriis indulgere* <sup>2)</sup>).

That study must have broadened his judgment and deepened his linguistic abilities, and he had probably begun tutoring in Hebrew by 1519, judging by the nearly nine years which, in June 1528, he said he had devoted to the teaching of that language <sup>3)</sup>. The success which rewarded his efforts probably induced the authorities of the *Collegium Trilingue* to offer to him the succession of Robert Shirwood : he then gave another proof of his truly scientific spirit : instead of accepting the offer, as Rescius and his own predecessors had done, he humbly acknowledged his shortcomings, owning that after several years, *infoeliciter discendo, infoelicius docendo*, he did not master the mystery of the vowel points <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> On Febr. 4, 1532, he wrote to Olah : *Nuncquam potui iurare in verbis hominis alicuius* : OlaE, 192.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter of February 4, 1532 : OlaE, 193.

<sup>3)</sup> In the preface to the Hebrew Grammar printed by Th. Martens in 1528 : Iseghem, 337 ; NijKron., 1, 1201.

<sup>4)</sup> The author of the *Motivum Juris*, Oct.-Nov. 1547, made use of Campensis' owning his lack of competence, to prove that neither he, nor Rescius, nor Wakefeld, were what the Testament required : *Præterea nec Rescius, nec Wakefeldus, neque Campensis Hebraice linguæ professores, sic idonei et talibus qualitatibus preediti erant, ut iuxta tenorem testamenti et testatoris voluntatem, quoquomodo admitti et recipi*

He only accepted the appointment on condition that he would be allowed to go and study for some time in Germany. The executors, after the trouble they had had with that professorate, could not but appreciate his right disposition; they granted the necessary respite, and decided on letting the chair vacant until his return for want of an able *locum tenens* <sup>1)</sup>. John Campensis may have gone to study under Reuchlin, Gaspar Amman, or Sebastian Münster <sup>2)</sup>; he was back to start his lectures in the College on October 18, 1521, as his wages were paid from that day <sup>3)</sup>: on Febr. 27, 1522 he was admitted to the University Council <sup>4)</sup>.

The absence of the conscientious man must have seemed long, though: perhaps on account of the lack of all news; for by the middle of 1521, Erasmus had even tried to engage the help of an Italian scholar Jerome Guidacerius, generally called Agathius, who was looking for employment: he wrote to him most temptingly through Bishop Daniel Tayspil on July 5 <sup>5)</sup>, but as he could not offer more than an interim, the proposition was not accepted <sup>6)</sup>. That way were secured, after some waiting, the services of Campensis, who, before all, wanted to be unexceptionable as professor <sup>7)</sup>; it provided the occasion of a most gratifying description by Erasmus of a glorious Institute in a flourishing University <sup>8)</sup>.

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potuissent in professores Collegii Buslidianj, quia non erant ex locis remotioribus et ex alijs Vniuersitatibus accersiti, neque in sua professione insignes et excellentes. He mentions on that occasion that Rescius took private lessons from James Ceratinus, whilst he himself was professing publicly: *MotJuris*, 26.

<sup>1)</sup> In the account of van Vessem, in which the professors' wages are indicated up to Sept. 1521, Campensis is not mentioned: *Rek.*, 91, r-92, v.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 381, sq. 419-23; *HebStud.*, 76, 135.

<sup>3)</sup> Campensis' wages are mentioned from Oct. 18, 1525 to Oct. 18, 1526 and from that day to Oct. 18, 1527 in the earliest accounts that are preserved: *AccMarvI.*, 107, r; *AccMarvII.*, 61, r.

<sup>4)</sup> *ULDoc.*, iv, 527.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, iv, 1221.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Ch. VIII.

<sup>7)</sup> Campensis was certainly a modern-minded scholar, who only lived for the attainment and communicating of truth.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, iv, 1221, 10-35.

## 4. ANTONY SUCKET'S INTERFERENCE

## A. DISORDERED SITUATION

On the desperate gloom of the closing November, followed December like a merciless blizzard. Never was the hostility towards the Institute so general, and the hatred of the adversaries so relentless as in those days, when its ruin seemed unavoidable, and their victory quite near at hand. The cancelling of the solemn agreement denied to Busleyden's Foundation even the right of existence, let alone a free development in the intellectual Commonwealth : the yearly *Supplicatio* of the professors was to keep it for ever at the mercy of an unfriendly Faculty. In the absence of two of three professors, the opponents found an occasion to disgrace, and get out of the way, the third : moved by the insistent suggestions of the most influential amongst the enemies of languages and literature <sup>1)</sup>, the Rector Calaber, most rashly and inconsiderately <sup>2)</sup>, ordered Rescius to be taken into custody, so that, on Dec. 1, 1519, the *Collegium Trilingue* was reduced to a half constructed building, and two inexperienced teachers, deprived of the example of an expert colleague, and even of the goodwill of the public. For, no doubt in answer to the nocturnal protestation by Nesen's friends, the adversaries now stirred up the students to show freely their displeasure, and bands on bands went to the premises of the constructing College and the neighbouring Convent of the Augustines, singing out : 'Nos non loquimur latinum de Foro Piscium, sed loquimur latinum matris nostræ Facultatis' <sup>3)</sup>. The introduction of the 'Minores porci' chanting the *Chorus Porcorum*, into the funeral procession of Calliope, as described in the *Dialogus Bilinguium* <sup>4)</sup>, is unequivocally an allusion to the tumultuous scenes when e. g., inmates of the *Pedagogium Porci*, called *porcistæ*, or

<sup>1)</sup> It made them propose a composition to Rescius in August 1520, when the suit seemed likely to turn in disfavour of Calaber : cp. before, pp 476-78 : Allen, iv, 1240.

<sup>2)</sup> As is clearly indicated by the course of the suit brought in by Rescius against Calaber : cp. before, pp 476, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Mol., 588 ; and note to *DiaBiTril.*, 464.

<sup>4)</sup> *DiaBiTril.*, 440, 455-481.

simply *porci*, in the Louvain students' cant, brought about hostile demonstrations, winked at, if not stimulated by masters like the virulent Latomus, '*Grylli trinepos*'.

The spirit of a large part of the professors was not any better than that of the bustling boys, as results from the strange decisions taken in the Academic meetings of those days, and even from the history of some nominations. When the vacancy left by Peter de Thenis <sup>1)</sup> († Nov. 18, 1519) had to be filled, Vives with his illustrious pupil Cardinal William de Croy <sup>2)</sup> and their friend John Paludanus <sup>3)</sup>, proposed the clever Pensionary of Bruges, Francis de Cranevelt <sup>4)</sup>. Unfortunately he was too eager a student of languages and a too great lover of right erudition : he therefore, it seems, was put aside, and the indifferent Gabriel de Mera was appointed <sup>5)</sup> : it deprived Busleyden's Institute of one more staunch friend in Louvain, but also the Alma Mater of a most admirably equipped artisan of her efficiency and prosperity, in so far that Vives and his friends could not but regret the choice : even the *auditores* felt despondent, as they were only going to have to listen to the blusterings of an Orestes or an Athamas <sup>6)</sup> ; it brought Vives to the distressing conclusion that all the decisions they took at the University that year were such that they would not decree anything different if they had sworn her complete destruction <sup>7)</sup>.

Happily for the Institute, Erasmus — and, with him, his

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 268.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 452.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 184-90, 286-87.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 11-12.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 452.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 1, 14 : reference is made here to the famous quarrel about the precedence of Rector or Conservator, in which Mera was a party.

<sup>7)</sup> VAnd., 179 : quoting Vives' letter to Cranevelt : '*Hic Petrus Thenæus cessit Professione sua. Ambierunt multi, & in primis Gabriel, & Licentiatum nescio qui. Erat frequens ea de re sermo apud Card. Croium, qui mihi traditus est instituendus : nam per eum Licentiatum illi Senatui huius urbis cupiebant commendari. Quin, inquam ego, advocatur e Brugis Neomagus, homo quibus moribus, dii immortales ! qua eruditione. Placuit hoc dictum Cardinali... / Gabriel... impetrarat a Senatu Professionem illam. ὧ τυφλοί. Simulatque hoc factum evulgatum est, auditores omnes desponderunt animos. Quid enim audient, Orestem aliquem aut Athamantha ? Omnia sunt hoc anno talia, ut alia via non ingrederentur, si iurassent se ταύτην Ἀχαθμίαν eversuros*'. — Cp. *Cran.*, 1 ; before, p 452.

trusty friends — bore up in the midst of the most disheartening circumstances, sustained as he was by his confidence in truth and in the great Scheme entrusted to his solicitude. No doubt, he managed to have the condemnation revoked, and Rescius soon returned to his task, free, although disgraced. The new Latin professor proved most efficient from the very first, so that, thanks to his providential help, the work that had been so cruelly interrupted, was resumed calmly and patiently and even more successfully than it had been ever before.

#### B. REQUESTS AND PROPOSITIONS

Meanwhile most welcome assistance in the sore need came from the vigilant executors, who, once more, proved to be men with perseverance and decision. It was Antony Sucket, who, at this juncture, took the matter in hand after due consultation with his colleagues ; on December 30, he arrived from Mechlin to Louvain with Bartholomew van Vessem <sup>1)</sup>, and demanded the Rector to convene the University Senate without delay. At that meeting, on January 1, 1520, he read a double request : the first being a fit rehabilitation after the injury done to Rescius — as has been related before <sup>2)</sup>.

The second point referred to the deed obtained by the executors for the College <sup>3)</sup>, about which they wanted to know whether the University considered it as a real agreement, to be executed in all its parts ; for they had heard that some members objected to it on account of the regulation about the '*Supplicatio*' for the lectures, and of its application to the professors of languages. The executors consequently requested a clear and precise interpretation on that head, always provided that the said agreement held good.

Besides those two requests, which were each written down on paper <sup>4)</sup>, Sucket made a third, by way of conclusion,

<sup>1)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, v : Item dair na xxx decembris M anthonys gereyst van mechelen tot louene met heer. bertholomeeus onder geuanckenissen wille van M rogier professeur jn greco ende voirts om des differents wille vanden supplicatien ende admissien voirs. vacerende dair jnne aldair iiij daighen voer alle de costen aldair verteert ende waghenuere van mechlen tsamen viij £ j s vj d.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 475, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 413-17.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*17 : exhibit ibidem binas cedulas papireas.



beseeking the University to treat with kindness, or at any rate with actual justice, the professors, managers and students of the College founded by Busleyden, especially those who in future might again be 'inculcated', violently oppressed or brought to bay, on account of the College <sup>1</sup>).

When Sucket left the room of the meeting, the University deliberated on his petition, and decided that the matter should be left hanging till two days after the next Candlemas; meanwhile his two requests, which he had written out on paper, were to be copied, and transmitted to the different Faculties, so that there could be a mature deliberation about the answer to be given to him and his colleagues <sup>2</sup>).

The registers of the various Faculties about the time when Sucket's request was made, unfortunately are all lost; the report, however, of the meeting of the Faculty of Arts on that matter, of January 26, 1520, is preserved in an extract <sup>3</sup>), and so is its summary in an *Index* <sup>4</sup>). That extract, and the passage of the *Index* give an exposition of the question: they are conceived as follows:

〈Propositiones a Dno Sucket Universitati factæ

1<sup>a</sup> Januarii 1520

Ex Deliberationibus Fac. Artium〉<sup>5</sup>)

ex Lib. 6<sup>o</sup> fol. 213                      1520

Die Jovis 26 Jan. indicta fuit Congregatio Facultatis in  
Scholis Artium, ad horam 9<sup>am</sup> ante meridiem, super  
sequentibus articulis:

3 articulis:] the MS is reproduced unless stated otherwise.

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. the report of the meeting of the Faculty of Arts, pp 510-12.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. de Jongh, \*17.

<sup>3</sup>) FUL, 1435.

<sup>4</sup>) *ActArtInd.*, 19-20.

<sup>5</sup>) The text reproduces a passage copied from the (lost) 6<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Acta Facultatis Artium* (FUL, 712-13); it probably dates from the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, and was made on a loose sheet of folio paper, probably for the sake of the information it conveys (cp. before, p 76). Although in the left hand margin, near the first line, is written 'revisum', the text is not quite accurate: evident mistakes have been corrected, mostly with the help of the *Summary*, and marked by 〈angular brackets〉, whilst the wording of the MS is quoted in the textual notes. Orthography and punctuation have been normalized, and words underlined are indicated by spaced printing.

...2<sup>us</sup>. ad deliberandum super propositis et exhibitis  
 5 nuper per D. et Mrum. Anthonium Sucket in Congrega-  
 tione Vniuersitatis...

...Quantum ad 2<sup>um</sup> articulum referebat Decanus quod  
 1<sup>a</sup> Jan. in Congregatione Vniuersitatis ad requestam  
 Mri. Anthonii Sucket, Consilarii Regis et vnus execu-  
 10 torum Testamenti quondam Dni. Ariensis Præpositi, per  
 iuramentum indicta et solemniter congregata, idem  
 Mr. Anthonius exposuit, et in scriptis exhibuit, aliquos  
 articulos super quibus petebat sibi responderi.

Primus fuit super captivitate Mri. Rutgeri, professoris  
 15 linguæ græcæ, in Collegio dicti quondam D. Præpositi, fa-  
 cta auctoritate Dni. Rectoris; quia, vt in scriptis exhibuit,  
 dicebat injuriosam esse defuncto, posteris defuncti, exe-  
 cutoribus, Collegio et ipsi Mro. Rutgero captiuitatem  
 20 passo, requirens propterea publicam et in loco captivi-  
 tatis fieri reparationem injuriæ et injuriatis condignam.

Secundus articulus fuit super litteris per executores  
 pro Collegio ab Vniuersitate impetratis: an videlicet hæ  
 litteræ intelligantur et per Vniuersitatem teneantur tam  
 rite talibusque solemnitatibus conscriptæ et sigillatæ, vt  
 25 singula contenta habeant vim pacti merito observandi  
 necne, cum nonnulli super illo videantur hæsitare propter  
 quoddam iuramentum vniuersitatis de supplicando  
 ad legendum quod a diversis diversimode  
 intelligatur, et ita rationabiliter dubitetur utrum pro-  
 30 fessores linguarum sub illo Statuto comprehendantur,  
 requirens propterea ab Vniuersitate illius Statuti liqui-  
 dam et claram interpretationem, modo tamen  
 litteræ prædictæ concedantur habere vim pacti &c.

Tertius articulus fuit conclusionis, in quo petebat ab  
 35 Vniuersitate professores, rectores et visitantes lectiones

19 captiuitatis] *MS*; *ActArtInd.*; capturæ 24 conscriptæ]  
*MS*; *ActArtInd.*, constructæ 27 iuramentum] 28 diversis]  
*originally repeated by mistake, as mentioned in the margin*  
*of MS*: Bis ponitur 35 rectores &c] *on the verso of MS*

7 Quantum &c] Cp. the *Summary* following here, and de Jongh, \*17, \*19.

7 Decanus] at the time it was Matthew Diercks, *Theodorici*, of Dor-  
 drecht, *Regens* of the Porc: cp. before, p 453.

Collegii, et eos qui Collegii occasione forsā in posterum inculcabuntur, <quam> mitissime tractari, saltem quod non tractentur nisi quo modo in forma juris <possint> tractari.

- 40 Quibus per Decanum relatis, exposuit idem Decanus quatenus in prædicta Congregatione Vniuersitatis, Facultas cum sese ad deliberandum retraxisset, conclusit super <primo> articulo, sibi satis displicere Mri. Rutgeri captiuitatem; præsumebat tamen D. Rectorem, ad quem  
45 spectabat cognitio causæ, nihil temere vel sine justa causa fecisse; ac quod propterea pro honore Rectoris et Vniuersitatis, boni viri deberent partes suas interponere <ad contentandos> prædictos Mros. Anthonium et Rutgerum.

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SUMMARIUM

from the *Index Actbrum Facultatis Artium*  
(*Liber Sextus - 1520*) <sup>1)</sup>

- f 213 Mgr Anthonius Sucket consiliarius regius et executor testamenti D. Busledii exponit in congregatione Vniuersitatis sub iuramento indicta, quod mgr rutgerus,

37 inculcabuntur] *MS*; *ActArtInd.*, multabuntur 37 quam]  
*MS* quod 38 possint] in *MS* possunt 43 primo] in  
*MS* prædicto 48 ad contentandos] *ActArtInd.*; *MS* et  
 contra audiendos  
 1] on f 19

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<sup>1)</sup> The *Index* of the *Acta Facultatis Artium* was not conceived as a chronologic work, but merely as an aid to researches for the various difficulties encountered in the exercise of the rights and privileges, and for the speedy settlement of the contestations between the members: on that account the matter treated in the items is once over indicated summarily in the margin. There is here a confusion made by the member who compiled the *Index*, for he has considered as part of the meeting of the Faculty what the Dean related as having taken place at the meeting of the University Senate of Jan. 1. Sucket and van Vesseem attended that meeting; but they were not at the meeting of the Faculty of Arts of January 26, which is evidently summarized here, as results from the reference to page 213 of the *Acta*, heading the identical and more complete text which, but for a few misreadings, is reproduced in the extract on pp 509, sq.

professor linguæ græcæ in collegio busledii, captivus seu  
 5 apprehensus fuisset auctoritate rectoris, quæ captivitas  
 injuriosa esset defuncto Busledio, posteris defuncti, exe-  
 cutoribus, collegio et ipsi mgro. Rutgero captivitatem  
 passo; requirit autem præfatus consiliarius fieri publicam  
 et in loco capturæ reparationem, injuriæ et injuriatis  
 10 condignam.

213 Idem Executor petit an Litteræ ab universitate con-  
 cessæ Collegio, habeantur tam rite et solemniter con-  
 structæ ut habeant vim pacti;

213 v et præsertim si in illo collegio legentes comprehen-  
 15 dantur sub Statuto universitatis quod agit de admissis  
 ad legendum.

v idem petit ut in posterum professores illius collegii  
 quam mitissime tractentur, sicut et ii qui collegii occa-  
 sione forsân in posterum multabuntur.

20 v Facultas in eadem congregatione Universitatis sese  
 retrahens concludit sibi satis displicere mgri rutgeri capti-  
 vitatem, præsumebat tamen dam rectorem, ad quem spec-  
 tabat cognitio causæ, nihil temere vel sine justa causa  
 fecisse, quod propterea, pro honore rectoris et universi-  
 25 tatis, boni viri deberent partes suas interponere ad con-  
 tentandos prædictos magistros anthonium, seu consilia-  
 rium, et rutgerum.

v Facultas Artium super legentia collegii busledii præpo-  
 siti ariensis resolvit inhærendum esse statuto universitatis  
 30 de supplicando pro *legere* volentibus sicut 4 aliæ facul-  
 tates resolverant.

### C. EVASIVE REPLY

That the Faculties, and at any rate the Arts, were not  
 conciliatory at the University meetings of January and

4] *a later hand added in the margin* Collegium busledii 9 cap-  
 turæ] *corrected from captivi* 11] *a later hand added in*  
*the margin* idem 14 et sq] *on f 20* 15] *a later hand*  
*added in the margin* Legentes juxta Statutum Universitatis et  
 dubium an in Trilingui sint legentes 23] *a later hand*  
*added in the margin* Busledii 29] *a later hand added in*  
*the margin* Legentes Busledii

February 1520, was no doubt due to the course taken by the proceedings against Nesen before the Brabant Council. The difficulties raised in opposition to the regulation prescribing the *Supplicatio*, were such that the Court was hesitating, and could not reach a decisive sentence <sup>1)</sup>. The final appeal to the Academical Senate, with the request to reconsider her inhibition, was an implicit avowal of a doubt about the use, and even about the equity, of the Statute. Consequently tolerance or indulgence on that head was going to be ruinous for the monopoly of teaching : unless the prerogative should be kept strictly to, and no exception whatever admitted, the University would soon be unable to defend her own professors against intruders : within her very precincts, they would start lecturing and draw her students to lessons over which she would have no control.

Without doubt, that concern for one of the most important of her privileges encouraged the University in her decision to refuse any concession to Nesen, and thus nonsuit him. It also inspired the Faculties in their advice about Sucket's requests : for they, too, all centred about that very *Supplicatio*, which had been most frequently re-asserted since the University had started <sup>2)</sup> ; the various bodies composing her, insisted the more obstinately on the observance of that famous regulation, the only safeguard against the introduction of the teaching of the humanistic doctrines, and especially of the

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*17, \*18, and before, pp 460-464.

<sup>2)</sup> On the first page of the register *Index Actorum Facultatis Artium* that question is mentioned with reference to the year 1511, on f 10 v of the *Liber Sextus* (now lost) : 'Ab erectione Facultatis hoc semper fuit a maximis viris observatum ut singulis annis recognoscerent Matrem suam Facultatem tanquam caput eorum, supplicarentque pro regentia et legentia qui illo anno regere aut legere vellent, prout magistri nostri in theologia viri gravissimi singulis annis supplicant in sua facultate pro regentia. Unde facultas, ex sua primæva institutione et continua possessione legitime præscripta, est domina et superior omnium suorum officiariorum, videlicet receptoris, promotoris... regentum, legentium, ut pro libitu seu arbitrio possit eosdem instituere et destituere totiesquoties, quodque sine rationabili causa non libenter aliquem destitueret invitum'. — The Faculty, on that occasion, even decreed her complete mastery of the *regentes*, who could not claim the right of ordinary deputies, namely of being irrevocable : *Facultas quoad hoc voluit manere in sua libertate*. Cp. before, pp 366, 459.

more subversive principles held, or at least said to be held, by Erasmus and by all other favourers of the *Collegium Trilingue*.

The day stated on January 1 for a final answer to the executors, February 4 <sup>1)</sup>, had passed, and the University had neither invited them to a meeting, nor imparted to them the result of the deliberations of the different Faculties. That result was not favourable : the five had been unanimous in deciding that the Statute of the University should hold good indistinctly for all those who should wish to read <sup>2)</sup>. It probably was resolved to consider that decision as the basis for a final and peremptory reply.

## 5. THREAT OF LEAVING LOUVAIN

### A. ADVANTAGES OFFERED BY BRUGES

The final reply, which the Faculties intended giving to Busleyden's trustees, was certain to shatter all hope on an autonomous institute within the academical precincts. Erasmus foresaw the danger, and he at once despatched full instructions by John van Meerbeke to Mechlin <sup>3)</sup> : on February 17, the latter returned to Louvain with Antony Sucket and the other executors. They at once called on the Rector, who gathered the Council of Deputies : a hot altercation ensued, which was continued on the four following days. It evidently was to be the end of the struggle, and between the interviews, the contending parties naturally consulted their cleverest and most experienced advisers. Happily for the College, the

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*17.

<sup>2)</sup> Summarizing the report of the meeting of the Faculty of Arts of January 26, the *ActArtInd.*, 20, mention that the '*4 aliæ Facultates resolverant*' already before that date, that the *Supplicatio* was to be required for the lectures to be given by the professors in the *Collegium Trilingue* : cp. p 512.

<sup>3)</sup> *Rek.*, 49, v, 50, r : Item xvij february anno xix prescripto stilo gallicano betaelt tot mechelen (<viz., by van Vessem>) de costen van mr. Jan van meerbeke ghesonden aldair bij mr. erasmus om te jnformieren den executueren de conclusie genomen bijder Vniuersiteyt op tghene dat van hueren weghe der Vniuersiteit bijden vors. sucket geproponeert was ende voer zijn wagenhuer van mechlen tsamen xxvj s.

executors could oppose to the argument of the danger which the University was likely to run if dealing too lavishly with the *Supplicatio*, the consideration of a still greater peril which was threatening her monopoly. It had not long remained a secret that the *Alma Mater* was far from encouraging Busleyden's Foundation ; and some towns, which envied Louvain, showed a much clearer and keener foresight, by making overtures to the executors, so as to secure the establishment of the highly appreciated Institute within their walls.

Foremost amongst those towns was Bruges, with which the founder Jerome de Busleyden had been personally connected : he had obtained there the fourth canonry of St. Donatian's in 1497 <sup>1)</sup>, and, in 1500, the provostry of St. Mary's <sup>2)</sup> ; if he did not keep those preferments, his brother Francis was Provost of St. Donatian's from 1490 to 1502 <sup>3)</sup>. In that town the chief executor Antony Sucket had been secretary and legal councillor for several years ; he had married there Isabella de Waele d'Axpoele, and had still many relations <sup>4)</sup>.

Bruges had, moreover, had since long the wish to crown her wealth, and the efflorescence of all kinds of art which that wealth made possible, by a university. Hardly had that of Louvain been founded, when the desire of an institution of higher studies in the capital of Flanders found a convenient helper in Antony de Recaneto, who, already in 1439, tried to obtain the licence to confer there the mastership in divinity, pleading that in that celebrated and famous town, there were many more doctors of theology than in the Brabant *Studium Generale* <sup>5)</sup> : that academical function was prevented by Philip the Good, but only on the insistence of Louvain. Although Bruges afterwards lost much of its old splendour, the brilliant

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<sup>1)</sup> He had been appointed to succeed Peter Basin, † 1497 : he left the canonry to Louis Barrodot in that same year : Schrevel, 1, 45 ; *BrugSDon.*, 117 ; *Busl.*, 43.

<sup>2)</sup> Jerome de Busleyden was nominated successor to John of Burgundy on February 7, 1500, he exchanged that office with Louis de Veyere, Philip the Fair's almoner, against a chaplaincy in the Oratory of the Count of Flanders : Schrevel, 1, 260 ; *BrugInscr.*, 11, xi ; *Busl.*, 43.

<sup>3)</sup> *BrugSDon.*, 76-77.

<sup>4)</sup> *Busl.*, 94-97 ; and before, pp 55, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 129-130.

scheme was never forgotten ; about 1520, the town looked as an ideal seat for the humanistic institute : not to mention her sons, the great literators and famous professors, like the Fernands and Peter de Ponte <sup>1)</sup>, Bruges possessed a choice of clever men, who, far from merely welcoming, would have done the impossible to help and further Busleyden's lofty-minded foundation <sup>2)</sup>. Such was Mark Laurin, the Dean of St. Donatian's Chapter, a staunch friend of Erasmus, and a great favourer of literature, whose memory was celebrated by poets, like Stephen de Grave, George Cassander, Gaspar Corvinus Schets, Antony of Schoonhoven, all of whom he had helped and encouraged <sup>3)</sup>. The Chapter's Scholaster, John de Fevyn, who, like Laurin, had studied in Louvain and Bologna <sup>4)</sup>, was so zealous in his office that, year after year, the boys of St. Donatian's School produced Latin plays in the Canons' refectory, some of which were even composed by their own *magistri*, such as Adrian Chilius <sup>5)</sup>. As a young student, de Fevyn had known a nephew of Busleyden, which probably made him a friend of the family, in so far that the original manuscript of the Founder's *Carmina, Epistolæ et Orationes* was given to him some time before the middle of the century ; it remained at Bruges for several generations <sup>6)</sup>. With other canons of that Chapter Jerome de Busleyden had been personally acquainted : he had studied at Padua with John Louis de Moscheron, whom afterwards he congratulated for being Erasmus' host <sup>7)</sup> ; whereas he had been for several years the colleague of George of Themseke, having been

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 180, 210.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *BrugHist.*, 427, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Mark Laurin, born at Bruges in 1488, studied in Louvain from 1502, and in Bologna from 1507, in both of which Universities he met Erasmus ; he became canon of St. Donatian's in 1512, and dean in 1519 : cp. *Cran.*, 6, a ; *DelPoBel.*, I, 970-85, IV, 47, 87 ; Allen, I, 201, 2 ; &c. Andreas Masius heard from his friend Lud. Geusius the news of Laurin's death, which had happened on Nov. 4, 1540 : letter of Oct. 7, 1541 : *MasE*, 13.

<sup>4)</sup> John de Fevyn, born at Furnes in 1490, matriculated as a student of the Lily, Aug. 31, 1506 ; having promoted M. A., he studied Laws, and, leaving for Bologna, became I. V. D. He was appointed Canon in St. Donatian's in 1510, and died in 1555, after a life of earnest work : cp. *Cran.*, xci-xcix.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 218, and further, Ch. XVII.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 164-167, 339, 356, 425.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 300-301, 459.



appointed Mechlin Councillor at the same time as he. In 1513, he became Privy Councillor, and was often sent on embassies : on one of them he took Erasmus' most confidential letter of March 22, 1523<sup>1)</sup>, from Basle to Adrian VI ; for he was a trusty friend of the Great Humanist, who, in the first days of June 1516<sup>2)</sup>, praised him to Thomas More as 'vir iuxta doctus atque humanus<sup>3)</sup>'. Others among the canons were men of letters ; even the secretary of the Chapter, Stephen de Grave, or le Comte, *Comes*, was a literator and a poet<sup>4)</sup>.

Nor were the professional men behind the clergy in the town where, a few decads earlier, Louis de Bruges (1402-Nov. 24, 1492) gathered one of the choicest collections of illuminated manuscripts that are recorded<sup>5)</sup>. One of those men was the town pensionary Francis de Cranevelt, who had become

<sup>1)</sup> He is for certain the : 'Præpositus quidam canonicus apud diuum Donatianum Brugis : homo certus', of the letter to Peter le Barbier, April 17, 1523 : Allen, v, 1358, 40-43, 1352, 1-2, 1353, 242.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Allen, II, 412, 52.

<sup>3)</sup> George of Themseke, born of an old patrician family of Bruges, promoted Licenciate in Laws, probably in Italy or France ; he was chaplain of Philip of Austria ; when, in 1499, he obtained half of the votes at the election as Dean of St. Donatian's, Bruges, the *Curia* annulled the election, and appointed Antonio Trivultio, who, on May 5, 1502, resigned in favour of John Goetgebuer, Themseke's opponent. He secured many other preferments : he seems to have been by 1491 dean of St. Gudula's Brussels (Gestel, II, 14 ; *BruxBas.*, II, 9), and, for certain, was Provost of St. Peter's, Cassel, of St. Bavo's, Haarlem, and, from 1505, of St. Saviour's, Harelbeke. In 1505, he received the XIX<sup>th</sup> prebend at St. Donatian's, Bruges, where he liked residing. He seems to have died in the beginning of 1535, as he was succeeded in his Bruges canonry on March 8, 1535 by his cousin Alexander Barradot. He can hardly have been the son of Louis of Themseke and Margaret of Flanders († 1411), as it would imply that he was almost a centenarian when he became Privy Councillor (*Brug&Fr.*, VI, 24, v, 234 ; *BrugSDon.*, 83), but rather of Christopher of Themseke and Jane Rauleders (*Brug&Fr.*, VI, 28-29). He went on embassy to England in July 1508, and to the Emperor in February 1511 : Bergh, I, 123, sq, 245, sq. In his *Utopia*, Thomas More praised him as 'uir magnificus, ...non arte solum, uerumetiam natura facundus, ad hæc iureconsultissimus, tractandi uero negotij cum ingenio, tum assiduo rerum usu eximius artifex' : MoreLuc., 2. Cp. *BrugSDon.*, 83, sq, 163 ; *ConPri.*, I, 47 ; *ConPriT*, 67 ; *MalConC*, 31 ; Gachard, 493, 509, 517 ; Walther, 62, 213 ; Brewer, III-v ; *Cran.*, 137, a, 14, 215, 32 ; Allen, II, 412, 52 ; *CamChrist.*, 123-24 ; *Busl.*, 40, 87.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 210, and further, Ch. IX.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Behault, 76-99.

famous in Louvain, where he had promoted V. J. D. <sup>1)</sup>, as well for his unequalled eloquence <sup>2)</sup> as for his juridical experience gained as assessor at the different academical Courts of Law. As a great lover of learning and literature, he became intimately acquainted with all the humanists in Bruges, and greatly contributed to the spreading of enlightenment, until, on Sept. 27, 1522, he was called as Councillor to Mechlin, where he was as zealous at his duty as at his favourite studies <sup>3)</sup> until his death in 1564. He was rejoined at Mechlin by his old friend Nicolas Herco, of Florennes, a most clever physician, who shared for years his literary pursuits in Bruges, where he had even given, from Oct. 27, 1518, daily lectures on Greek grammar in St. Donatian's Chapter Room (*Cran.*, *lii*). He later on went to study in Italy, and finally became Imperial 'Archiatr' <sup>4)</sup>. The efflorescent love of letters

<sup>1)</sup> Francis de Cranevelt, born at Nijmegen on Febr. 3, 1485, entered the *Bursa Montis* in Cologne, matriculating on November 14, 1497, without paying the fee as son of Duke Charles of Gelderland's secretary. He passed the *determinatio* on Nov. 26, 1498, under mgr. Valentine of Geltersheim, and having asked for his place on Febr. 4, 1500, started the *inceptio* on March 27, under Theodor Boern, Born, or te Huyssen, of Nijmegen, being the fourth of the University : Keussen, II, 436, 51; *UniKöln.*, 396, 429, 510, 578. On account of the regulation of 1417, no degree was given to him, as he was under twenty : *UniKöln.*, 297, *sq*; so he went to Louvain where he matriculated on October 13, 1501 as student of the Falcon, 'in legibus'; probably availing himself of the *tentamina* of Cologne (*Cran.*, *xxxvi*, *n* 3), he applied himself to jurisprudence, as well as to the Arts, promoting M. A. the first of his year in 1505, and J. V. D. on October 2, 1510 : *Cran.*, *xxxv*-*xl*.

<sup>2)</sup> Already in 1512 he was considered as the most eloquent man in Louvain : *GeldColl.*, 152.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 11, 12. Cranevelt translated some works from Greek into Latin, and occasionally wrote poetry. He greatly encouraged Janus Secundus, who liked him as a father, and made a fine medal of him in May 1533 : Simonis, 64-70, iii. Cranevelt was an intimate of Erasmus and More, of Vives and Dorp : *Cran.*, *xxxiii*, *xl*-*lxxxii*. At his death he bequeathed all his books to Louvain University Library : Lomeier, 296.

<sup>4)</sup> Nicolas Herco, *Florenas*, studied in Louvain, where he was admitted to the Council of the Arts on June 2, 1511, as 'Nicolas Hergius de Florenis' : *ActArtV.*, 315, *r*, which suggests that he became M. A. at the latest in 1509. He studied medicine and practised that art at Bruges, where his friend Cranevelt was pensionary. Having gone to study in Bologna, he returned to Bruges in April 1526, but removed to Arras in 1528, and from there to Mechlin, where he entered Charles V's service. He followed him to Spain, and met there his friend Janus Secundus at

that animated those, and many more, men at Bruges, created there a congenial, beneficent atmosphere, to which the great Erasmus often resorted : he then grouped in the hospitable *Princenhof*, where de Fevyn lived <sup>1)</sup>, or at the houses of Themseke, of Moscheron or of Laurin, all his friends, who were joined, when occasion offered, by Thomas More <sup>2)</sup> and, almost regularly, by the great Vives on his frequent visits to the town <sup>3)</sup> where he married <sup>4)</sup>, and where he spent the last years of his life in fruitful tutoring, and in the writing of his immortal treatises <sup>5)</sup>. In that atmosphere, where often the most famous humanists of those days met in the hearty welcome of their generous protectors and cherishing favourers, Busleyden's scheme would have been enthusiastically hailed and fostered and encouraged, — instead of being exposed to the blasting hostility of a Baechem or of a Latomus, or to the disheartening formalism of the timorous Faculties.

So vivid was the spirit of study at Bruges that, by his will of Febr. 10, 1540, John de Witte, who had been preceptor of Philip the Fair's children at the *Princenhof*, then Bishop of Cuba, and confessor of 'Eleonore', Queen of France <sup>6)</sup>,

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Barcelona. Herco was knighted by 1540 : the 'Florentius Herce Rollariensis', placed 32<sup>nd</sup> at the promotion of March 27, 1539 (*ULPromRs.*, 99), may have been his son. Cp. *Cran.*, 154, a, b ; *JSeclt.*, 68.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 22, d.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, xlix-li, lxxxvii, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cran.*, xci.

<sup>4)</sup> He married Margaret Valdaura on May 26, 1524 : *Cran.*, 102, pr, 1-16.

<sup>5)</sup> After losing the favour of Henry VIII and of Catherine of Aragon, Vives gained a scanty living as preceptor of young Spanish noblemen, who boarded with him ; yet he devoted for many years all the time he could spare on his great educational, philosophic and apologetic writings : *MonHL*, 34-58, 427-434, 587-94. Cp. *Cran.*, lxxxix, &c ; Allen, III, 927, pr ; Opmeer, I, 549, b, 476, b ; *BibBelg.*, 863 ; Brom, II, 33 ; *HarvMarg.*, 111-12, 222 ; *BeitKlette*, III, 18, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> John de Witte, born at Bruges on Aug. 6, 1475, had gone to Spain for the sake of business, but entered the Dominican Order at Saragossa. Philip the Fair took him into his service on account of his knowledge of Spanish, and for some time he was preceptor of the Prince's children. In 1509, he succeeded his 'confrater' John Lampier as father confessor of Princess Eleanor, and as such he was nominated titular Bishop of Salubria on May 15, 1514. He became Bishop of Cuba in 1528, but at the Emperor's and Eleanor's request, he resigned the see in 1530, to be the

endowed his native town with public lectures on literature, on logic and, if possible, on theology. The first was inaugurated on May 3, 1541 by George Cassander <sup>1)</sup>, to whom James Cruyken, *Cruquius*, succeeded in February 1543 <sup>2)</sup>. That lecture <sup>3)</sup>, and the second, on theology, which was joined to it in 1545 <sup>4)</sup>, evidently were founded on Busleyden's admirable example; they realized in part what Bruges would have welcomed so gladly in 1520: when hearing of the difficulties made to the executors of the will of the Provost of Aire, they spontaneously offered to them the use of spacious buildings and a liberal help, besides the most benevolent protection <sup>5)</sup>.

#### B. TOURNAI UNIVERSITY PLANNED

As readily and as generously as Bruges, the famous ancient town of Tournai wished to give hospitality to Busleyden's Institute. Chilperic's capital was just then most anxious to adorn her old episcopal see with an establishment of higher culture, so as to secure her secular traditions endangered by the political vicissitudes. That desire for superior instruction dated several centuries back. One of her Bishops, Andrew Ghini Malpiglia, of Florence, — who ruled from 1333 to 1342, when he was created Cardinal, and died in 1343 <sup>6)</sup>, — had

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chaplain and adviser of the newly married Queen of France. He spent much time in his last years at Bruges, where he enjoyed Vives' friendship, and died on Aug. 15, 1540, leaving by his will the wherewithall to found lectures on literature, on philosophy, and, if possible, on theology: Schrevel, I, 249-62; Moeller, 183.

<sup>1)</sup> George Cassander, or 'Georgius Casant de Pitthem, Flandrensis' as he is named amongst the rich students of the Castle matriculating on February 28, 1531, was a student of the *Collegium Trilingue*: cp. Ch. XVII.

<sup>2)</sup> James Cruyken, *Cruquius*, of Messines, was also a student of Busleyden College: cp. Ch. XIX.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Schrevel, I, 262, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> It started thanks to a generous subsidy offered by Queen Eleanor, on February 5, 1545, the first professor being the Spanish Bachelor of Divinity Francis Jonerius: Schrevel, I, 272. In 1618 the two lessons were incorporated by the town of Bruges into the Diocesan Seminary of Bruges, where they formed the *Cuba Foundation*, after the lecture on literature had been changed into one on philosophy: Schrevel, I, iv, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Schrevel, I, 259-60.

<sup>6)</sup> *BelgChron.*, 412.

founded a college for Jurists in Padua, which he called *Our Lady of Tournay*; it was realized in 1366 by his friend Albici de Lucca, canon of Tournai, and afterwards of Treviso, and by his steward Pietro Boatteri: although Tournai students went rarely there, on account of the great distance and of the difficulties of the time, two of the eight scholarships were always available to young men of the 'Tournaisis' until about 1820, when the foundation, which had greatly enriched during nearly five centuries, was incorporated into the Padua Seminary <sup>1)</sup>. Rather than to that very remote University, the students of Tournai and of the French-speaking part of the Netherlands, went to Paris, where there was a *Collegium Tornacense* <sup>2)</sup>, until the newly founded Louvain University attracted the larger part, which formed her *Natio Gallica* <sup>3)</sup>. Meanwhile the Tournai Chapter School was most prosperous and proficient, so that Gerard Morinck noted <about 1535-1545> in his manuscript history of St. Trudo's Abbey: *Habet Tornacum Collegium summum sicut et alia quædam collegia, in qua prælector erat Dominus Eleutherius Audax, Doctor Theologiæ et Juris Canonici, Canonicus Tornacensis* <sup>4)</sup>.

In 1517, Robert de Keysere, who had taught and printed both at Ghent and in Paris <sup>5)</sup>, expressed the idea of creating at Tournai a *gallo-græco-latina Universitas*; he found much encouragement amongst the leading men of the town: still, on account of the uncertain conditions, — for Henry VIII was still master of the place which Charles of Austria wished to join to his estates, — the question was abandoned for the time being, but was mentioned and advocated in a composition, *De Nuptiis Leopoldi*, June 1517, which de Keysere had devised for the marriage of his pupil Leopold of Austria <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> C. J. Voisin, *Notice sur le Collège de Notre-Dame de Tournay, à Padoue* (in the *Bull. de la Soc. Hist. et Littér. de Tournai*: vi, 1860: 1-12).

<sup>2)</sup> Gervasius Amoenus, of Dreux, dedicated his edition of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (Jan. 5, '1512') to Robert de Keysere, calling him *Pri.micerius Collegii Tornacensis*: Allen, i, 175, *pr*; cp. before, p 280.

<sup>3)</sup> Most of the doctrinal questions connected with subversive and heterodox preachings at Tournai in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, were not settled in Louvain, but in Paris: de Jongh, 101; Renaudet, 21, 51, 127, 297.

<sup>4)</sup> *MorMS*, 182, v. Eleuth. Hardy, Audax, exegetist, was Canon Hosteler in 1501, Scholaster from 1503, and died Nov. 11, 1525: Vos, ii, 118, 157.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 279-81.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, ii, 525, *pr*, 585, 3.

The chief patron and protector of the scheme was the famous archdeacon of Tournai Chapter, Peter Cotrel <sup>1)</sup>, who thanks to his large fortune, could finance the undertaking, which was earnestly reconsidered by 1521, when a *Collegium Bilingue*, or *Collegium Linguarum*, was thus started, with the help of James Teyng, *Ceratinus*, as professor of Greek <sup>2)</sup>. The latter, however, had to leave the town by September on account of the plague <sup>3)</sup> as well as of the siege, — which made it pass for good into Charles V's power on December 3, 1521 <sup>4)</sup>.

In 1523, the plan of de Keysere and of Cotrel was actively taken up again : as France was at war with the Emperor, the idea of a new University was represented as a praiseworthy attempt to prevent that those who wished to learn French, should have to leave the country, inside of which were thus kept, not only the necessary sums of money, but also a large number of the young men who, forsaking the studies begun here, would possibly be tempted to remain in foreign parts <sup>5)</sup>. The services of James Ceratinus were again secured in September 1525 after he had left Leipzig University,

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<sup>1)</sup> Peter Cotrel, Cottrel, born in 1461, belonged to a patrician family of Tournai. He studied in Louvain, where he promoted Licencié in Laws ; he became canon in 1489 and vicar-general of Tournai before 1505. He was archdeacon, first for Ghent, and afterwards, for Bruges : *CorpInq.*, iv, 391, where, in 1534, he obtained the x<sup>th</sup> prebend of St. Mary's : *BrugInscr.*, ii, xvi. He used generously his ample means for the adorning of the Cathedral, for the splendour of the divine service, and the sustenance of the poor and ailing : Vos, i, 274-294, ii, 78. He died on May 26, 1545, and, by his will, he requested the Chapter to erect six scholarships in Louvain, viz., in the Falcon, in St. Donatian's (*ActArtInd.*, 47, 48), in St. Yves', and also in the H. Ghost College, which he allowed to enlarge : Mol., 623-24 ; VAnd., 265, 291, 297 ; *Cran.*, 42, 42 ; FUL, 1373, 1668, 1941 ; Tarlier, 106 ; *ActArtInd.*, 47 ; *MarckChartr.*, 69.

<sup>2)</sup> He had left Paris in the summer of 1519 (cp. before, pp 281-82) for Basle, from where he was driven by an epidemy, which made him return to Belgium.

<sup>3)</sup> He had resorted to Louvain, where Erasmus recommended him to Bernard Bucho, Sept. 24, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1237, 21-25.

<sup>4)</sup> Pirenne, iii, 80, 93-94 ; Henne, ii, 389, sq, 416, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> *LibActVI*, 47, v : quod volentes discere ydioma gallicum non habeant occasionem accedendi regnum Francie et sic deferendi pecunias etiam extra provincias principis et etiam ut ibidem iuvenes comparentes non retraherentur ab eorum studio in hac uniuersitate forsitan inchoato <evidently, by keeping them there after they learned French>.

where he had succeeded to Mosellanus <sup>1)</sup>, as well as those of Nicolas van Broeckhoven, of Hertogenbosch <sup>2)</sup>, and of Melchior Matthæi of Vianden <sup>3)</sup>. Soon, however, the attention of Louvain University was directed to the danger to which its monopoly was exposed by that new School, where Law and Theology were going to be taught : in 1525, the *Syndicus* pointed out the urgent necessity to put an end to the quibbling quarrels of the Faculties about the manner of voting, and to avoid the harm that was threatening <sup>4)</sup>. Meanwhile Erasmus showed that he had full confidence in Cotrel's undertaking : on January 22, 1527, in his first will, when bequeathing sets of his complete works to be reprinted, he decided : *decimam quartam <summam> Tornacum, reponendum in Collegium quod instituit Petrus Coutrellus pro linguis ac bonis literis* <sup>5)</sup>.

It is evident that Robert de Keysere, who, already in 1517, wished to be admitted to the staff of the *Collegium Trilingue* as professor of Greek <sup>6)</sup>, will have done whatever was in his power to make the executors, after all the trouble they experienced in Louvain, shake off the dust from their feet, and bring the good tidings to Tournai <sup>7)</sup>. No wonder that Sucket and his colleagues duly availed themselves of the proposals made to them, and declared that if the University refused to admit the College on the conditions already agreed upon, they would erect it in another town, since they had been requested to do so, and had been even offered sums of money for a building and for the necessary outfit : on that declaration they broke off the interviews on February 21 <sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, vi, 1564, 1565, 1611, 5-6, III, 622, 31 ; and further, Ch. XI.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 616, 14 ; and further, Ch. XI.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, iv, 1237, 41 ; and further, Ch. XI.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*50, quoting the records of the meetings of the University Senate (Febr. 3, 1524 till well in 1525) on that matter.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, vi (, *Appendix* xix), p 505.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 280.

<sup>7)</sup> The desire of a *Studium Generale* seems to have been general at the time : in the beginning of 1531, it was reported in Louvain that Douai and Lille thought of starting universities : *LibActVI*, 107, r ; de Jongh, \*50.

<sup>8)</sup> *Rek.*, 50, r : *Jtem dairna xvija februarij zijn vergadert de voirs. executueren tot louen om de vors. tviste metter vniuersiteyt, aldairmen vele altricatien hadde mits den vors. different ende hen vuterlyck gheseeet was zoe verre zij tcollege niet admitteeren en wouden opte*

## C. IMPRESSION MADE

The University was deeply impressed with the executors' threat of establishing their College elsewhere ; it was evident that they were not bound to Louvain on account of the building, although it was well on the way to completion ; they were known to dispose of ample means, which had allowed them to face the very costly alterations to the plan of the Will, whereas other towns offered practically fully rigged out institutes. Here was a far greater danger for the academical monopoly than the few exceptions to the Statute of the *Supplicatio*, which, after all, could be circumscribed very stringently, and of which the beneficiaries were still subject to all the other academical regulations. When a few years later, Tournai attempted to put in order what was designed to become a University <sup>1)</sup>, Louvain showed all the animosity which such a plan roused in her ; the young ' *studium* ' was sued at law, indicted before all the Courts and all Councils of the country, and, notwithstanding appeals and protestations,

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conditien hen geproponeert, datmen tselue jn een ander stadt stellen soude die dairom gebeden hadden ende gelt geboden ten vordeele voer een huys ende de toebehoirten ; ende schieden alsoe ald. voer de costen van den wagenhueren van mechlen ende voer dander montcosten tsamen voer v daighen v £ xvij s vj d.

<sup>1)</sup> Namely about 1525, at the time when they were thinking of preparing the reception and inauguration of their new Bishop Charles de Croy, appointed in 1524 : who, however, did not take possession of his diocese before 1539, leaving the administration to his suffragan Nicolas Bureau, Bishop of Sarepta, who had received his oath on July 13, 1525 : *BelgChron.*, 420-421 ; Berlière, 144-146 ; SonnE, xxxii, sq. The Tournai authorities received, about that time, an admonition from Margaret of Austria, advising them of the opposition of the University of Louvain ; they replied that it was not their intention to obtain, or to erect, a *Studiorum Universitas* ; they merely wished to create a few lectures, such as that of French, to prevent that young men should go and spend their money in France to learn that language ; also that of Grammar and the rudiments of other Sciences. They declared that they were ready for a friendly understanding with the University and the town of Louvain, to whom they would send their 'Commissaries' : *VAnd.*, 358-59. Cp. *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand* (van den Gheyn & van der Haeghen), viii, 1907-08 ; Pirenne, iii, 311 ; A. Houguet, *L'Université de Tournai* (in *Revue Tournaisienne*, v) : 1909 : 161-64 ; Henne, v, 62.



the matter was ruthlessly prosecuted until the final sentence rendered by Mechlin Parliament on October 8, 1530 <sup>1)</sup>).

## 6. FINAL ACCEPTANCE

### A. ADRIAN OF UTRECHT'S ADVICE

Another element, fortunately, had a soothing influence on the embittered and eager minds of some of the theologians, who were in full strife with the advocates of novel methods and doctrines : according to Erasmus' testimony, a letter had come from their great mentor, the sagacious Cardinal Adrian Archbishop of Tortosa <sup>2)</sup>). Being asked his advice in the struggle against humanism and reform, he had counselled prudence and circumspection, charity and discrimination ; he evidently was aware that there were some who wanted to

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<sup>1)</sup> The Louvain University and town refused to come into contact with the Tournai representatives, and appealed to the Prince in his Council to make them stop in their enterprise, and desist from their intention, which was finally forced upon them by sentence of Mechlin Parliament : VAnd., 359 ; Mol., 498 ; FUL, 108, cp. bef., p 458. — New, and vain, efforts were made in 1532. On Aug. 24, 1535, Erasmus wrote to Bartholomew Latomus : Tornaci cœperat institui professio linguarum, sed Academia Louaniensis et Franciscani qui Tornacum incolunt, non conquieuerunt, donec quod inchoatum erat omitteretur. Domus in hunc vsum exstructa prospectum habebat in hortum Franciscanorum. Hinc illæ lacrymæ : Allen, xi, 3048, 29-33 : also ii, 525, *pr*, iv, 1237, 24, vi, 1558, 298-302, and the bequest in his first will, mentioned before, p 523.

<sup>2)</sup> On May 20, 1517, Erasmus wrote to Antony de Berghes : R. D. Cardinalis Adrianus bonis literis <viz., the Renaissance> nunquam admoddum fuit ; etiamsi non est adeo deuotus hostis quam sunt quidam, qui se non putant incolumes fore nisi oppressis bonis literis : Allen, iii, 969, 17-20. When Adrian VI granted the provostship of St. Thomas', at Strassburg, to Wolfgang Capito in 1523, Aleander wrote, in announcing the grant, which was already made in 1522 : neque Pontificem esse tam a bonis literis beneque literatis viris alienum quam nonnulli pingunt : cp. W. Capito's letter to Erasmus, June 18, 1523, Allen, v, 1368, 19, *sq* : also 1311, 17-21, 1314, 12, 1374, 71, iv, 1166, 105, *sq* ; Friedensburg, in ZKG, xvi, 499 ; *CorpCath.*, XII, 61. — In March or April 1523, Adrian VI also 'iussit imponi silentium Ecmondano', to Nicolas Bæchem, if not by letter, at least by oral information : Erasmus refers to it when writing to Herman Lethmaat, April 17, 1523, and in many other letters : Allen, v, 1539, 1-3, 1383, 23-24, 1433, 13, 1481, 63, 1515, 14-15, 1518, 27-28, and i, p 25, 26-28.

prevent that the new College should be founded ; yet as he was at the same time an intimate friend of John Robbyns, the great promoter of Busleyden's Institute, as well as of the recently deceased John Briart, he prevented all undue opposition, and, as Erasmus gratefully declares, saved the *Trilingue Collegium* from subversion <sup>1)</sup>, thus realizing the Solomonic words he probably pronounced on that occasion : '*Bonas literas non damno, hæreses et schismata damno*' <sup>2)</sup>).

#### B. VIVES' AND DE CROY'S INTERFERENCE

As the future of the College depended on the decision that was going to be taken, John Robbyns had stayed in Louvain with Nicolas de Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem, awaiting the conclusion of the University. Nothing was decided at the meeting of February 29, at which Nicolas Coppin, Meuran, of Mons <sup>3)</sup>, *Regens* of the Falcon <sup>4)</sup>, was elected Rector at the turn of the Faculty of Arts <sup>5)</sup>.

Two days later, on March 2, Robbyns applied to the new Rector with the two executors for an answer to the requests made by Sucket on January 1. The four men had an hour's conference together : in consequence of which a meeting of the University was convened for the next day. At that meeting, March 3, the three requests were successively examined. As to the first, Rescius' rehabilitation, the Rector

<sup>1)</sup> On August 13, 1521, Erasmus wrote to Peter Barbirius about Busleyden's Foundation : *Omnino mea sententia subuersuri fuerant rem tanto ornamento futuram ditioni Principis, tanto vsui publicis studiis, ni conatus illorum cohibuisset reuerendissimus dominus Cardinalis Dertusensis : sic enim accipio* : Allen, iv, 1225, 32-36 ; *AdriBurm.*, 7, b ; also Allen, iv, 1153, 149, sq, 1161, 22, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus quotes them in his letter of March 28, 1531 to Nicolas Mallarius : referring to the difficulties he experienced when stimulating youth for the study of eloquence and of Greek literature, — evidently when striving for the *Collegium Trilingue*, — he states : *Vix nostra phalanx sustinuisset hostium coniuratorum impressionem, ni Adrianus tum cardinalis <viz., from 1517>, postea Romanus Pontifex, hoc ædisset oraculum : Bonas litteras &c* : Allen, ix, 2466, 64-67.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 404-5.

<sup>4)</sup> He left the Faculty of Arts in 1521 soon after his appointment as Dean of St. Peter's : *ActArtInd.*, 20.

<sup>5)</sup> *ULDoc.*, i, 263.

related how he had already notified to the executors the approval by the University of all and every one of the acts and decisions of his predecessor John Calaber, as was generally done for the resigning rector <sup>1)</sup>, and was in fact only a consequence of the Statute already referred to <sup>2)</sup>. Still Robbys and his friends wanted a formal declaration to that effect by the University, as they were aware of Rescius' decision to institute legal proceedings. The meeting, after deliberation, expressed a wish that the executors should be requested, and Rescius, informed, to desist from all proceedings, and to let the matter rest; if not, they declared that John Calaber's cause should be defended in the name and at the expenses of the University <sup>3)</sup>.

As to the second and the third of Sucket's requests, referring to the admission of the College and the supplication of the professors, the Rector declared that he had informed the executors that the University did not ask anything better than living in reasonable and satisfactory peace, understanding, and tranquillity: he therefore proposed choosing deputies from each Faculty to confer with those appointed by the executors, so as to arrive at a final agreement and concord <sup>4)</sup>.

In those days of wavering, a most beneficial assistance was given to the cause of the College by Vives, who, although not mixing in the strife, had followed it most anxiously, ready to interfere when necessary, and bring the help of the influence of his illustrious pupil, Cardinal William de Croy, Bishop of Cambrai <sup>5)</sup>. He himself had already felt the disadvantage of the regulation used as decisive weapon by the Faculties: for he had on several occasions asked to be allowed to deliver

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<sup>1)</sup> Immediately after the election and installation of a new Rector, his predecessor, according to the regular wording of the *Acta*, ...*supplicavit acta per eum haberi rata, grata et avuata in bene actis et in aliis minus bene actis supportatum, cum gratiarum actione de honore sibi impenso: Universitas admisit supplicationem Dni Rectoris et regraciabatur eidem de bona diligencia et tranquillo regimine: ULAct., II, xxxi, 3, and all the subsequent Acta Universitatis.*

<sup>2)</sup> *ULStat.*, 614-15.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 474-78.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. de Jongh, \*18, \*19.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, I, d; Bonilla, 71, sq, 600; Allen, III, 647, pr; Cornelius Grapheus wrote a poem in his honour: *FlandScript.*, 46.

public lectures <sup>1)</sup>, and — as he, most probably, was not immatriculated, since his stays in Louvain had depended up to then on circumstances <sup>2)</sup>, — he had received no satisfaction. He understood the gravity of the decision that was to be taken, and he therefore made his powerful disciple exercise a most conclusive action on the University. As luck would have it, there was for the moment a contestation between the Alma Mater and the *Officarii* of Cambrai, who strongly objected to changes introduced in the certificates of the studies of the beneficiaries in the diocese <sup>3)</sup>, which was probable to cause much damage. At Vives' suggestion the Cardinal decided to desist from all opposition in the question as a proof of his excellent disposition towards the University, as he declared to the delegates whom, on March 1 or 2, the Rector sent to him at Heverlee Castle where he then resided <sup>4)</sup>.

That generous decision, by which endless trouble was averted from one of the most popular professors, John of Valenciennes <sup>5)</sup>, produced a beneficial effect : it made the University ready to come to terms with Busleyden's executors, as was proclaimed at that meeting of March 3, and in return of Cardinal de Croy's very gracious reply, they offered to his preceptor Vives the *venia legendi* if he was to ask the Rector,

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<sup>1)</sup> Ludovicus Vives pluries supplicavit apud dominos rectores hujus universitatis suos precessores pro licentia legendi certum opus, quam hucusque obtinere non valuit... : Rector Nicolas Coppin's statement at the meeting of March 3, 1520 : *LibActVI*, 322, r ; de Jongh, \*20.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 2, pr ; *Excerpts*, 89.

<sup>3)</sup> At the University meeting of February 20, 1520, the Rector had exposed the complaints of the Cambrai *officarii* on the occasion of the certificate submitted by John of Valenciennes : de Jongh, \*20.

<sup>4)</sup> *Cran.*, 2, pr, 1, d ; G. J. Servranckx, *Histoire de la Commune de Heverlé et de ses Seigneurs* : Louvain, 1855 : 33, sq, 38, sq, 115, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> John Doye, d'Oye, a native of Onnaing, near Valenciennes, had had trouble to have his benefice acknowledged by the Cambrai *officarii* on account of a change in the testimony submitted, which matter was solved satisfactorily : *FUL*, 2, pp 335-341 ; de Jongh, \*19, \*20. John d'Oye had been the 4<sup>th</sup> of the M. A.'s promoted in 1504 ; for a time he ruled the *Domus Pauperum* (Dec. 8, 1508-Aug. 22, 1510) and taught in the Porc. He became Licentiate in Theology on June 3, 1516, Doctor on June 14, 1530, at the age of fifty, and Professor in the same year. He was president of the Holy Ghost College from 1533 to 1538, and died on April 24, 1549 : *Mol.*, 516 ; *VAnd.*, 106 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 17, IV, 458 ; *Paquot*, VI, 250 ; *ULPromRs.*, 67 ; de Jongh, 181, \*19, sq, \*40, \*55-\*61 ; *Godet*, 127.

the five deans and a few members of the Arts for it <sup>1</sup>). He was the first for which an exception to that most important rule was made, and he thus was the *testis et pars aliqua*, as Erasmus remarked <sup>2</sup>), of the great struggle that provided the academical incorporation to Busleyden's foundation.

On March 4, Vessem, Nispen and Stercke went to Mechlin to report to Sucket on what had been decided, and confer with him as to what further was to be done <sup>3</sup>). Evidently this time the University was bent on coming to a conclusion, and, without doubt, the calm and prudent Rector prevented any further delay and any immixture of irrelevant considerations or feelings : the agreement was going to be concluded between the College and the University, independently of all animosity against Erasmus, of all prejudice in favour of the old order <sup>4</sup>), without considering either Nesen, or any of those who wanted to shield their personal or other interests under those of Busleyden's enterprise <sup>5</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) The report of the meeting of March 3 (*LibActV*, 322) is reprinted in de Jongh, \*18-20 : that page of the volume of the *Acta*, destroyed in the Louvain Fire of August 1914, is reproduced as a specimen in E. Reusens, *Eléments de Paléographie* : Louvain, 1899.

<sup>2</sup>) Allen, iv, 1111, 54-55, 1057, *pr* ; de Jongh, \*20 ; and further, Ch. VIII.

<sup>3</sup>) *Rek.*, 50, r, v : Item iij<sup>a</sup> martij anno predicto zijn h. bartholomeeus Nispen ende meerbeke van louen gereyst tot mechelen te waghen om te Reporteeren M. anthonise sucket tgheen dat zij tot louen bijder vniuersiteyt ghedaen hadden ende voirts met hem dair op een conclusie te nemen van datmen voirts jnt stuck doen soude aldair van waghen-hueren ende voer de costen gedaen te mechelen jn den leeuwe ende tot sucketts met oick de costen van nispens muyle te louen ende te mechelen tsamen v £ xix s ix d.

<sup>4</sup>) In the first months of 1520, Erasmus was as much worried in Louvain as he had ever been before ; he was attacked by Baechem, by the Dominicans, by Latomus and, worst of all, by Lee, so that on February 1, he wrote to Wolsey that he was being punished for his foolishness : he might have enjoyed a happy and worthy life amongst his friends in England, if he had only taken the trouble of accepting the offer : 'nunc cogor', he declares, 'cum ingratis quibusdam et impudentissimis sycophantis conflictari' ; cp. Allen, iv, 1060, 1-36 : also 1059 (probably directed to Coppin, who had promised his protection : cp. p 405), 1062, 180, 1063, 1, 1064, 1069, 1074, 1088, 12, &c.

<sup>5</sup>) In the various documents referring to the rather displeasing relations between the College and the University, the executors never even mention Nesen's name, who, in fact, had no connection at all with the Institute.

## C. ' NUDA ACCEPTATIO '

On March 12, the executors, headed by Antony Sucket, who had been sent for in all haste, met the deputies of the Faculties, and an agreement was reached, which the Rector proposed to the University in the general meeting of March 13: the new College would be admitted as it had been regulated, according to the different clauses stipulated in the Founder's will, and to the University Statutes. That admission was to be attested by a deed, of which the text had been made up and approved of by both parties. A second point proposed by the Rector was the exemption from the University regulation about the yearly *Supplicatio*; it had been the *lapis offensiois* in this affair and it had been examined and discussed to satiety. According to what had been agreed upon the day before, and had been expressed in a second contract, the Rector proposed to the University to concede the release from that obnoxious Statute to all those who should publicly teach in the College, evidently in as far as concerns the College, in the spirit of the Founder <sup>1</sup>). Those points were submitted to the deliberation of the assembly, and after the necessary discussion, the Rector concluded that the College was admitted, and the professors exempted from the *Supplicatio*, according to the tenour of the deed which was to consecrate that transaction <sup>2</sup>). That deed, however, was only

<sup>1</sup>) The announcement of the 2<sup>nd</sup> article (de Jongh, \*20) was worded thus : *Ad dispensandum super statuto disponente de iis qui legere volunt publice in dicta uniuersitate quantum dictum collegium concernit*. The text of the report itself (de Jongh, \*21) has this sentence : *an ne placeat dispensare super statuto disponente de hiis qui legere volunt in huiusmodi uniuersitate, quantum saltem concernit professores pro tempore dicti collegii...* : the expression *pro tempore* does not mean 'at that time', viz., in 1520; but rather : 'qui ad tempus sunt reuera' : it is still in use at the present day in Louvain University, where deans and secretaries, even if appointed for a long period, sign *p. t. decanus*, *p. t. a secretis*.

<sup>2</sup>) That deed is not mentioned in the Inventory of the documents of the College, in which, however, is duly recorded the agreement of July 12-Sept. 20, 1519 (marked G); although signed by John Vullinck, notary (cp. before, pp 413-17), it was, no doubt, only an authenticated copy, the original of which had been returned to the University. As to the final solution, it was too favourable for the College and had been acquired with too great difficulties than that the executors should have

to be given to the executors, according to what had been agreed upon, in exchange of the original of the document by which, on Sept. 20, 1519, was approved of what had been granted to them on July 12, 1519, as well as of a written promise that the Institute should never be changed into a fifth Pedagogy <sup>1</sup>).

The decision taken at that meeting ended the long struggle <sup>2</sup>). It was the sanction and the approbation of the *Collegium Trilingue*, which, from that day on, was part and parcel of the University. On March 14, Sucket and his companions returned to Mechlin, glad and proud at heart that the question had thus been solved to the honour of their College, which, as they wrote, had been admitted nakedly, without any restriction whatever <sup>3</sup>).

\*  
\* \* \*

neglected securing the deed that sanctioned their existence and their privilege. Most likely it was kept by the brother, or another of the relatives of the Founder, possibly by Antony Sucket, so as to prevent any loss or damage. Under 'H' are recorded in the Inventory three deeds evidently connected with this last interview : 'Item noch drie papieren cedullen / waeraf die twee zijn een act gepasseert voer den raet van der Vniuersiteyt mentie makende van zeker concordien gemaect tusschen duniuersiteijt ende executeuren van den testamente des fundateurs aengaende het lesen vanden professoirs : sonder date ende autenticate' <probably the 2 drafts of the final arrangements proposed on March 12, and approved of on March 13> : *Inv.*, 2, r.

<sup>1</sup>) The third deed, indicated in the just mentioned (in *n* above) item 'H' of the Inventory of the College, is described there as follows : *Ende die derde cedulle es een beworp van zeker geluften waermede die executeurs gelouen datmen van tvoers. collegie gheen pedagogie maken en. sal &c oick sonder date ende niet geteekent* <draught of the promise not to make a fifth pedagogy> : *Inv.*, 2, r. Possibly that promise was conceived in a practical form, that the number of boarders was not to exceed, e. g., the dozen, or the score, — which would explain that, on July 12, 1536, Goclenius was sorry to have to deny to his friend Damian a Goes the admission of some boarders — apparently a young man and his preceptor, Francis de Houwer (cp. further, Ch. XVI) : 'Obstant pacta nobis a primordio cum Academia inita, quibus certus numerus conuictorum praescribitur, quem egredi nobis nullo modo licet. Franciscus autem Houerus ad Barlandum quam ad Rutgerum <Rescium> nostrum uidebatur propensior, posteaquam apud nos non erat locus'... : *GoesOp.*, d 1, r. <sup>2</sup>) *Cp. de Jongh*, \*20, \*21.

<sup>3</sup>) *Rek.*, 50, v : *Item xij<sup>a</sup> marcij expost was ontboden de voirs. M. anthonijs bijden Rector vande. Vniuersiteyten te comen tot louen*

From that memorable day the Institute continued its grand work in peace and tranquillity : the old hostility, to be true, kept smouldering for a time, and occasionally even burst out; still, even then, the animosity was never so keen, nor so general as it had been by the past. Indeed, the conscientious activity of the professors and the increasing eagerness of the students gradually and effectively disarmed all suspicion and antipathy. The most irreducible adversaries of its foundation had been divines, — yet not all the members of the Faculty of Theology : for the most qualified of them, Driedo, Vianen, Coppin and Rosemond, not to mention Martin van Dorp, are never named in the strife, except to make peace. When, later on, in the forties, after twenty-five years of regular, prosperous activity, the *Collegium Trilingue*, which had been assaulted in the beginning in the name and on behalf of faith and religion, was treacherously threatened in its existence by an apparently unsurmountable crisis, it was most wonderfully saved from destruction by the two most eminent amongst the Louvain theologians of that century : Peter de Corte, who was to be the first Bishop of Bruges, and Ruard Tapper, the greatest protagonist in his lifetime of the purity of Catholic doctrine, the *Humanae Sapientiae Fastigium*, as his colleagues of the Council of Trent called him. The way in which the East was thus brought to the embraces of the West, is the subject of the following parts of this *History*.

#### THE END OF THE FIRST PART

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om een eynde te maken vanden voirs. saken aldair hy reysde ende met hem h. bartholomeeus ende was na vele altrication een slot genomen ter eeren vand. collegien ende tvoirs. collegie naictelyck geadmitteert voer de costen van iij daghen metten wagenhueren van h. bartholomeeus ende van iij peerden tsamen iij £ ij s vj d.



# CORRIGENDA

---

*On p*

17	<i>l</i> 16	<i>please read</i>	Antony	<i>instead of</i>	John
22	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Lambert	» »	Louis
76	<i>n</i> 1	» »	extension	» »	extensions
93	<i>l</i> 10	» »	to	» »	tho
112	<i>n</i> 4	» »	Ger. v. Goetsenhoven...226	» »	A. van Engelen...228
128	<i>l</i> 11	» »	(John)	» »	John
130	<i>n</i> 5	» »	Ch. VII	» »	Ch. V
221	<i>l</i> 22	» »	Gregory	» »	George
463	<i>n</i> 1 <i>l</i> 14	» »	were	» »	where
528	<i>n</i> 1	» »	<i>LibAct V</i>	» »	<i>LibAct VI</i>

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## APPENDIX I

# MATTHEW ADRIANUS' ORATIO

### The Text

Adrianus' *Oratio*, delivered in the *Collegium Trilingue* on March 21, 1519, in reply to Latomus' *De Trium Linguarum et Studii Theologici Ratione Dialogus* (cp. before, pp 327, sq), was printed at Wittenberg by John Grunenberg, in 1520. The copy of which the text is reproduced on the pages following, belongs to Berlin Library; it seems to be one of the few, if not the only one, subsisting. As far as the marks on the title-page indicate, it goes under the number: 'Erf 4933', and seems to be the fourth of a *Sammelband*. A photographic reproduction provided by my never to be forgotten Master W. BANG KAUP (Aug. 9, 1869-Oct. 8, 1934), Professor of Turkish philology in the University of Berlin, has served for the present edition.

The *Oratio* consists of a four-leave quarto (sign. A<sub>1</sub>-A<sub>4</sub>), of which the first page has the title, reproduced here in photogravure. The reverse, A 1, v, has the dedicatory letter, of which the heading was used as title. The text starts on A ij, r, and ends on A 4, r; it is, without doubt, the identical speech that was delivered in Louvain <sup>1)</sup>; the lower part of A 4, r, and the upper part of A 4, v, are taken up by a note, in which the author explains the circumstances of his speech; it is followed by the colophon.

### The Edition

The text is reproduced exactly, line by line, in the arrangement of the original, with the capital initials and the punctuation; except on crowded lines, the numerous abbreviations have been resolved, on account of the complete lack of the proper marks in modern type-cases, e. g., for the shortened syllables beginning with *p* or *q*; moreover it would have been as hard for the reader to decipher them in the small type, as for the compositor to set them; still misprints have been reproduced, and are indicated in the *Textual Notes*, in which all doubtful cases are described <sup>2)</sup>. The lines have been numbered, and the printing space is comparatively enlarged: whereas, without the signatures, it measures 89 or 88 *mm.* by 145 *mm.* in the original, it is extended in the reprint to 108 by 155 *mm.* Only the heading of the dedicatory letter and the colophon are rendered as identically as possible. A short summary of the *Oratio* has been given before, on pp 334-37.

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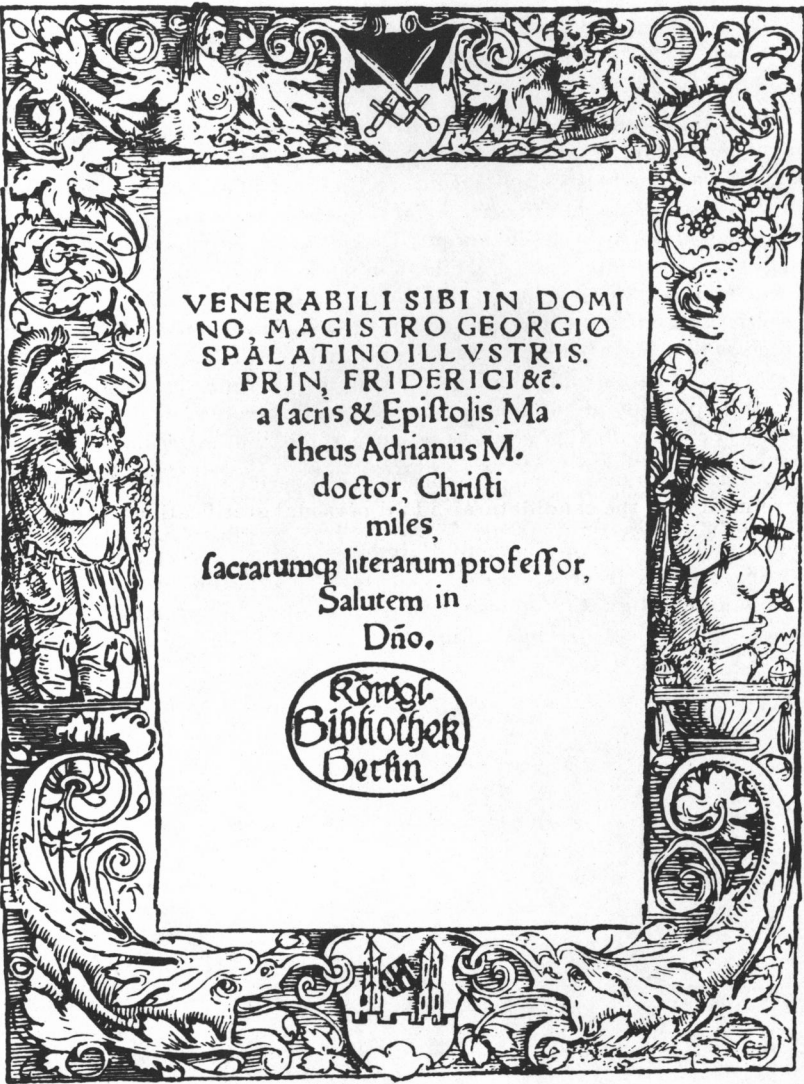
<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 339.

<sup>2)</sup> As abbreviations are used C(opy reproduced), ind(istinct), poss(ibly), ppr (partly printed off), prob(ably), r(ead), wh(ich).

## Explanatory Notes

- 1-2. Georgio Spalatinus] George Burchard, born at Spalt, near Nuremberg, *Spalatinus* (1482-Jan. 16, 1545), studied in Erfurt, and in Wittenberg under Conrad Mut, *Mutianus Rufus*. He was appointed preceptor first in the convent of Georgental, Gotha, 1505, and then to Duke John of Saxony's son John Frederic, 1508. By 1515, he had entered the service of the Elector Frederic III the Wise, of Saxony, as chaplain, librarian and secretary; he used his influence on him and his successors, John and John Frederic, in favour of Wittenberg and Luther as well as of learning. He himself translated some writings by Plutarch and Justinian, by Luther, Erasmus and Melancthon. He also wrote a biography of Frederic the Wise, and annals extending from 1513 to after the Elector's death, 1525, when he retired to Altenburg, where he married and continued his action in public life by his influence at the Court of Saxony: cp. FG, 423-24; ADB; Krafft, 13, 75-82, 135, sq, 146, sq; ScheurlE, 58; Enders, I-XII, *passim*; MutE, *pass.*; Allen, II, 501, *pr*; KaELF, 9-17, 87-90, &c.
2. Friderici] Frederic, Duke of Saxony, the most famous of the dukes of the Ernestine branch, became Elector in 1486. He founded the University of Wittenberg for his estates in 1502, and did what he could to make it prosper. He became the great protector of Luther, and gave a magnificent example at the imperial election, when he refused both the candidature and all personal gratification. He died in 1525. Cp. CMH, I, 297, 316, sq, II, 41, 116, sq, 132-172; Kaufmann, II, xvii, 131, &c; Paulsen, 112, sq; Enders, I-V, *passim*.
3. Mattheus Adrianus] he had been appointed in Wittenberg University thanks to Spalatinus: cp. before, pp 372-73; also further, II 16, sq.
8. orationem] cp. before, pp 334-38; *HebStud.*, 46, 134.
18. foeliciores &c] the students of theology in Louvain were not encouraged by their masters — nor was Adrianus himself without blame: cp. further, II 208-9; his mind was probably often otherwise occupied than by his lectures; still he did not even teach as long in Wittenberg as he had done in Louvain: cp. before, pp 337-38, 374.
39. Apologum &c] Æsop's tale *De Membris & Ventre*.
41. Paulum] e. g., *Ep. ad Rom.*, XII, 4, 5, *I ad Cor.*, XII, 12-23, *ad Eph.*, IV, 16, 25, &c.
53. Augustinus &c] *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, VI, VII: e. g., 'quasi sapientiam de domo sua, id est, pectore sapientis procedere intelligas, et tanquam inseparabilem famulam etiam non vocatam famulam sequi eloquentiam'; and: 'comes sapientiæ, dux eloquentiæ; illam sequens, istam præcedens et sequentem non respuens': AugO, III, 93, 94, sq.
60. In Italia &c] cp. Erasmus' remark to Vives about the prohibition of Nesen's lecture (cp. before, pp 458-60): Roma ipsa, Mediolanum, vt de cæteris taceam gymnasiis, ingentibus præmiis ambit et euocat eos qui linguas doceant: Allen, IV, 1104, 25-68, 1111, 61-64.

*The Notes are continued on p 543.*



VENERABILI SIBI IN DOMI  
NO, MAGISTRO GEORGIO  
SPALATINO ILLVSTRIS.  
PRIN, FRIDERICI &c.  
a sacris & Epistolis Ma  
theus Adrianus M.  
doctor, Christi  
miles,  
sacrarumq; literarum professor,  
Salutem in  
Dño.

Röm. u.  
Bibliothek  
Berlin

¶ Venerabili sibi in domino, Magistro Georgio  
 Spalatino Illustriss. Prin : Friderici &c. a sacris  
 & Epistolis , Mattheus Adrianus M.  
 doctor, Christi miles, sacrarūq3 lite/  
 5 rarū professsor Salutem in  
 dño.

¶ Volui sub nomine tuo vir eruditissime idemque pijssime exire hanc  
 orationem meam, quam Louanij habui de linguarum laude, quum tu cum  
 cæteris omnibus rectis studijs, tum maxime de linguis optime non cesses  
 10 mereri, sisque tu nobis in hac regione, quidam Erasmus, qui inuitis om-  
 nibus sophistis orbi fesso succurrit, & linguis & Theologia pura, in-  
 credibili tum studio, tum periculo, non modo famæ, sed & vitæ & rerum,  
 Neque enim segnius a te idem negocij curatur, deinde quod eius es principis  
 a sacris & a commentarijs, cuius nomen ob inauditam in literas literatosque  
 15 omnes sollicitudinem & curam, iam terribile sit non modo hostibus  
 literarum, sed & patronis hostium quantumlibet magnis, cuius & ego fauore  
 stipendioque liberali in hac insigni florentissimaque Academia, literas  
 sanctas profiteor, foeliciore vt spero, sorte quam Louanij professus fuerim,  
 quod hic & gratiores inuenio auditores, tum nullos prorsus hostes, vni-  
 20 uersos autem pene insanos linguarum amatores, deus bone quantus hic ar-  
 dor, quantusque impetus discendi, vt quod Louanij egi quo accende-  
 rem animos, hic prope agendum sit vt refrigerem, & vt illis opus fuit  
 calcare, ita his freno opus esse videatur. Tu ergo hoc mei in te animi  
 testimonium dignatur quæso admitte, & optimo principi Musarum  
 25 vnico Apollini me commendatum facito ac bene Vale Vuittenbergæ.

M. D. X. X.

SEMPER illud habitum est pulcherrimum celeberrimi viri, ac iu-  
 uenes optimi, vt suam quisque professionem quantum potest attollat atque  
 illustret, Sic poetæ suas literas in sydera tollunt laudibus, sic Rhetores suam  
 30 suadelam omnibus anteponunt, sic Iurisconsultus, Medicus, Theologus,  
 sua quisque miratur, Sic Minoritæ Franciscum suum pene Christo æquare  
 solent, Verum sceleratum est laudandi genus sic tua tollere, vt cæteris ho-  
 nestis disciplinis facias iniuriam, cum omnes inter se consentiant. Eoque  
 veteres illi viri longe sapientissimi studiorum præsidēs, & virgines finx-  
 35 erant & sorores, & vnius Apollinis comites, virgines quod casti purique  
 mores deceant literarum professores ac studiosos. Sorores, quum mutua  
 cognatione inter se connexe sint, addiderunt his gratias comites, quod  
 vt in cæteris concordia res parue crescant, discordia dilabuntur & maxime,  
 ita fit in studijs quoque nostris omnes vetustissimum Apologum de mem-  
 40 bris aduersus ventrem velut ignauum conspiratis, auditis quottidie  
 Paulum nos ad membrorum corporis consensum prouocantem, quod si se-  
 ditione colliduntur inter se membra, mox fit vt totum corpus colla-  
 batur. Si dialecticus explodit Rhetoricen, Theologus poeticen, idque  
 idem de cæteris, quid futurum arbitramur, nisi vt nec illi sciant, quod  
 45 scire videri volunt, Sit oculus Theologia, an ideo præcidenda erit lingua  
 velut inutile membrum? Sint aures dialectica, an ideo pedes amputandi,  
 Paulus glorificat suum Euangelium, non afficit contumelia Petri & Io-  
 hannis Euangelium, Placeat sibi quisque in suo studio, sed ita, vt non læ-  
 dat alterius professionem, parum honesta sunt, quæ nisi conspurcatis alijs,  
 50 honesta videri non possunt, veluti si quæ mulier diffidens suæ formæ,  
 contaminaret & contruncaret vicinarum facies, sic denique volens haberi  
 formosa, Quid quod iniuriam facit suæ quoque professioni, qui lacerat  
 alienam, cum omnes sibi vicissim sint vsui, Augustinus eloquentiam  
 sapientiæ pedissequam vocat, an non iniurius fit in sapientiam, qui tam  
 55 honestam pedissequam luto conspergat? Qui tibiam vulnerat, nonne capiti  
 quoque facit iniuriam? Oportet Academiam, quæ ab vniuersa complectendo  
 nomen habet vniuersitatis, disciplinis omnibus florere. Proinde inuidet  
 huic Academiæ, immo inuidet sibiipsis, qui quod discere aut nolint aut  
 desperent, impudenter damnant ac lacerant, atq. op.præc. est audire, qm  
 60 quidam sunt peruerse iniqui, In Italia scholæ de publico dant solarium,  
 si qs honestam aliq. disciplinam profiteat'. Si quidam non ferunt id. fieri,  
 aliena liberalitate Faustum, non admodum sobrie neque pudice profitentem  
 (multos hic adesse puto, qui vitam hois. norunt) tamdiu tulit Lutetia, neq.  
 vero tulit solum, sed amplissimis etiam præmijs ornauit, Et quæ malignitas  
 65 est hui. regionis, que sancte sobrieq. profitentes bonas lras pati non potest?  
 Me fortass. excepto (neq. enim meips. prædico) null<sup>9</sup> est professor, cui. vita  
 no. possit esse quis theologo digna, indignant' qd no. ferendis contumelijs  
 lacessiti, honoris & famæ nræ rationem habuerim<sup>9</sup>, Mus lacessit<sup>9</sup> remordet

A ij

apicula prouocata, telum habere se testatur, & nos habent pro fungis, vt  
 70 paciamur honestissim. & saluberrim. hanc linguarum professionem, pub  
 licitus ab hoie. elingui lacerari, Si contemnit ille grammaticam, queso qd  
 domi docet suos pueros? Cur illius ferulam sentiunt? an hoc docet eos esse  
 mutos? Prestat opinor talem linguam discere, qua norit apud stultas mulier-  
 75 linguas, per quas tot eximios autores, per quas arcana diuinæ scripturæ  
 possimus & legere & intelligere, & homo creatorem suum, & viam ad ipsum  
 cognoscit. Si linguarum peritia nihil confert ad christianam religionem, qd  
 venit in mente Origeni, theologorum sine controuersia principi, qui non  
 est arbitratus se quicquam in re theologica posse, nisi homo doctus hebreas  
 80 literas addidicisset vincens improbo labore, quod ætas & natura negabat,  
 Quid Hieronymo? qui nihil non fecit, vt has literas adiungeret, cum antea  
 trilinguis esset, Dalmatiæ, latine, græceque loquens, siquidem harum in pro-  
 fecta ætate sollertissim<sup>9</sup> indagator fuit, Nimir. quod sibi non iucunditatem  
 solum, sed etiam plurim. fruct<sup>9</sup> ad sacr. afferant paginam, adeo cum senex,  
 85 iam eruditissimus, quem totus orbis stupebat, & mgrum poscebat, vir qd  
 maximum est, sanctissimæ & horridæ vitæ, adhuc putabat se nihil scire,  
 nisi hanc sanct. linguam sibi compararet, id qd fecit summo studio, mag  
 nis expensis, & nocte quidem didicit, cum per Iudæos interdiu non posset,  
 sese priuans somno, vt Ecclesiam dei vera eruditione ditaret. Quid Au-  
 90 gustino, cui maxime fidem adhibere solent nri temporis Theologi, qui tot<sup>9</sup>  
 prædicat Hæbraicar. græcar. q linguarum cognitionem, no. mo. vtilem ver.  
 etiam necessariam, vt testatur. ix. dist. ca. vt veter., Ita inquiring, vt libro-  
 rum veterum fides de hæbreis voluminibus examinanda est, ita nouorum ve-  
 ritas græci sermonis normam desyderat. Idem ca. xij. de ciuit. dei li. xv. ait  
 95 Ei potius linguæ credatur, vnde est in aliam facta per interpretes tralatio.  
 Hebraica vero est ea, vnde omnes fluxerunt, ceu a fonte translationes.  
 Idem Augustinus ij. li. de doct. christiana. c. xi. sic inquit. Et latine qdam  
 linguæ homines etiam duabus alijs, ad diuinar. scripturar. cognitionem  
 opus habent linguis, Hebraica, sc. & Græca, vt ad exemplaria præcedentia  
 100 recurratur, Si quam dubitationem attulerit latinor. interpret. infinita va-  
 rietas, clare insinuat sæpe in lris sacris oboriri ambiguitatem, quæ citra pri-  
 marias linguas dissolui non pot., id qd exemplis aliquot fusius ipse prose-  
 quitur, qd etiam Pontificum decretis testatum est, qd summis pontificibus  
 qui decreto prouiderunt, vt linguæ in publicis præcipuisque gymnasijs do-  
 105 cerentur, Et Clemens Papa. v, in sacro sancto Concilio Viennensi vt ha-  
 betur Clementina prima titulo de magistris, Hoc sacro approbante Con-  
 cilio & scholas in supra scripturarum linguarum generibus. Vbicumque Ro-  
 manam curiam residere contigerit, necnon in Parrhisiensi & Ocsoniensi,  
 Bononiensi & Salamantino, studijs prouidimus erigendas, statuentes,  
 110 vt in qlibet locor. teneantur viri catholici, sufficientem habentes Hebraice,

84 cum| C em̃; poss em̃ (cp. 114 em̃ = enim) 92 dist. ca.| C. prob distinctionis capite

103 quam| C qũ (In Aug. iii, 42 quam): poss quando 107 generibus| C gnibus

Græce & Chaldeæ linguarum notitiam, duo videlicet vniuscuiusque linguæ periti, qui scholas regant inibi, & libros de linguis ipsis fideliter in latin. transferentes, alias linguas ipsas sollicitè doceant. Postea statuit eis stipendium, neque enim me mouet, quod in Clementinis quidam cauillantur eas  
 115 linguas commendari, quib. apud Barbaros Euangel. doceri potest. Si tant<sup>9</sup> honos habitus est linguis, quibus vulgo loquendum esset indoctis, quanto plus honoris debetur ijs linguis, quibus cu. Mose, cu. Isaia, cu. Salomone, cum Apostolis, & ipso Christo colloquamur. Quid venit in mentem Leoni  
 120 x. vt Romam vndiq. præmijs euocaret, qui linguas profiterent', inter quos Marcum Mosurum etiam archiepiscopatus honore decorauit. Quid Regi Gallorum? qui nullis parcat impendijs, quo suæ academix, totique regioni decus hoc linguarum adiungat. Quid clarissimo Saxonix duci, quid tot academijs germanix, Italiæ & Angliæ, quarum nulla fere non habet linguarum professores? Iam credimus iudicium defuisse clarissimo viro  
 125 Hieronymo Buslidio, qui fraudatis etiam fratribus suis, tantam pecunie vim ad linguis adiuuandam rem literariam destinauit? Iam si græcæ linguæ præcipuus honos tribuitur, quod huic humanæ disciplinæ concredite sint, & per hanc contingit, vt Platonem, Aristotelem, aut Theophrastum sua lingua loquentem audiamus, quantum honoris debetur Hebrææ linguæ, vnde  
 130 hauserunt, si quid habent egreg. græcæ philosophiæ autores, si propiores lacune suam habent dignitatem, quantum honoris habendum est ipsi fonti, Multa habentur in precio, non ob aliud, nisi quod necessaria sunt, quem admod. iuxta Paulum ijs membris, quæ cu. par. honesta sint, tu. necessarijs vsibus destinata sunt, copiosiores habemus honorem. Et hoc plus  
 135 debetur honoris, quo preclarius est, ad quod vsus conducit, proinde quo preclarior est res theologia, hoc honoracior haberi debet linguarum peritia, quam tot locis diuus Augustinus tot locis Hieronymus nec vno loco decreta consultaque pontificum, ad cognitionem diuinæ scripturæ indicant necessariam, Non enim dicam vtilem, qmodo leges si lras nescias? Quomodo intel  
 140 liges qd legis, si lingu. nescias, Quis enim audiat istos qui crasse dicunt, tempus olim hoc postulabat, nunc aliud est tempus. Hieronymus hæc omnia nobis interpretatus est, hic satis est, Non sapiend. plus qm oportet, vt postremis incipiam, non plus sapit quam oportet, qui rem aliquam aggressus ea comparat, quæ sunt ad eam necessariam. Sed qui his contemptis, ar  
 145 rogat sibi quod non intelligit. ¶ Quod si vertisse satis est, verterant & septuaginta, quorum interpretatione vsque ad ætatem Hieronymi vsa est ecclesia, verterant post hos Symmachus, Theodocion & Aquila, Si Hieronym., post tot interpretes non sine fructu laborem tant. sumpsit, qd vetat, etiam post Hieronym. esse. qd e fontibus sit petendum, Homo erat  
 150 Hieronymus, multa nesciuit, Alicubi dormitauit, quædam casu præterijt, Quedam ab illo controuersa interciderunt, multa deprauata sit, vt

A iij

114 cauillantur] C -iant'

120 Mos-] C

144 necessariâ. Sed qui his contemptis] C

149 Homo] om ind by blot

151 multa deprauata sit] C : prob r sunt



omittam quod nec illa quæ Hieronymus annotauit, intelligi plene va-  
lent, sine mediocri linguæ peritia, quia illud quod præstitit, libris Hebreis  
debut, hinc est quod persæpe a 70. interpretibus discrepat, non quia ve-  
155 teres damnaret aut reprehenderet, ver. illis cunctis Apostolos præferre ma-  
luit, vtpote quod aliter audita, aliter visa narrantur. Quare in præfatione  
Pentatechi, sic ait, sicubi in translatione tibi videor errare, interroga  
hebreos, diuersarum vrbium magistros consule, Iam est sua cuique linguæ  
proprietas, q. nullo sermone pot. exprimi, sæpe in ipsis apicibus latet myste-  
160 rium, at apices in alien. linguam no. transmigrant, testor eos qui nuper ce-  
perunt his lris oper. dare, an senciant fructum aliqu., Qd si illis successit,  
cur aut ingrate dissimulamus, aut prauè discere nolumus, quod scire est  
op.præc., Ridicul. est aut. distinguere tempora, null. tempus no. est discende  
linguæ Hebraicæ Græcæq., nisi cu. tempus non est discende doctrinæ sacre,  
165 immo nunc maxime tempus est, olim passim, dispersis hæbreis licebat eos  
consulere si quid vrgebat, nunc & paucissimi sunt, & hi ipsi qui sunt,  
perpaucos habent eruditos. Cur clanculum domi discimus, quod foris re-  
prehendimus? cur cum fide audiuntur, qui reprehendunt quod nesciunt, non  
tulerunt Apellis ministri, Alexandrum de pictura disserentem, theologi  
170 officium est, non verba sol., ver.eti. apices omnes excutere mysticæ scrip-  
turæ. Siquidem in his nihil omnino ociosum esse, & quatenus ipse testa-  
tus est, ac mysterium sæpenumero in syllabis latet, ac literis & punctis in  
ipsis linguæ idiomatibus seu proprietatibus. Quid hic faciet Theologus  
linguarum ignarus? nimirum, aut fide hallucinetur oportet, aut alieno  
175 duci se paciatur ingenio. Quod si magis libet rem ex antiquitate æstimare,  
vna cum ipsis mundi primordijs Hæbrea lingua cepit, Hic est sermo na-  
turæ nondum viciatæ, Sin ab autoribus, hac nobis locuti sunt Moses &  
prophetæ, hac ipsa Christus, hac prim. Apostoli celitus afflati, mundo pre-  
dicarunt Euangelium, ad hanc velut ad oraculum nos relegat Pontificum au-  
180 toritas, Si quid heretur, tres linguæ consecratæ sunt in cruce dei nostri  
Ihesu Christi, inter has primum locum habet Hæbraica, cur duas præcipuas  
explodimus? terciam neglectim discimus? Postremo, cur hi maxime  
reclamant linguis, ad quos potissimum attinet linguarum vtilitas? Cur  
inuidemus nobis ipsis hanc vtilitatem? Cur inuidemus hanc laudem  
185 huic Academiæ? Quid quod hi qui moluntur linguas exigere, nihil aliud  
quam linguar. gloriam illustant, non secus quam olim Roman. Imperium  
hostium improbitate redditum est Augustius, Neque enim opprimi possunt,  
quæ iam in omnes academias recepte, summis principibus, tantopere  
cordi sunt, Proinde vos hortor omnes, vt concordibus animis simul &  
190 vestris studijs, & huius florentissimæ scholæ dignitati & meis conatibus  
consulatis, quod si feceritis, reddetis hanc academiam ex florentissima  
florentiorem, reddetis theologiam, ex magnifica prorsus absolutam,  
Neque vt primum & solum theologica facultas ex hoc magis illustrabitur,

157 Pentatechi] C

180 dei; e ppr : poss a 'tildc' wh sltpped down : prob r dī (domini)

185 moluntur] C : prob r moliuntur

187 Augustius] C

quin vniuersæ scholæ æstimatio maior fiet, Tametsi omnium legum dig-  
 195 nitas, ita hic tota splendet, vt cum ipsis etiam Athenis decertare possit,  
 Itemque medicina adeo non vilescat, vt etiam alumnos habeat, qui non  
 postremum apud Aurelianum gymnasium locum sint habituri, vt in-  
 terim taceam, quod cum Louaniensi nulla sit conferenda vniuersitas,  
 quantum ad arcium liberalium cognitionem attinet, tamen nonnihil  
 200 accedit emolumenti, plus honoris, fructus plurimum si hoc quoque  
 ornamentum genere splendescat. Quod si in ea tempestate, nomen eius  
 tam famatum vt nunc est fuisset, qua pontificum constitutionibus cau-  
 tum est, vt in quattuor illis academijs tres linguæ publice traderentur,  
 nemini dubium est, quin vel in primis curatum foret, ne id ab ea iam deside-  
 205 raretur, Adeste animis, incumbite studijs, efficiam christo optimo,  
 maximo fauente vt intelligatur hanc operam vestram optime collo-  
 catam fuisse, vestra alacritas meam extimulabit diligentiam, vester dis-  
 cendi ardor, meum ad docendum animum excitabit, hactenus quo-  
 rundam frigus fecit, vt ipse quoque languerem, Nunc re velut instau-  
 210 rata, denuo certemus, vtrum ego diligentior fuerim in docendo, quam  
 vos in discendo, res ipsa vos docebit, amicum ac salutare fuisse consilium.

¶ Habita fuit hæc oratio in collegio Buslidiano Louaniensi non  
 alio studio quam vt trium linguarum peritia commendaretur Theologiæ stu-  
 diosis, quas qua gratia & gratitudine Magistri nostri Louanienses dig-  
 215 nati sint, ex eo licet intelligere, quod communi Consilio Iacobum La-  
 tomum incitarunt, vt Apologiam pro barbariæ linguarum & vniuersæ  
 eruditionis hoste meditaretur, quam & Antuerpiæ (cum Louanij forte  
 metuerent) opera occulta excudi curauerunt, In qua tamen dei fidem,  
 quid aliud præter calumnias friuolas legendas orbi tradiderunt, cum  
 220 vir ille bonus, vbi autoritatibus & rationibus deficeret artium (quas  
 mechanicas vocant) similitudinibus censeret agendum, quasi linguarum  
 & artium similis esse queat conditio, & Spiritus sanctus Apostolos  
 non voluerit pictores & cantores simul facere, cum varijs linguis  
 faceret Oratores, Verum tu ipse lector, quid valeant eiusmodi nugæ

225 *citra nostram operam facile iudicabis, Non omnes Louanienses intelligo  
vel Dorpium, virum optimum excipio, quod ingenium quid semper sapiat,  
sua oratione abunde testatur.*

Per me Mattheum Adrianum Medicinarum doctorem Christi militem,  
sacrarum literarum professorem, ipso die Benedicti, Anno salutis nostræ.

230                      1            5            1            9.

**Q V V I T T E N B E R G A E,**  
per loh, Grunenberg.  
M, D, XX.

*Explanatory Notes, continued from p 534.*

62. Faustum] viz., Faustus Andrelinus, and his reception in Paris :  
cp. before, pp 170-71.
64. malignitas &c] evidently a reference to the recent incident of  
Alard's inhibited lectures : cp. before, pp 316-20.
68. Mus &c] *ErAdag.*, 332, B : *Virum improbum vel mus mordeat*.
71. homine elingui] viz., James Latomus, who in his *Dialogus*, owned  
that he had hardly a right to dispute 'de tribus linguis ... qui ne  
vnam quidem nouerit' : cp. *LatoDial.*, 44, and before, pp 327, 328.
72. domi docet] Latomus taught Latin in his *Domus Pauperum* and  
the Pedagogy of the Porc : cp. *ClenE*, 44-46 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 437, sq ;  
and before, p 325.
78. Origeni &c] *MigneGr.*, xii, 11, sq, 649, 1083.
81. Hieronymo &c] *MigneL*, xxii, 745, sq.
86. nihil scire &c] *MigneL*, xxv, 1384.
90. maxime fidem &c] cp. before, pp 176-77.
92. vt veterum &c] the quotation is not complete : references to that  
matter are found in *AugO*, i, 592, iii, 42-43, 590, iv, 1539, vii, 604-5,  
viii, 214, and those mentioned in the notes following ; cp. before,  
pp 310, 330, sq, 335, sq.
94. ca. xii] also ch. xiv : *AugO*, vii, 452-455.
97. Et latine ... (100) varietas] quoted from *De Doctrina Christiana*,  
ii, xi : *AugO*, iii, 42 ; cp. also 38-43, 603-5 ; and before, pp 339-40.
105. Concilio Viennensi &c] cp. Sandys, i, 607, and before, p 271.
115. linguas ... apud Barbaros] cp. before, p 332.
118. Leoni X] cp. Sandys, ii, 107, sq, 78, sq ; *Pastor*, iv, i, 475-78.
120. Marcum Mosurum] Sandys, ii, 79, sq ; *Pastor*, iv, i, 476, sq ; and  
before, pp 335-36.
125. fraudatis ... fratribus] cp. before, pp 304-5.
133. Paulum] *I Ep. ad Cor.*, xii, 23 : quæ putamus ignobiliora membra  
esse corporis, his honorem abundantiore circumdamus...
141. Hieronymus &c] cp. before, p 336.
156. præfatione Pentatechi] *MigneL*, xxiii, 935-38.
165. dispersis hæbreis &c] cp. *LatDial.*, 64 ; and before, pp 330, 336.
169. Apellis ... Alexandrum] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 85 ; *EOO*, IV, 314, E.
180. consecratæ ... in cruce] cp. before, pp 311, 332, 337, 345 ; *AugO*, iv,  
692, v, 1085.
212. Habita &c] cp. before, pp 334, sq.
215. communi Consilio] cp. before, pp 334, 346.
220. artium &c] cp. before, pp 58, 332, 338.
226. Dorpium] cp. before, pp 444-45 ; his *Oratio* was published in  
September 1519, six months after Adrianus pronounced his reply  
to Latomus' *Dialogus*.

## APPENDIX II

## DIALOGUS BILINGUIUM AC TRILINGUIUM

## The Texts

The *Dialogus Bilinguium ac Trilinguium* was composed in Louvain by William Nesen, chiefly from the scraps of Erasmus' impressions of the events, in the month of July 1519, and printed by, or for, Conrad Resch in Paris, as it was sold *sub Scuto Basiliensi*, his ensign, in the last days of July or the very first of August; it is pretendedly called a shrove-tide recreation in the letter to the reader, dated Paris, Febr. 25, 1519. That original edition, *P*, has as title <sup>1)</sup>:

ERVDITI ADVLESCEN / tis Chonradi Nastadiëfis Ger / mani  
Dialogus faneq̃ fefti- / uus bilinguium ac tri- / linguium,  
fiue de / funere Cal- / liopes. /// Sub scuto Bafilienfi  
venale / comperies.

There is a letter to the reader on *f* a 1, *v*; the text begins on *f* a 2, *r*, with the repetition of the title, the initial *S* being in a big ornamented square; the text finishes on *f* biiij, *v*, with the colophon:

CHONRADI NASTADI- / enfis Germani, bilinguium / ac  
trilinguium feu de / funere Calli- / opes, / DIALOGI FINIS.

That edition became known in Louvain in the beginning of August 1519, and caused a sensation <sup>2)</sup>. In reply to a general demand, it was reprinted at Basle by John Froben; that issue, *B*, has as title <sup>3)</sup>:

ERVDITI ADVLESCENTIS CHON- / radi Nastadienfis Germani  
Dia / logus fane quàm festiuus Bi- / linguium ac trilin-  
guium, / fiue de funere Cal- / liopes.

<sup>1)</sup> Quarto, 11 leaves: *sign.* a-a<sup>8</sup>, bj-biiij, b<sub>4</sub> being blank: there is a copy in the British Museum: pressmark 12330. aa. 55. — The text of that edition is reproduced by Haupt, in his *Wilhelm und Conrad Nesen* (Zittau, 1843): 77, *sq*; his copy has a manuscript note on the title page: 'Oct. 1519'. Steiz also refers to that edition. Cp. before, pp 397, *sq*, 407.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before. pp 400, *sq*.

<sup>3)</sup> Quarto, seven leaves: A-A<sup>8</sup>, A<sup>8</sup> being blank. — There are two copies amongst Rhenanus' books at Schlettstadt: *CatSél.*, 294, n<sup>os</sup> 1017 and 1018: judging by Albert Burer's letter to his master of Sept. 30, 1519, they are what remains of a larger number in his possession: RhenE, 180; another copy belongs to the *Kongelige Bibliothek* of Copenhagen: 178. II. 15; a fourth is described in *CatHalle*, 69, as being part of a set of seven pamphlets issued by J. Froben in 1518 and 1519, bound together at Cologne in a fine volume for 'Franciscus Galen'. — Judging from the description (of pages, initial and colophon) given in Iseghem, 286-87, the copy, attributed to Thierry Martens as printer, must have been issued also by John Froben. — Cp. before, p 407.

That second edition differs from the first in many points : instead of 20, there are only 12 pages : the letter to the reader takes up A, v, and the text begins on A 2, r, and finishes on A 7, r ; A 7, v, has the colophon, which is entirely in upper-case letters. The type is much smaller ( $\pm 45$  letters and spaces on a line, against  $\pm 32$  in *P* and  $\pm 36$  in *S*, and 29 lines on a page, against 22 in *P* and 24 in *S*) ; there is a running title (missing in *P*, but imitated in *S*), and catchwords are used, which are missing in the other editions. The big initial *S*, which in *P* is entwined about a stem with a fleur-de-lis at each end, and with six voluted branches, is replaced by a large *S* with a kneeling angel boy blowing a trumpet and carrying a bell or crotal. — The composition also varies : the initial  $\nabla$  of *P* is changed into *u*, and the second *i* of *ii*, into *j* : *ij* ; a few mistakes of *P* (ll 13, 62, 88, 170, 208, 292, 329, 490, 533) are corrected, whereas some are reproduced (ll 81, 137, 156, 223, 340, 454), or wrongly altered (l 86), and others are introduced (ll 84, 181, 458).

There is a third edition, which, like the two others, lacks the name of the printer, but, different from them, has the date : 'm. d. xx.' in the colophon : it is ascribed by Proctor, 11980, to Lazarus Schürer, who started a printing office at Schlettstadt in the autumn of 1519, and issued the *Epigrammata* by Sapidus on March 1, 1520 <sup>1)</sup>. That edition, *S*, extends over fourteen leaves <sup>2)</sup> ; it offers a text which is enlarged by smaller and larger insertions, and is described on the title as 'Exactissime ad auctoris archetypum / recognitus' : on account of those additions, it is reproduced here, from the copy in the British Museum <sup>3)</sup>. That issue also exhibits several variants : the arrangement is evidently influenced by the type used : the Roman letter is smaller than that in which Schürer printed that same year the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Lovaniensibus* (about 36 letters and spaces on a line, against 32 for a similar width, and 24 lines per page against 27). Still the characteristic Greek type of the *Dialogus* is identical with that of the *Epistola*. The initial *S* is much smaller : it is only three lines deep (against 6 in *P* and over 7 in *B*). As to the setting, the third issue follows the example of the second, and changes the initial  $\nabla$ 's into *u*'s, and the final *-ii* into *-ij* ; it also takes over the corrections of some of the misprints in *P* (e. g., ll 13, 62, 170, 208, 292, 490, &c), as well as some alterations made in *B* (ll 17, 177, &c), whereas it occasionally rectifies *B* (ll 84, 223, &c), and has, in many places, a reading which seems quite its own (ll 81, 86, 88, 137, 156, 322, 340, &c) : this does not apply to the changes (ll 467-79) nor the deletion (l 311) brought about, nor to the several phrases and passages added by the author in the third edition <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> ClemDial., 362 ; RhenE, 186. Cp. before, p 410.

<sup>2)</sup> Quarto, sign. A<sub>1</sub>-A<sub>8</sub>, B<sub>1</sub>-B<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>3)</sup> Press-mark 12314. aa. 57 ; Rhenanus' copy is still preserved in CatSél., 294 : n° 1016.

<sup>4)</sup> Like the other variants, they are indicated in the *Textual Notes*.

Those additions to the original text as represented in *P* and *B*, were already mentioned on Jan. 4, 1520 by Zwingli in his letter to Myconius : ‘*Erasmus dialogum bi- et trilinguam auxit festissime*’ : it implies that, if the reprint had not yet appeared in the last days of 1519 or the very first of 1520, a manuscript copy with the enlargement was in circulation amongst the friends, and was published soon afterwards. That Zwingli referred to Erasmus as author, is a certain proof that he did not derive his information from the original draft or from a letter from Nesen himself, as was the case, a few months — or weeks perhaps, — later, for the *Epistola de M. N. Lovaniensibus* <sup>1)</sup>.

**The Author.** There can be no doubt about William Nesen’s authorship <sup>2)</sup>, considering circumstances, like the bitterness against Dorp <sup>3)</sup>, and the ample supply of information derived from his familiarity with Erasmus. That information is so abundant and exact that it excludes the supposition that the younger brother Conrad should have written this pamphlet <sup>4)</sup>, whereas attributing it to Erasmus at the time when the life of his College was at stake, would be absurd <sup>5)</sup>; even his inciting to writing it would have been sheer madness; nor have ever Nesen or Carinus, even in the days of virulent hostility, as much as hinted at what was certainly a piece of duplicity and of cowardice <sup>6)</sup>. The further fate of this pamphlet has been sketched before <sup>7)</sup>, where its argument is explained, as well as its genesis in the history of the foundation of Busleyden’s Institute <sup>8)</sup>.

**The Edition.** The third issue of the *Dialogus* is reproduced here with as much accuracy as possible, giving an exact idea of the type and of the arrangement <sup>9)</sup>, the various means used as abbreviation, the marks of punctuation, the running titles, and even the misprints and mistaken readings, as well as the inverted letters of the original <sup>10)</sup>: the lines have been numbered and all special cases described in the *Textual Notes*. In fact the only divergence is caused by the absence of abbreviated types for the quotations in Greek, and by a wider printed space necessitated by modern printing: it is expanded to 65 by 102 *mms.*, whereas in the original, not counting either running title or signature, it only measures 61 by 95 *mms.* The readings different from those in the other editions, as well as their pagination, are indicated in the *Textual Notes* <sup>11)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> ZwE, I, 251; cp. bef., pp 410, 466-69.    <sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 396, sq, 401-3, 445.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 401, sq; ClemDial., 358-60.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 407, sq, against ClemDial., 355, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 401, sq; his friend Richard Pace considered it far too childish for Erasmus: *EpErVir.*, 88.    <sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 408-9.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 408-11.    <sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, pp 396, sq, 440, 468.

<sup>9)</sup> The title is reproduced in photogravure.

<sup>10)</sup> It is most strange that nearly all the capital N’s of this edition are inverted as N: e. g., the two on l 2 of the title; cp. McKerrow, 257-58.

<sup>11)</sup> The abbreviations used are indicated on pp 24, 533, besides *P*, *B* and *S*, for the Paris, Basle and Schlettstadt editions: cp. pp 407, sq.

# ERVDITI

ADVLESCENTIS CHON

radi Nastadiensis Germani

Dialogus saneꝝ festivus

bilinguium actriꝝ

linguium, siue

de funere Cal

liopes.

Exactissime ad autoris archetypum  
recognitus.



CHONRADVS NASTA-  
dientis Germanus, amico  
lectori S.

Quoniam uidebam studiorum in-  
5 tentionem laxandam esse admixtis lu-  
dicris, & Lutetiæ receptum esse morem  
ut his diebus quæ nobis minantur pro-  
ximam esse quadragesimam, iuuentus  
literatis iocis sese satis licenter exerceret,  
10 uisum est & mihi ex publico more lepi-  
re, lufiqz dialogum bilinguium ac trilin-  
guium, ad huius ætatis statum alludens,  
sed ita leuiter ut ipse non possim institu-  
ti mei rationem reddere. Quisquis hæc  
15 leges exporrige frontem, & faciem ar-  
gumento temporeqz dignam fume.

Bene uale. Lutetiæ, quinto  
Caleñ. Martias.

13 possim] B, S; P possum

17 quinto] B, S; P 5.

1 CHONRADVS &c] cp. before, pp 399, sq, 407, sq.

8 quadragesimam] in 1519, Ash-Wednesday was on March 9 : cp. before, p 398.

11 bilinguium] *bilinguis*, a word of abuse, meant : double-tongued, hypocrite : cp. ll 484-94 : Pfefferkorn, in his *Streydtpuechlin*, 1516, thus calls Reuchlin, who in a woodcut is represented with two tongues sticking out of his mouth : Philippson, 20. Erasmus often made the opposition of *bilinguis* and *trilinguis*, evidently meaning more than the arithmetical difference : on March 6, 1518, he wrote from Louvain : *Ex bilinguibus hic omnes trilingues reddimur* ; on January 14, 1518, he mentioned that the *Collegium Trilingue* was cried down by such as *bilingues esse malunt* : Allen, III, 761, 63, 794, 75 ; cp. before, pp 252, 261 ; also Merker, 25.

## CHONRADI NASTADIEN

20 fis Germani Dialogus bilingui  
um ac trilingui-  
um.

## INTERLOCVTORES

Mercurius Baramia

25 Titus Pomponius.

## MERCVRIVS.

**S** Aluete trilingues. B A R A. Salom  
Salomi. T I T. χάρους καὶ σύ γε, πάγ  
γλωττε. P O M. Salue Mercuri, deo  
30 rum linguaciffime. M E R. Quid fi e  
tribus linguis faciam nouem? B A R A.  
Id tibi quidem perfacile factū, qui prae-  
ftigium ac magiam eximie calleas. T I  
TVS. ποίει γούν ευθέως. M E R. tres eftis  
35 P O M. ni fallor. M E R. Et fingulis  
ternæ sunt linguæ. P O M. Efto. M E R.  
Nouem igitur linguæ sunt uobis, nifi  
falſum eſt, e ternione triplicato nafci τὴν  
ἐννεάδα T I T. Næ tu probe ſophiſtam  
40 agis. Idem e duobus ouis, quinq3 reddi-  
A ij

19 CHONRADI] P a 2, r, B A 2, r 37 -tur &c] P a 2, v  
39 ἐννεάδα] B, S; P ενν- 40 Idem... (42) bestiam] S; P, B om

- 27 Salom Salomi] viz., <sup>v</sup> *salem*, greeting, my greeting.  
41 *seminigro* &c] allusion to the dress of the Dominicans (white coat, black scapular and cloak) and that of the Carmelites (brown coat, white cloak. Cp. ll 345, 374, and Allen, v, 1482, 9 : *atratus* [Egmondanus].  
52 Crasso] evidently M. Licinius Crassus Dives, consul with Pompey in 70, *triumvir* in 60, who died in 55, when the Parthian king Orodes poured melted gold into the mouth of the famous money-hunter.  
55 *musodiocetis*] probably banished (διωκτός) by the Muses (Μοῦσαι), viz., enemies of languages and literature : the word does not sound Erasmus-like.  
58 *amaricino* &c] ErAdag., 165, D : *Nihil cum amaricino sui*.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- deris si lubeat. MER. Imo ex femini-  
gro et femialbo monacho piceam beſti-  
am. BAR. Sed utinam quod in lin-  
guis facis, idem facias in nummis. Ve-  
45 rû hac in re magis propitius ac dexter  
es Midis quibuſlibet, q̃ nobis. Nam tri-  
linguibus nobis vix aliquando ſunt au-  
rei ſinguli. MER. Non eſt meum om-  
nibus impartire omnia, qui ſtudeo pla-  
50 cere cûctis. POM. Atqui uel reſpiceres  
nõnũq̃. MER. Quid multis ? nõq̃ cõue-  
nit linguis & nûmis. Craſſo facili<sup>9</sup> erat  
ſeſtertiũ, aut etiã talentũ pmere q̃ uerbũ.  
Illis tinnitus eſt in ſcrinio, uobis in pala-  
55 to. Sed qui cõuenit uobis cû muſodio  
ctis ? TIT. Itidem ut agnis cum lupis.  
MER. Ha ha he. Quid narras ? Imo ſi-  
cut cum amaricino ſuibis, opinor. TI.  
Nullæ induciæ, nulle belli feriæ. MER.  
60 Quur non præbetis vos fortes uiros.  
POM. Imo pluſq̃z fortes, ſed phalangi-  
bus & agmine nebulonum uincimur.  
Ad hæc meræ excetræ ſunt omnes. Sin-  
guli nonnunq̃z cum ſex milibus congre-

53 ſeſtertium &c] BA 2, v  
60 præbetis &c] Pa 3, r

57 Imo... (58) opinor] S; P, B om  
62 uincimur] B, S; P vicimur

- 69 Franchfordiam] viz., to the Frankfurt ſpring Fair.  
77 Ana ana] viz., *ā'nnā*, interjection : I pray ! pray thee !  
85 Foris &c] it was generally objected to the theologians that they  
were particular and ſevere for others, and blind and very lax for  
themſelves.  
86 talpis &c] ErAdag., 133, f.  
86 Tiresijs &c] ErAdag., 134, c; Juvenal, *Sat.* XIII, 249.  
93 Mauors] *Ilias*, v, 454, sq.  
94 ἐς κόρααζ] ErAdag., 446, b.  
96 dij ... ſunt] evidently an alluſion to the great pride and arrogant  
vanity of the M. N. (*Magiſtri Noſtri*), the doctors of theology,

## D I A L O G V S.

- 65 dimur, & vna quapiam confecta belua  
decem existunt huius uice. MER. Vt  
semper fuit pessimarum rerum mira fo-  
cunditas. BAR. Sed quo tu nunc pro-  
peras Mercuri? MER. Franchfordiam  
70 BARA. Franchfordiam? Quid eo?  
MER. Quid rogitas? ut rem bene for-  
tuncm furibus, impostoribus, periuris,  
foeneratoribus & nugiendis. BAR.  
Credo. POM. O dij immortales,  
75 quam ego pompam procul conspicio?  
pape pape. TIT.  $\varphi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \varphi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \varphi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}$ . BARA.  
Ana ana. MER. Adfunt. Hanc fabu-  
lam eram vobis narraturus, sed prius  
nos omnes nube densissima sepiam,  
80 quo magis liceat per otium & tuto con-  
templari. Quin hoc ipso ceu per con-  
spicillum acutius perspiciemus. BAR-  
ARA. Quid? an cernunt tam procul, vt  
e tanto interuallo nos queant agnosce-  
85 re? MER. Foris nihil non uident, do-  
mi talpis ac Tiresijs omnibus caecutien-  
tiores. POM. Sed quid istos tantope-  
re metuis Mercuri, cum sis deus? MER.

A iij

72 fortunem] S; P, B -nem      81 Quin] S; P, B, quum (BA 3, v)  
84 e] S, P; B om      86 caecutientiores] S; P caecutiores; B caeciores  
88 metuis] S; P, B metues

which is criticized and ridiculed by the humanists: cp. *EpMag-Nos.*, II 58, 501, sq.

102 ain] ain' for aisne: *Thesaur.*, s. v. Aio, referring to *viden'* and Terence (*Hauton Timorumenos*, 242: Ain tu).

111  $\chi\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\mu\tilde{\tau}\varsigma$ ] words used as a claim to half of the object found by another person: Arist., *Rhet.*, II, 24, 2; Theophrastes, *Charact.*, 30.

116 *Lucri gratia*] the avarice of monks and priests was one of the great objections raised by humanists.

119 *negotiantur &c*] all trade and lucre is prohibited to *clerici* by the Canon Law.

121 *illaqueandis ... sacerdotijs*] another of the great evils of that time.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- Quidni & vnus & inermis tam mul-  
 90 tos metuam armatos ? B A R. Arma-  
 tos ? nihil equidem armorum uideo.  
 M E R. magis armati sunt ueneno q̃z  
 vnq̃z ipse Mauors Homericus sua pano-  
 plia. T I T. ἐς κόρακας. sed quod mon-  
 95 strorum genus est ? M E R. Bona uer-  
 ba, dij deæq̃z sunt omnes. P O M. an ta-  
 lia monstra habet cælum ? M E R. An  
 tu putas nufq̃z esse deos præterq̃z in cœ-  
 lo ? sunt & in terris, quorum tam irrita-  
 100 bilis est maieestas, ut non uereantur uel  
 ipsi Ioui oppedere, si quis laceffat. P O M  
 P O. ain uero ? fortasse Febres sunt &  
 Pallores, aut Veioues. M E R C. Non  
 sunt, verum his aliquanto nocentiores.  
 105 Ad ledendum & artifices sunt & uiri,  
 ad iuuandum mera somnia. Immo hoc  
 ipsum summi beneficij loco imputant,  
 si leuiter lesisse contenti sint, sed indica-  
 bo singulos cum propius accefferint.  
 110 Postremo scitis me deum omnibus cō-  
 munem uel Græcorum prouerbio κοι-  
 νός ἐρμῆς, nolim hos prorsus offendere.

92 MER. &amp;c] B A 3, r

97 cælum] S; P, B cœlum

103 MERC. &amp;c] P a 4, r

104 verum ... (108) sint,] S; P, B om

122 captandisque testamentis] cp. *EpMagNos.*, l 540.

124 uertunt in aurum] allusion to the 'Alcumici', as the author calls the 'Alcumistæ'.

134 captatores] *Captator* : He that indeuoreth to procure any thing &c : *Thesaur.*, s. v. *capto*.134 lututores] apparently a derivation from *futuo* : *Thesaur.*, s. v. : To do the acte of generation.135 quadruplatores] *Thesaur.*, s. v., refers to Cicero, and explains : 'He that for accusing had the fourth parte of the persons goodes condemned' : — possibly an allusion to what was practised for the payment of the inquisitors.

## D I A L O G V S.

- B A R A. Quid tibi cum istis portentis  
qui musis es amicus ? M E R. Ab his fic  
115 color ut a nullis impensius. B A R A.  
Quo tandem nomine ? M E R. Lucri  
gratia. Neq3 enim est ullum deorū aut  
hominum genus his auarius B A R A.  
Quid audio, negotiantur isti ? M E R.  
120 Non ditescunt commutadis mercibus  
sed illaqueandis, emendis, distrahendis  
sacerdotijs, captandisq3 testamentis, is  
questus nunc multo est uberrimus. deni  
q3 nihil isti non uertunt in aurum, hoc  
125 uel ipfis Alcemicis superiores. Quin &  
uenalem habent sanctimoniam, ex au-  
ri contemptu simulato, uim auri cōflan-  
tes. B A R A. Theologorum morbum  
mihi narras. M E R. Theologorum,  
130 sed qui cum monachis quibusdam cer-  
tamen susceperint, cum quibus omni-  
bus malis rebus ita decertant, ut plerun-  
q3 precurrant. B A R A. proh Iuppiter  
Dij captatores ? M E R. Quin etiam fu-  
135 tutores, quadruplatores & impostores  
maximi. nam terreni sunt, ut dixi. Sed  
A iiij

123 denique ... (127) confiantes.] S; P, B om

129 MER ... (133) BARA.] S; P, B om

136 Sed &amp;c] P a 4, v

- 148 ista laus est horum] *ista*, viz., *incestus*; *horum*, viz., *theologorum*.  
153 prætextus &c] the author contests, like many of his contemporaries, the malice of *crimen* to heresy; Jud. de Damhouder, in *Praxis Rerum Criminalium*: Antwerp, 1562: LXI, 50-61, calls it a 'crimen læsæ Maiestatis diuinæ', to be sentenced by death in case of a pertinacious negation of what is properly proposed by faith.  
160 molien &c] the humanists were considered as identical with the *poetæ*, the adversaries of the *theologi* in the Reuchlin quarrel; it was as if they disputed the latter's hegemony over studies and spiritual management.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- tace, iam in cōspectum ueniunt omēs.  
 POM. Quid portat? MER. efferunt  
 funus. POM. Quodnā? MER. Callio  
 140 pes. TI. ἐνρήμει, perijt Calliope? MER.  
 Nequaquē, imo uiuā efferunt. BARA.  
 Obsecro, quid hoc mali est Mercuri? effe  
 rūt uiuam? MER. Prorfus, ut præcipitē  
 dent aliquo, neq; enim dignabunt se-  
 145 pultura. BARA. Quid commeritā?  
 MER. atrox est crimen. POMPO.  
 quod nam obsecro, nū incestus? MER.  
 Apage, nihil huiusmodi, ista laus est ho  
 rum. POMP. Peculatus? MERC.  
 150 Aliorum hic morbus est. TIT. Quid  
 diuinemus de Calliope? MER. Da-  
 mnata est hærefeos. TIT. Quid istud  
 est criminis? MER. Hic prætextus est  
 non crimen. POM. Quo iudice da-  
 155 mnata est? MER. Ipsi partes omnes  
 egerunt iudicis actoris & rei. POM.  
 Si hærefis est prætextus, quodnam igi-  
 tur est uerum crimen? MERC. Lefæ  
 maieftatis, aduersus quam conspiraue-  
 160 rat cum suis Calliope, moliens istorum

137 tace, iam; S; P, B tace iam, 142 -secro quid &c| B A 3, v  
 156 iudicis actoris| S; P, B iudices actores 158 crimen &c| P a 5, r

- 167 in mundo &c] that statement cannot have been very true, judging,  
 e. g., by the order of the Deputies of the University to priests about  
 sending away their concubines, which was repeatedly insisted on  
 by the Faculty of Arts, e. g., on Nov. 16 and December 15 and 22,  
 1524, in her (now lost) *Liber Actorum VII*.  
 172 apud Homerum] evidently the βοηδρόμος of *Ilias*, xv, 236, sq; also  
 i, 34, sq, iv, 506, sq, v, 431, sq, xv, 218-390, xvi, 700, sq, xvii, 582, sq,  
 xx, 82, sq, xxi, 514, sq, xxiv, 18, sq.  
 189 Ate] viz., John Briart, professor of Theology, called after his native  
 town Ath, *Athenis*, which Erasmus made into *Atensis*: cp. before,  
 pp 303, 301, sq, 313, sq, 329, &c.

## D I A L O G V S

tyrannidem e medio tollere. P O M.  
 regnant usq̃ ista portēta ? M E R. Nuf  
 q̃ nō regnāt, in aulis, in senatibus, in iu  
 dicijs, i scholis, in mercatib<sup>9</sup>, in curijs, in  
 165 ædib<sup>9</sup>, usqz ad ipfos thalamos. Nusquā  
 nō penetrant. Cū interim negent se in  
 mūdo uerfari, uer<sup>m</sup> in nubibus ac nebu  
 lis habere sedē. Et sane sunt extra mun  
 dum, sed ita, ut acris pituita est extra cor  
 170 pus egroti. T I T. ὀλεθροί, sed ubi reli  
 quæ sorores ? cur non quemadmodum  
 apud Homerum, frater adest fratri, ita  
 hic sorores sorori fuerūt præsidio ? M E R  
 C V. Quid uirgines inermes aduersus  
 175 tam multos ? Per tumultum aliæ alio  
 diffugere. B A R A. An arcum desijt  
 habere Apollo ? M E R. Tum forte ci  
 thara in manibus erat. deinde quanq̃ ar  
 cus aderat, sagittæ pleræqz carebant acu  
 180 mine, eas Vulcano farciendas locauit.  
 Id simulatqz factum erit, facile discutiet  
 horum triumphum. B A R. Sed quis  
 deorum, aut quæ dearum, quæ ducit  
 agmen uarium ? M E R. Dij talem ter

A v

164 , in mercatibus ... (170) egroti.] S; P, B om 170 ὀλεθροί.] S; P ὀλ-; B ὀλ-  
 173 hic] S; P, B hæ 177 cithara] B, S; P cyth- 181 Id] P, S; B om

192 Noxa] cp. before, p 347.

193 Aten illam &c] Ἄτη : *Ilias*, xix, 129 : αὖτις ἐλεῦσεσθαι, Ἄτην,  
 ἥ πάντας ἄττει.

197 Homeric description] *Ilias*, xix, 91, sq, 126, sq, ix, 504, sq.

198 teneris] B. was 'Corpore gracili & tenui ... Statura fuit paulo infra  
 quam iusta' : *Briart*, 392, v-393, r ; cp. *EpMagNos.*, 12, sq.

202 dea Podagra] B. suffered several years from gout, which, towards  
 the end, often kept him in his room : *Briart*, 395, v, 397, r ; *EpMag-*  
*Nos.*, 11, sq.

203 Lucianus] Cp. John Carr, *Dialogues of Lucian* (5 vols.) : London,  
 1774-98 : III : 337-69 : *The Triumphs of the Gout*, translated [in verse]  
 by Gilbert West ; II, 419.



## B I L I N G V I V M

- 185 ris auertite pestem, exitiabile malum est  
 & mortalibus & immortalibus. POM  
 PO. Quodnam Mercuri? MER C.  
 Ate. POM P. dij meliora, cur a me  
 tanta pestis? MER. Ate inq̃ POM.  
 190 Imo a quouis potius q̃ a nobis. MER.  
 Quoties dicam, Ate Ate Ate inq̃ est, &  
 si latine mauultis ipfa Noxa. TITVS.  
 Num Aten illam dicis ἡ πάντα δᾶται,  
 quam olim Iuppiter e celis præcipitem  
 195 dedit. MER. Hæc ipfa est. TIT. Non  
 verisimile dicis mercuri. MER. Qui  
 sic? TIT. quia non conuenit Home-  
 rica descriptio, nam illam facit teneris  
 quidem, sed pernicious pedibus, per ui-  
 200 rorum ac mulierum capita ingredien-  
 tem, & undiq; turbantem omnia. Hæc  
 vix repit, mihi magis ipfa dea Podagra  
 uidetur, quam depinxit tuus Lucianus.  
 MER C. Olim talis erat cum uigeret  
 205 ætas, nunc anum uides. TIT. Sed ean-  
 dem Homerus facit oculis perspicaci-  
 bus, hæc lippit tota, immo semilusca ui-  
 detur MER. Q<sup>d</sup> altero conuiueat ocu

185 -ris &amp;c] P a 5, v

186 &amp; mortalibus &amp;c] B A 4, r

188 meliora] B, S; P -ria

194 celis] P, S; B coelis

203 tuus] S; P, B om

206 facit &amp;c] P a 6, r

208 conuiueat] B, S; P conueniat

207 lippit ... semilusca ... (212) vno] B. is described : Oculis paulo prominentioribus, parumque perspicacibus, ita vt quoties aliquo accuratius intenderet, alterum propemodum clauderet : *Briart*, 392, v.

216 uix bipedalis] cp. note to l 202; *EpMagNos.*, 11.

216 pygmea] cp. note to l 198.

225 Imo tota &c] whereas his master Adrian of Utrecht kept calm in debates and meetings, B. flared up at the least contradiction : si quis sublatius acclamasset, protinus subiratus iurgio subacido remordebat : ratus scilicet qui vehementer adeo, etiam ex sententia proloqueretur & ita errorem pro vero astruere vellet Que sane opinio falsum eum habuit : *Briart*, 396, r.

## D I A L O G V S.

- lo ? T I T. Scilicet M E R. Nihilo de-  
 210 terius cernit hac quidem de causa, si col-  
 limat iaculantium aut fabrorum ritu.  
 T I T. acsi oculo rubricam dirigat vno  
 B A R. Equidem existimabam Aten il-  
 lam immanem esse beluam, quæ vna  
 215 cælites omnes ac terrigenas turbare pos-  
 set, ista uix bipedalis est, pygmea quæ-  
 piam uidetur esse. M E R. Nunq̃ tibi ui-  
 sa seps est, animalculum ipso fere nomi-  
 ne breuius, & tamen non alia pestis ma-  
 220 gis præsentanea. Nunq̃z cantharis ? &  
 huic uirus est exitiale. At vna Ate quan-  
 tumuis pusillum malum, sexcentas can-  
 tharidas veneno uincit. B A R. Tan-  
 tum ne ueneni in tantulo corpusculo ?  
 225 M E R. Imo tota nihil aliud q̃ uenenū  
 est, postq̃z illam recens natam Tisipho-  
 ne, stygiæ paludi totā immerfit, Quod  
 nobis est Ambrosiæ succus quod uobis  
 est sanguis & chymus, hoc isti est merū  
 230 uenenum, hoc sic illi per omne corpus  
 sparsum est, quemadmodum uiperæ, ut  
 præcipua uis tamen sit in lingua. B A-

212 TIT.] S; P, B om      212 acsi] S; P, B ac si      218 est.] S; P, B est ?  
 223 cantharidas] S; P, B -ritas      223 BAR. Tantum ... (291) dixeris.] S; P, B om

- 227 stygiæ paludij] prob. alluding to *στυγέω*, to hate, to abhor.  
 230 uenenum &c] by his peremptory and excitable disposition, and his  
 predominance in the first of the Faculties, B. was responsible for  
 many decisions in the University : also for many difficulties  
 experienced by Erasmus ; on March 4, 1520, Adelmann announced  
 to Pirckheimer that 'Hochstradium bis apud eum Louanii fuisse,  
 ac culpam, quod contrarius sibi fuerit, in Atensem reiecis-  
 se' : Heumann, 189 ; cp. before, p 437. — Nesen considered him as the cause  
 of his exclusion : it explains his cruel revenge.  
 241 buculæ] evidently 'bucculæ'.  
 243 oncon] probably the Greek *ὄγκον*, *ὁ ὄγκος*, in the sense of vanity,  
 inflation, bloatedness.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- R A. Vtinā mihi sit ista lingua. M E R.  
 cui dicares v̄fui ? B A R. Extergendis  
 235 natibus. M E R. Atqui mea sententia  
 præstabat uel urtica extergere, q̄ tali ve-  
 neno. Ego ne matulam quidem putrē  
 aufim tali lingua cōtingere. Aconitum  
 contactu necat. Hæc procul etiam afflat  
 240 uirus immedicabile. B A R. Quid il-  
 li sic tument buculæ pendulæ, Num pul-  
 tem ore gestat ? M E R. Nequaq̄z, imo  
 gestat oncon. B A R A. Vtinam gestet  
 stronton magis. Sed quid ita subinde  
 245 detorquet faciem, nunc in leuum, nunc  
 in dextrum ? M E R. Hoc gestu mina-  
 tur, & placari postulat. B A R A. Ego  
 istam deam perlubens tridente placar-  
 im impacto in caput. M E R C. Sed  
 250 quorū adhibes uitreos oculos ? B A-  
 R A. ut attentius nouum hoc monstrū  
 contempler. Et fane conspicio quod an-  
 te non conspexeram. A fronte pariter at  
 q3 a tergo uincta ducitur. obsecro Mer-  
 255 curi, quæ nam est illa, quæ circulo ferreo  
 traiecto naribus Ates, non fecus ac bu-

- 244 stronton] the author had evidently that vulgar word in his native  
 dialect, or had learned it during his stay in the Netherlands.  
 258 Megera ... Aleto ... (260) Tisiphone] the three Erinyes or Furiae.  
 264 Cacus] Vulcan's son, the thief of the Geryon oxen, slain by Hercules.  
 268 Chole] evidently *χολή*, gall, anger, hatred.  
 269 qui patitur &c] on many occasions, B. was compelled by others to  
 disagreeable measures, e. g., against Erasmus : cp. Allen, 1, p 22,  
 30, sq, iv, 1029, 3, n, 1113, 13, 1123, 17 ; *MonHL*, 193 ; before, p 443 ; it  
 explains Ate being led (by Latomus) as a *bubulus* : ll 255, sq.  
 277 podagra ... (278) chiragra ... cephalagra] B. suffered from gout,  
 stomach-aches and other infirmities for several years : *Briart*,  
 393, r, 397, r.

## D I A L O G V S.

- balum, quo lubet circumagit, Num est  
 Megera? MER. nō est BAR. Num  
 Aleto? MER. ne hæc quidem. BA  
 260 R A. Num Tisiphone? MER. nequa  
 q̄. BAR. Atqui furiatum aliqua uide-  
 tur. Nec plures tribus commemorant  
 poetæ. MER. Nec plures erant, donec  
 uirgines essent furia. At nuper Cacus il-  
 265 le compressit Tisiphonen, hinc hæc nata  
 Ates moderatrix ac domina, parente ac  
 materteris longe pestilentior. BARA.  
 Quod igitur illi nomen? MER. Cho-  
 le. BAR. Sed qui patitur tam inolen-  
 270 tem dominam, cum sit animo prefero-  
 ci? MER. Imo tunc sibi maxime uide-  
 tur regnare stultissima, cum a domina.  
 præceps agitur. Sic est Ates ingenium  
 BARA. Quæ nam a tergo talis reuin-  
 275 ctam uexat. MER. Hæc est Ates non  
 admodum commoda pedissequa. No-  
 men idētidem mutans, nunc podagra  
 nunc chiragra, nunc cephalagra. BAR.  
 Vtinam et glossagra fiat. Verum aut me  
 280 plane fallunt oculi, aut barbescit Ate.

272 domina. | S; r domina

- 282 inter aulicas &c] B. had lived several years at Margaret of York's  
 Court: cp. before, p 302; *MonHL*, 403-4; *Briart*, 393, v-394, r.  
 284 Salmacidas aquas] the water of the *Salmacis* in Caria made  
 effeminate: quare male fortibus undis Salmacis enervet; ... also  
 Cui non audita est obscœnæ Salmacis undæ? Ovid, *Metamorph.*,  
 iv, 286, xv, 319.  
 286 neque uir &c] possibly alludens to B.'s voice: Voce exili quidem  
 illa, sed tinnula, vt quæ in gymnasio publico ad extremum vsque  
 excurrebat significantissime: *Briart*, 392, v.  
 292 βῆλλ' ἐς κυνοσαργές] *ErAdag.*, 734, c: *Ad Cynosarges*.  
 294 Epomide] viz., the *epitogium*, the hood of *Magister Noster*, to which

## B I L I N G V I V M

- MER. Miraris istud ? hæc eadem pri-  
dem cum inter aulicas nymphas uerfa-  
retur, testiculatiffimæ salacitatis habeba-  
tur. BAR. Quid ? Num attigit Salma  
285 cidas aquas ? MER. Non. Ita uisum est  
Ioui, ut neq3 uir esset plane, neq3 mulier.  
uox muliebre quiddam sonat, barbula  
est anceps, animus plusq3 muliebris est.  
Quæ circa pubem sunt, adeo non mulie  
290 bria sunt, ut Priapum quempiam, aut  
Satyrum dixeris. TIT. Dij illam deæ  
q3 omnes perdant. POM. βάλλ' ἐς κυ  
νοσαργῆς. BAR. Amen amen. sed quid  
Ate cum Epomide ? MER. An nescis  
295 ad epomidas hæreseos spectare cogni-  
tionem ? BARA. Ate igitur Magister  
Noster. MER. an sit nescio, cultum ui-  
des. TIT. πολλοί βουκένται, παῦροι δέτε  
γῆς ἀροτῆρες, MERCV. Sic est ut dicis.  
300 POM. Ergo posteaq3 ætas ademit ui-  
res, non perinde ledit atq3 solet. MER.  
Imo nunq3 ante hac magis, accreuit una  
cum ætate malicia. POM. Qui potest  
podagrofa & anus ? uix uiuit. ut libido

292 -mnes &c] BA 4 v  
294 nescis &c] Pa 6, v

292 βάλλ' ἐς] B, S; P βάλλ' ἐς  
302 magis,] S; P, B magis

degree B. was promoted on Febr. 11, 1500 : cp. before, p 302 ; HutOS, 1, 5, 39 : 'caputium magnum cum liripipio'.

- 295 hæreseos] most of the inquisitors in the Netherlands were pro-  
fessors of Divinity of Louvain : *CorpInq.*, iv, xxviii, sq, v, xxxvi, sq.  
298 πολλοί &c] ErAdag., 264, v : *Multi qui boves stimulent, pauci aratores.*  
311 illum] Martin van Dorp ; in P & B he is called 'petum' : Morinck,  
in his *Vita Dorpii*, describes him : oculis sat grandibus acieque  
difficiliori, quorum alter quum impeditus altero prospiceret, non-  
nihil speciem deformabat : *MonHL*, 262.  
313 Phenaco] viz., Φέναξ, cheat, cozenor : cp. ZWE, 1, 381 : the sketch  
of Dorp, against whom Nesen in June 1519 was very prejudiced,

## D I A L O G V S.

- 305 nocendi maxime adfit, non adest facultas. MER. Non recte sentis. qui tandem regnant tyranni decrepiti? nonne per alios? atq; ita crudelius etiam sæuiūt. alienis oculis, alienis pedibus agit omnia
- 310 totum hoc agmen huius Ates membra sunt. Sed uides ne illum, illi proxime hærentem? POM. Video. Sed quod huic deo nomen? MER. Phenaco nomen est ex re, siquidem ad hūc polypus
- 315 non est polypus, pestilens ubiq; malum & Gratijs & Mufis innuissimum, quauis blande rideat. Hic olim in contubernium Mufarum sese infinuauerat, quo perfuga grauius eas lederet. POM P.
- 320 Num hic Ates maritus est? MER. Imo animus, qui uicissim nunc in hoc, nunc in illud corpus demigrat. POM. Mōstri simile dicis. Sed ubi Litæ quondam Ates comites? MER C. Apud Iouem
- 325 Nam has Ate modis omnibus perditūibat. Adeo nihil sarciri patiebat qd ipsa turbasset. Adeoq; inuidebat humanis bonis. TIT. Vtinam Iuppiter isti sceleratissimæ Ate, sceleratiorem Aten im-

311 illum] S; P, B petum illum      314 -lypus &c] P a 7, r  
 322 demigrat] S; P, B migrat      328 Adeo ... (328) bonis] S; P, B om  
 329 sceleratiorem] B, S; P sceleat-

was made worse as it was believed that he treated Erasmus as a hypocrite: cp. the history of their relations, before, pp 313, 391, 395, sq, 401, 444, sq, and *MonHL*, 188-225. Nesen saw clearer afterwards: still he could not spoil his dialogue by dropping Dorp all together: he only left out *petum* of l 311.

- 314 polypus] *ErAdag.*, 519, A: *Polyp.* Dorp had often changed in his opinions about Erasmus, and even about Humanism: *MonHL*, 137-234.      314 olim] cp. *MonHL*, 128-132.

- 320 Ates maritus &c] Nesen's prejudiced opinion: Erasmus considered Dorp's first attack as due to Briart: Allen, II, 337, 373-74; *MonHL*, 144, 310-11.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- 330 mittat. B A R A. Vtinam non unam  
Aten, sed sexcentas Atas. M E R. Quid  
si sexcentæ Atæ non possint reperiri, quæ  
unam hanc æquiparent Aten ? B A R.  
precādum igitur ut ipsa sit sibi quod ali-  
335 is est. M E R. Nemo melius id possit q̃  
tu. B A R A. Faciam, Arami Barach,  
chelam, diuara. M E R. Podagram ha-  
bet sibi male propitiam, ei si quis simi-  
am sacrificet, nam hac uictima delecta-  
340 tur, facile conficiat hanc pestem. B A R.  
Vtinam chiragram et glossagram habe-  
at, aut si quid potis est rectius. Sed quif-  
nam ille Philippus acephalus ? M E R.  
Quasi lippum dicas. B A R. uidelicet,  
345 qui centonatus ac palliatus, extimus cā-  
didus est, intus niger ? M E R C. Eum  
cultum ferunt olim Heliæ diuo gestatū.  
Verum si possis deum hunc penitus in-  
trospicere, iurares pullam uestem præ-  
350 animo teterrimo, niue candidiorem.  
B A R A. Quorsum igitur attinet furuā  
uestem celare candida. M E R. Nimi-  
rum, quo magis imponat stultis. B A R.

331 Quid &c] B A 5, r      337 chelam &c] P a 7, v      340 conficiat] S; P, B -clet  
342 , aut ... rectius] S; P, B om      343 ille] S; P, B om      344 BAR.] S, B; P BER.

- 323 Litæ] Λιτῆί, Prayers, daughters of Jupiter, following lame and  
halt, on the quick-footed Ate to make good, *sarciri*, the wrong  
done by her : *Ilias*, ix, 502-512; *ErAdag.*, 265, v, sq : *Ira omnium  
tardissime senescit*.  
326 nihil *sarciri*] still Briart owned his injustice towards Erasmus : cp.  
before, pp 303, 313-14, 403-6, &c; *MonHL*, 194-95, and seems to have  
neutralized the animosity of Latomus and Bæchem : cp. before,  
pp 464-65; *MonHL*, 196-97; Allen, iv, 1029, 3, n.  
336 Arami Barach, chelam, diuara] probably strange-sounding words,  
like those used by wizards at incantations : cp. Reg. Scot's *Disco-  
verie of Witchcraft* (ed. by M. Summers) : Bungay, 1930 : 132, sq.

## D I A L O G V S.

- Quis est ? M E R C. Momides Momi  
 355 pronepos, sed multum a proauo dege-  
 nerans. nam ille carpebat dumtaxat, si  
 quid parum recte perageretur, hic me-  
 rus est sycophanta, in optima quæq; po-  
 tissimum debacchans impurissima lin-  
 360 gua. B A R. Qui potuit ex Momo na-  
 sci, talis morio ? Nam quatum vultus &  
 incessus præ se fert, Corebo uidetur stul-  
 tior. Ego citius e scropha aut Afina natū  
 crediderim. Nam Momus qualis q̄lis  
 365 erat, cordatissimus erat. M E R. Haud  
 tu quidem procul aberras a scopo, Sic  
 res habet. Iuppiter parū æquus Momo  
 ob linguæ libertatem, cum uideret esse  
 fœcundum, primæ proli, cor afininum  
 370 inferuit in præcordia, & cranio cerebrū  
 fuillum indidit. B A R. Vtinam & afi-  
 ni addidisset auriculas. M E R. Habet,  
 & quidem luculentas o bone. Sed has  
 abdit uenerabili Centone, paulo ipso  
 375 Mida astutior. Porro Momus cum nō  
 ignoraret stoliditatem sui nepotis, nec  
 B

357 -geretur &c] P a 8, r      359 debacchans] B, S; P debachans  
 360 BAR. Qui ... (396) genus] S; P, B om

- 338 simiam &c] cp. : compertum [est]... leonem febris correptum vel si ad  
 furorem vsque exæstuet, vnius pastione simiæ liberari : *Hierogl.*, 8, e.  
 344 lippum] Baechem : Erasmus mentions to Jonas, April 9, 1520 :  
 Edmondensis et Latomus, alter lippus, alter claudus : Allen, iv,  
 1088, 13; *EpMagNos.*, 602-3; Heumann, 190.  
 345 centonatus &c] Carmelites wear a dark-brown cassock (*pulla vestis*)  
 and a white cloak : cp. l 41.  
 347 Heliæ] the Carmelite Order claims Heliah on the *Carmelus Mons* as  
 founder.  
 353 imponat stultis] cp. the *Vita S. Nicolai*, 460, sq.  
 358 in optima quæque &c] cp. before, p 461, and *EpMagNos.*, 649.



## B I L I N G V I V M

posset Iouis decretum irritare, consili-  
um dedit ut philosophico & ἱεροπρεπεῖ  
cultu diffimularet stultitiam, ut saltem  
380 apud stultos, quorū ubiqz maxima tur-  
ba est, uideatur aliquid. B A R A. Sed  
quam mulierum cohortem secū ducit ?  
Num uestales sunt ? M E R. In has exer-  
cet neruos suos. Nullus enim deorum,  
385 hoc falacior. Pro Cesto, pallium habet  
candidum, incantamētis plenum. B A  
R A. At quæ nam illi pendet a brachio ?  
Num uxor est ? M E R. Nequaqz. Nam  
hoc deorum genus magis amat impu-  
390 rum cælibatum, q̄ castum matrimoni-  
um. Sed tamē uxoris est loco, aut si quid  
uxore dulcius, Philautia est, Moriæ foror  
Ex hac cottidie progignit, utroqz parēte  
stultiores liberos, quos blefus uulgi io-  
395 cus, ob eximiam stoliditatem Cameli-  
tas uocat. B A R. Extirpandū genus.  
P O M. Abominandum portentum,  
ita me bene ament Musæ. Sed quisnam  
ille transfuerfum tuens, & caput huc atqz

362 Corebo] *ErAdag.*, 677, B : *Stultior Coræbo*, who counts the waves of the sea.

364 Momus] the god of mockery and censure criticized the man made by Hephæstus, Vulcan, for lacking a little door in his chest to show his secret thoughts. Cp. *ErAdag.*, 210, B, sq : *Momo satisfacere*.

374 Centone] cp. l 345 centonatus, viz., dressed in various colours.

375 Mida & c] Lucian, in *Non esse facile credendum delatoribus*, attributes to the helper of Calumny, Midas' ears, 'propter studium subauscul-tandi captandique quid alii rerum faciant' : *ErAdag.*, 138, c-d.

379 dissimularet stultitiam] cp. *EpMagNos.*, 427, sq.

382 mulierum cohortem] cp. *EpMagNos.*, 609, sq.

## D I A L O G V S.

- 400 illuc mouens, infano similis. M E R C.  
Is est confobrinus τῆς φιλαυτίας. P O M.  
Quid gerit in capite? nam cristatus est.  
T I T. Mihi cacabus esse uideť. P O M.  
ὥς παραβλέπεις, est ulula quod uides.
- 405 M E R C. παραβλέπετον ἄμφω, falco est  
auis in delitijs habita apud principes.  
T I. Mihi Vertumnus esse uideť, adeo  
subinde mutat totius corporis habitũ.  
M E R. Si animum uersipellem intro-
- 410 spicies, tunc istuc dixeris. P O M. quif-  
nam ille deiculus, qui passim obambu-  
lat, nunc huic nunc illi nescio quid in au-  
rem infusurrans, pallidus, macilentus,  
demisso uultu, risum habēs Sardoniũ,
- 415 totus undiqz spinis & aculeis obfusus?  
T I T. λεῖτος ὥσπερ ἐχῖνος. M E R. Phtho-  
nides est, sed parente longe nocentior.  
P O M P. O dij immortales, quid ego  
uideo? caudam longam trahit. M E R.
- 420 Ibi uenenum habet Scorpio nocentius.  
Quin ipse uenenis pascitur. vnde factũ,  
ut tellus, quæ hunc dæmonem dedit, ue
- B ij

406 delitijs &amp;c] B A 5, v

410 dixeris] B, S; P diceris

414 -nium, totus &amp;c] P A 8, v

421 Quin ... (434) nocentiorum] S; P, B om

389 hoc deorum genus &amp;c] another current objection.

394 blesus ... iocus ... (395) Camelitas] by dropping the *r* of *Carmelita*:  
cp. *EpMagNos.*, 46.

399 transuersum tuens] Nicolas Coppin: cp. before, pp 403-5.

402 cristatus] wearing a kettle as a helmet and a falcon as crest.

403 cacabus ... (405) falco] Coppin was *Regens* of the Pedagogy first  
called *Cacabi*, and, after removing from New Street into Steep  
Street, *Falconis*, of which the buildings still exist: cp. before,  
pp 66-67, 403, &c; *ULDoc.*, iv, 299, sq.407 Vertumnus] the mind of the *Regens* was as changeable as the name  
of his Pedagogy.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- nenis fere careat, posteaq̃ hic eam reliquit, exhausto undiq̃ quicquid erat ueneni. B A R A. Quæ tellus hoc portentum edidit, fortasse Tartarus. M E R C. Iuuerniam aiunt, aut extremam Scotiam. B A R A. Mirum unde macies & pallor. M E R C. Imo magis mireris, si scias q̃ sibi placeat, hic sterculeus deiculus. Iouem præ se pili non facit. B A R A. Quid sibi uult calamus ad aurem? M E R. semper scripturit aliquid, cum linguam habeat uiperina nocentiolem
- 435 P O M P O. Næ bellas exequias agunt Calliopes, nondum uidimus omnia, sequitur ingens porcorum grex, nescio quid stridulum grunnientium. T I T. Dux turpissimi agminis est ingens porcus, o monstrum. M E R. Is est Grylli trinepos. P O M P. Illius ne qui apud Plutarchū cum Vlyxe disputat? M E R. Is ipse. O M. At is quidem græce loquebatur, & sapiebat, nec omnino malus erat sophista. M E R. Mentem ho

427 Iuuerniam] viz., Juuerna, Juberna (Hibernia) : Juvenal, *Sat.* II, 160

442 Vlyxe] S; P Vlixæ; B Vlysse

443 OM.] S; P, B POM.

- 411 deiculus] Edward Lee : cp. before, pp 324, 399, sq, 439, sq.  
 413 pallidus &c] Erasmus calls him 'homuncio pallidus ac macilentus' : letter to Budé, Dec. 22, 1518 : Allen, III, 906, 448, IV, 1053, 275, sq.  
 414 risum ... Sardonium] Lee reproaches Erasmus to have used those words for him in the *Colloquia* : Febr. 1, 1520 : Allen, IV, 1061, 341-42.  
 416 λείος ... ἔχινος] smooth hedgehog, alluding to Lee's name.  
 416-17 Phthonides] viz., son of Φθόνος, Envy : cp. before, pp 399, sq, 439.  
 419 caudam &c] the common nickname of the English as *caudatus*, is mentioned in the *Legenda Aurea* as a punishment for unbelief inflicted by St. Augustine of Canterbury, and by his successor Thomas a Becket. J. Skelton retorts it to the Scot Dundas : *Anglicus*

## D I A L O G V S.

minis iam olim ademit Circe. pro Græ  
ca lingua loquitur gallice, uel γρῦζει po-  
tius, ne sophisticen quidem omnino de-  
posuit, nisi quod insulsam habet ac por-  
450 co dignam, cætera nihil nisi porcus est.  
T I T. Vnde claudicat? M E R C. Nu-  
per in adulterio deprehensus (nam est sa-  
lax non minus q̃z satyri) dum se metu  
præcipitat, luxauit τὰ σφυρὰ. T I T. Hi  
455 minores qui sequuntur, huius filij sunt?  
M E R C. Non. T I T. Quid igitur?  
M E R. Isti nuper homines erant, sed  
habet hoc Gryllides quod olim Circe.  
quisquis adolescens ex eodem alueo co-  
460 mederit, protinus in porcum uertitur.  
T I T. Nouum deorum genus, sed ob-  
secro Mercuri, quid tanq̃z cantillantes  
grunniunt M E R. Aufcultemus.

## C H O R V S

465 P O R C O

R V M.

B iij

449 insulsam &c] P b l, r      452 (nam] S; P, B. nam      453 satyri] S; P, B —.  
454 τὰ σφυρὰ] S; P, B τὰς σφυρὰς      457 Isti] B A 6, r      458 habet] P, S; B habet

*a tergo caudam gerit*, &c : *Poetical Works* (ed. Al. Dyce) : London 1843 : i, 192-94, ii, 224-226 ; Lee reproaches Erasmus to have used it against him in the *Colloquia* : Allen, iv, 1061, 343, 350, 1077, 4, 1083, 23. Cp. HutOS, i, 485 ; Cran., 50, 15 (Horace, *Sat.* ii, 3, 53) ; Bucer to Rhennanus, April 2, 1520 : Condonandum ... Angliæ, si post tot lumina etiam vnum caudatum, hoc est, scorpionum alat : Enders, ii, 375 ; J. Ray, *English Proverbs* : London 1768 : 245-46 : *Kentish long-tails*.  
432 calamus &c] Lee was continually gathering criticisms against Erasmus and his *Novum Testamentum*, harming his fame as much as he could : cp. before, pp 440, sq.  
437 porcorum grex] viz., the students of the *Pædagogium Porci*, called

## B I L I N G V I V M

- Te deum laudamus,  
 Quod istam putanam portamus.  
 Quæ Magistros Nostros tā multos,  
 470 Semper contempsit ut stultos,  
 Quos dixit craffum potare uinum,  
 Sed craffius loqui latinum,  
 Nec respexit a tergo,  
 Quantum ualeat utrum & ergo.  
 475 Nunc deijciemus eam per precipitia  
 Et populo dicemus, quod fuit hæ-  
 retica.  
 Sic nemo audebit ponere fuū rostrū  
 Cōtra aliquem Magistrum Nostrū.  
 480 P O M P. Deum immortalem, quod-  
 nam hoc poematis genus? Mehercule  
 plus q̄3 Suillum. Et tamen q̄ suauiter sibi  
 placent. Verum dum propius intueor,  
 video bilingues omnes. M E R C. Sic  
 485 est hoc deorum genus. P O M P. Non  
 sufficit una? M E R. Non. P O M P.

467 Te ... (479) Nostrum] S; P, B Nos portamus ad sepulchrum / Vnam musam, quod vide-  
 tur nobis pulchrum. / Quæ est causa maxima / Quod sophistica nunc dicitur pessima. /  
 (P b 1 v) Propterea volunt eam magistri nostri sepelire, / Nec eius defensionem audire. /  
 Et ideo dicunt eam (P eum) esse hereticam, / quia spernit theologiam peripateticam : /  
 Quam incipiunt nunc etiam contemnere isti moderniores / Cum tamen hec sola con-  
 fundit hereticos contumaciores. 481 Mehercule ... (483) placent] S; P, B om

*Porcenses, Porcistæ* or *Porci*, in University slang : cp. Godet, 127,  
 and further, ll 455, sq.

- 440 Grylli trinepos] their master James Latomus : cp. before, pp 324-27,  
 and *EpMagNos.*, 27, sq. — Gryllus is the name of Xenophon's elder  
 son, killed at the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362; Plutarch has also a  
*Gryllus*, a sophist, who argues with Ulysses; the author here  
 alludes to the word γρῦ, and its derivatives γρῦζειν, γρουλιζειν,  
 to grunt, and γρῦλος, small pig (*ErAdag.*, 304, A : *Ne gry quidem*),  
 to indicate the master and animator of the hostile students of the  
*Pædagogium Porci*.

## D I A L O G V S.

Qui sic ? MER. Vna opus est qua coram blandiuntur, altera qua a tergo obtreccant. vna qua palam etiam oblatrāt  
 490 altera qua fortiter negent quod dictum est. vna qua suadent alicui, ut hoc aut illud aggrediatur, alia qua rursus alij suadent, ne finat id fieri. TIT. Sycophantas narras non deos. MER C. Sycophantæ ad hos collati, sycophantæ non sunt. TIT. Sed duos occurrentes uideo prophanos, vt anhelī festinant, ut alacres accipiūt hij ueluti notos. MER C V. nimirum ambiunt & isti inter im  
 500 mortales numerari. TIT. Alter galeam carduis contextū præfert, ceu rem sacram. MER. Is est καὶ ὄλος, ἀπὸ τηλῆς nuprofectus, uel ab ipsa si libet Paphlagonia, unde solent stupidi. Sed genus unde ? MER C. Bacchi illius pnepos, ὃς  
 505 ἔξω καθεζόμενος, τὰ ἐντὸς παρεῖδεν. TI. Alter matulis et apopatijs accinctus est. Nū hij pugnaturus ? MER. Nuper medicus haberi uolebat, & se filium Esculapij  
 B iiij

490 altera] S, B; P altere 492 -sus alij &c] P b 2, r 494 Sycophantæ &c] B A 6, v  
 496 Sed ... (525) superi.] S; P, B om 504 Sed] the name of a speaker seems missing :  
 Mercury puts the question and answers it

- 446 pro Græca &c] Latomus, originary from Hainaut, only spoke, or grunted, γρούζει, French, although he came from Greek ancestors, *Gryllides*; his knowledge of languages was rather limited : cp. before, pp 327-28; *MAdriOr.*, 71.  
 451 claudicat] Erasmus referring to 'Edmondensis et Latomus' calls them : alter lippus, alter claudus : cp. before, l 344; Vives mentions them as ὁ χλωδὸς καὶ ὁ Κάμηλος : Allen, iv, 1088, 14, v, 1256, 24; on account of his small stature and his limping, Erasmus also called Latomus *Hephestion*, viz., small Hephæstus, or Vulcan (cp. before, p 347; Allen, iv, 1123, 17), whereas in the marginal notes to *EpMag-Nos.*, 216, he is styled *loripes*. Cp. further, l 557.

## B I L I N G V I V M

- 510 mentiebatur. Nunc matulis ut erat accinctus accurrit his auxilio. TIT. Sed quosnā hinc atq3 hinc leucophæo agmine uideo accurrere ? picas dicas inuerfas. MER. Mundi uomicæ sunt, & horum deorum auxilia. Sed male accipientur omnes, nifi sapiant. TIT. O cultum nouum, cum uertice gestent coronas imperiales, tamē mendici peris accincti sunt. MER C. his diu imposuerunt & dijs & hominibus, Verum breui prodentur eorum orgya, & ad famem adigentur, qui nunc faginantur stultitia populi. uides perfonatos omnes, sed inuertetur Silenus, & resipiscet orbis. 525 TIT. Ita faxint superi. Quid Iuppiter in hos fulmen non habet, neq3 Saturnus falcem, neq3 Neptunus tridentem, neq3 Pallas hastam, neq3 arcū Apollo, ne Cloacina quidem quod in hos cōijciatur ? 530 MER C V. imo isti sycophātijs suis deos territant. Sed tamen nondum uidetis huius exitum fabulæ. Non

525 Quid] S, P; B quid ?

529 , ne ... (530) con]ciatur] S; P, B om

530 imo] S, P; B Imo

- 457 nuper homines &c] students arriving at the Porc, soon lost all interest in literature and languages through Latomus' influence : cp. *MAdriOr.*, 72.
- 464 chorvs] that *Chorus* is an allusion to hostile demonstrations by the young students who, at the periods of animosity against the Institute, when passing the Augustine Convent, or what buildings there were of the New College, cried out the slogan : '*Nos non loquimur latinum de Foro Piscium*' : cp. *Mol.*, 588, and before, p 506.
- 474 utrum & ergo] viz., the symbols of the dilemma and of the syllogism : Calliope had not the slightest respect for dialectics.
- 476 fuit hæretica] *Græce scire*, e. g., was already accounted a heresy : Allen, iv, 1033, 239; so was the love of letters and languages : cp. before, pp 271, sq, 310-12, &c, and e. g., Allen, iii, 939, 55, sq, 948, 162, sq, &c.

## D I A L O G V S.

- deferet Apollo suas forores impune lu  
dibrio habitas, si satis illius ingenium  
535 noui. Atq; adeo, ni me fallūt oculi, iam  
aduentantem uideo. Proh Iuppiter ut  
properat, q̄q pharetra grauida, sagittis  
onustus. horum cruētum uideo trium-  
phum. P O M P. Q̄m uellem. M E R.  
540 Palladem armatam uideo. P O M P.  
Est ne uirago illa procera, cristata cassi-  
de insignis? M E R. Ipsa est. P O M.  
P O N I V S Sed quodnam agmen ar-  
matarum uirginum uideo sequi? num  
545 Amazones sunt? M E R C V. Non,  
immo Calliopes forores. T I T V S.  
Quid Musis cum armis? M E R C V  
R I V S. Sic res postulat. Armis po-  
tius q̄z citharis aduersus hæc portenta,  
550 quibusuis beluis immaniora, quæ sola  
omnium modulato cantu efferantur.  
M E R C V. En iam tendit Apollo, col-  
limat nescio quem. P O M P O. Aten,  
ut apparet, & certe est, nam ista procum  
555 bit, ac terram ore mordet. φεῦ φεῦ.

B v

533 deseret] S; P, B deserit	542 ipsa] S	543 -nam &c] P b 2, v
546 immo] S; P, B imo	549 citharis] S; P, B cyth-	551 omnium] S; P, B omni
551 efferantur] S; P, B efferuntur	555 , ac ... mordet] S; P, B om	

- 487 Vna ... (493) fieri] cp. before, l 11, n.  
497 anhelī festinant] they were not mentioned in the first issues, P & B;  
cp. *EpMagNos.*, 20, sq.  
500 Alter galerum carduis] viz., Ruard Tapper (cp. *EpMagNos.*, 33, sq),  
who lacked all refinement in dress and manners, and wore a hat  
woven of thistles: *ErAdag.*, 386, v: *Similes habent labra lactucas.*  
*Cardui* symbolize 'ingenia morosa, difficilia': *Hierogl.*, 400, v.  
502 χάρ ὄλος] viz., a real man of Caria, of no value whatever: *ErAdag.*,  
226, v: *Cares barbaro servilique ingenio*; 692, v: *Cares perditissimi*  
omnium.  
502 ἀπὸ τηλῆς (τῆλε ?) ... (503) Paphlagonia] coming from the farthest  
end of the world: Tapper was born at Enkhuizen, a place at the  
north-eastern extremity of Holland: *HEpH*, 139-47; Guicc., 193.



## B I L I N G V I V M

- ut turbati fugitant cæteri subinde re-  
spectantes. At miror Gryllidem in fu-  
ga claudum non esse, sed alatum po-  
tius. MERCVRIVS. Imo nun-  
560 q̄3 ad ledendum claudus fuit. Fugit, at  
non effugiet. iam eñ sagittam hærentē  
uideo. TIT. Phthonidem captium du-  
cunt uirgines, quid illi facturæ? MER-  
CVRIVS. Quid? nisi quod Marfiæ fe-  
565 cit Apollo? Sed uidetis ne Momidem  
dum incogitanter fugitat, in profun-  
dissimum cœnum collapsum, adeo ut  
modo feminiger, femialbus, nunc to-  
tus niger sit? TITVS. Video per  
570 Iouem, iucundum spectaculum, atq3 uti  
nam in latrinam incidisset. POM-  
PONIVS. Immo in Barathrum po-  
tius. MERCVRIVS. Phenacus  
ad ingenium redit, rursus ad Mufas  
575 transfugit supplex. Verum illi non cre-  
detur, quamuis simplices sunt Musæ

559 Imo ... (560) fuit.] S; P, D om      566 fugitat &c] B A 7, r  
566 -tat, in &c] P b 3, r      572 Immo] S; P, D Imo

- 505 Bacchi illius &c] viz., a grandson of that ridiculous Bacchus who  
wastes his time outside his house and never looks inside (cp.  
*Stultior Morycho*: *ErAdag.*, 663, v), attending on Briart instead  
of studying for himself: cp. before, p 329, &c; *EpMagNos.*, 33-38.  
506-7 matulis &c] John de Winckele, a professor of Medicine, who  
took care of Briart in his last illness: cp. before, pp 441-43.  
508 Nuper medicus] from jurisprudent he became Doctor of Medicine  
in 1515: VAnd., 231.  
511 accurrit his auxilio] Winckele helped the Theologians in their  
opposition against learning, by his money and obloquy; cp. *Ep-  
MagNos.*, 20-26.  
512 leucophæo agmine] viz., the numerous monks and friars in ash-grey  
(λευκόφατος) dress.

## D I A L O G V S.

non minus q̃ Gratiae. P O M P O N I  
 V S. Vt trepidat cristatus ? Immo iam  
 crista illi decidit. Sed huic quoq̃ laque-  
 580 um iniecit ipsa Pallas, opinor non di-  
 gnata illum sua hasta. T I T V S. Quis  
 non rifu diffiliat, spectans porcos illos  
 huc & illuc discursantes , grunnientes  
 quidem, sed aliter q̃ pauloante ? M E R  
 585 C V R I V S. Faciunt quod porci so-  
 lent. Sed uidetis ne Calliopen uiuam at  
 q̃ adeo ridentem, & in fratris comple-  
 xum properantem ? P O M P O N I-  
 V S. Video. T I T V S. Nunq̃ uidi  
 590 exequias lætiore exitu. B A R A M I A.  
 Nec ego profecto M E R C V R I V S.  
 Sed iam soluo nubem, quandoquidem  
 uobis tutum est coram etiam colloqui.  
 P O M P O N I V S. Ita fiet. M E R-  
 595 C V R I V S. Valebitis igitur, & cura-  
 bitis ut ista linguis omnibus celebrêtur.

578 Immo] S; P, B Imo

584 pauloante] S, P, B

588 -tem ? POM. &amp;c] P b 3, v

- 513 picas (magpies) inuersas (not changed)] viz., magpies in their proper pied dress, and with their chattering, thievish nature.  
 514 Mundi uomicæ] the world's impostumes, or plagues.  
 517 uertice &c] they bear their heads as if crowned like the monarchs, yet carry the wallets of beggary at their girdles.  
 520 breui prodentur &c] the common threat of the followers of Luther.  
 524 inuertetur Silenus] the thorough difference between outward appearance and real nature will be made to show : cp. ErAdag., 770, c, sq : *Sileni Alcibiadis*.  
 529 Cloacina] Venus Cloacina, to purify them, as was done before her statue.

B I L I N G. D I A L O G.  
 T I T V S. Dabitur opera. M E R -  
 C V R I. Ego quo mi-  
 fus sum pro-  
 600 pero.

C H O N R A D I N A S T A -  
 diensis Germani, bilin-  
 guium ac trilingui-  
 um feu de fune  
 605 re Callio  
 pes  
 D I A L O G I F I N I S.

M. D. XX.

600 -pero.] S, P; B -pero. FINIS.  
 605 Callio / pes] S, B; P Calli- / opes, 608 M. D. XX.] S; P, B om

- 547 Quid Musis &c] probably an imitation of the many adages expressing incongruity : *Nihil graculo cum fidibus* ; *Quid cani & balneo* ; &c : *ErAdag.*, 165, c, sq.
- 550 beluis immaniora &c] which were rendered gentle by the sound of Orpheus' lyre.
- 557 Gryllidem ... claudum] Latomus : cp. ll 451, sq.
- 562 Phthonidem captivum] Lee : cp. ll 416, sq.
- 565 Momidem ... (569) totus niger] Baechem, with his dark dress and the white cloak soiled : cp. ll 345, sq.
- 573 Phenacus ... (575) credetur] Dorp abandoned the Theologians and made friends with Erasmus, although Nesen and many humanists distrusted him : cp. before, pp 395, sq, 444, sq ; and *RhenE*, 197, where on Jan. 4, 1520, Burer writes to his master about a book dedicated to him by : Φέναξ ille Lovaniensis homo Πρωτέως ποιηλότεος.
- 578 Vt trepidat cristatus] Coppin, too, tried to gain the favour of Erasmus and his friends : cp. before, pp 403, sq, 405, n 2.

## APPENDIX III

# EPISTOLA DE M. N. LOVANIENSIBVS & VITA S. NICOLAI

**The Text**

These two pamphlets were printed, in a quarto volume, in 1520, probably by Lazarus Schürer, of Schlettstadt, who issued the third edition of the *Dialogus Bilinguim*, as the Greek type is quite similar<sup>1</sup>), although the *Epistola* is composed in a somewhat larger Roman letter; it has marginal notes in a smaller fount. The text has been reproduced from the copy belonging to the British Museum : press-mark 3906. dd. 7. (4), and collated with another, belonging to the Louvain University Library<sup>2</sup>). The title, reproduced here in photogravure, takes up *f* A 1, of which the reverse is blank. The letter to Zwingli starts on Aij, *r*, and finishes on the last lines of Biiij, *v*, with the date : Anno / M. D. XVIII. Mense / Aprili. (*ll* 318-20), — which is in contradiction with the very title. Then follows, as is indicated (*ll* 321-22), the *Sequitur &c.* The STVLTITIAE EXEMPLAR / S. NICOLAI VITA. begins on B 4, *r* (*ll* 323-24); it extends to the upper part of D 4, *r*, with the date M. D. XX. (*l* 762); it precedes an address : GERMANIS OMNIBVS. occupying the lower part of the page (*ll* 763-780). — The running title for the latter half of the book is STVLTITIAE for the left page, EXEMPLAR. for the right. — The last page, D 4, *v*, is blank.

The pamphlet, which is neither dated nor attributed to any printer, was probably only published by the end of 1520 (*l* 762); at any rate Erasmus had heard in the first days of December 1520, that it was going to be issued, since on the 6<sup>th</sup> of that month, he wrote to Capito : Neseno scribe vt, si edat Vitam S. Nicolai, quod prorsus meretur, addat suum nomen, ne quem alium grauet suspitione<sup>3</sup>). Still it is as possible that the booklet had come out before, without finding its way to Louvain, as that it was published, after December 1520.

**The Author**

If that reference suggests only an approximate date, it brings a peremptory attestation about the author of the *Vita S. Nicolai*, who is

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. before, p 545.

<sup>2</sup>) Marked as : CA. A. 1; there are a few technical variants (cp. the Textual Notes), e. g., the upside comma of *l* 249 : infamiæ, is put right; the Louvain copy has some space between 'habebat' and 'i' on *l* 655; and the running title of B 4, *v*, is STVLTITIAE EXEMPLAR in the London copy, where that of Louvain has only STVLTITIAE. — There is also a copy in Schlettstadt Library, which belonged to Rhenanus : *CatSél.*, 317.

<sup>3</sup>) Allen, iv, 1165, 38-39. At the end of *VitaSNic.*, 762, is the date M. D. XX.

evidently identical with the one of the *Epistola*, as follows from the most numerous repetitions of whole sentences and passages of one pamphlet in the other <sup>1)</sup>. He is clearly a German : in the first lines, he mentions the revival of *bonæ literæ* amongst his nation, as well as the resumption of the old freedom of writing <sup>2)</sup> : manifestly he shares the views of Hutten, who aimed at surpassing the Italians in style and literature, and boldly criticized Rome and the Church. That partiality for 'nostra Germania', which makes Luther more valuable to him <sup>3)</sup>, and inspired the wild 'envoy' *Germanis Omnibus* <sup>4)</sup>, proves that Erasmus cannot have written these squibs : in those years he frequently expressed his deep disgust at the *fides* and the *amicitiæ germanicæ*, even in his letters to friends of beyond the Rhine <sup>5)</sup>. Moreover the spirit of these lampoons is totally different from his : the great censor of the misuses in the Church endeavours to correct them by pointing them out, as unequivocally as possible, so as to rouse ignorance, indifference, and even cupidity, to resipiscence, whereas the author of the *Vita S. Nicolai* wishes even the persons to be eradicated and extirpated along with their vices by brutal force <sup>6)</sup>. Erasmus acts and writes as a dutiful son of the Church, whom he wants to help in her upward struggle, assuring more than ever in those days that he does not want to be severed one inch from her <sup>7)</sup>, and accounting it as an unbearable injustice to be called or taken for a heretic <sup>8)</sup>. The *Epistola*, and for certain the *Vita S. Nicolai*, do not aim at amending wrongs, but at

<sup>1)</sup> Notwithstanding the indubitable attestation, some thought that Erasmus had written the *Vita* and the *Epistola* : Allen, ix, 2615, 188, sq ; KaELF., 108 ; it could not be supposed for an instant that Nesen had written the pamphlets under Erasmus' dictation, or even his impulse : KaELF., 61, 71, 75 ; KaGNie., i, 104, considering the state of things in Louvain : cp. before, pp 409, sq, 468 ; nor is there any semblance of reason to attribute it to Nicolas van Broeckhoven, or to Cornelius Grapheus, who, moreover, were strangers to the Faculty of Divinity : P. Kalkoff, in ZWE, i, 378-420 ; KaELF., 56 ; Allen, iii, 616, 14, iv, 1165, 38, v, 1519, 83.

<sup>2)</sup> Ll 14-17.

<sup>3)</sup> Ll 311, 240-41 : Lutherium... bene Christianum, præterea Germanum.

<sup>4)</sup> Ll 763-780 ; cp. KaELF., 108.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1225, 357, sq, 1244, 36, v, 1378, 15, 1388, 22, 1389, 36, 1437, 98, 1512, 24, 1523, 204, 1531, 21 : O me rudem ingenii Germanici ! On Oct. 1, 1520, he wrote to Peter Manus, that he belonged to a country between Germany and France : magis, he added, vergat ad Galliam quam ad Germaniam : Allen, iv, 1147, 40-48.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. ll 770, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Ego, quicquid fiet... nec seiungar ab Ecclesia Romana : Allen, v, 1386, 30, 44, 1384, 5-7, 1518, 41-45. To Conrad Pellican, denier of Transubstantiation, he wrote, in 1525 : ego membratim discerpi malim quam idem profiteri quod tu profiteris : Allen, vi, 1637, 115, sq, 1737, 24.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, p 350. On Sept. 2, 1524, he wrote : Esto liberum cuique suum de me iudicium, modo me patiantur esse orthodoxum : Allen, v, 1482, 61.

using them as arms and arguments to break down the Old Faith, and thus promote Luther's cause <sup>1)</sup> : Nesen must have been already in Louvain a decided adept of the Wittenberg innovator, although he was most careful to avoid the discontent of Erasmus, whose confidence and outspokenness he shamelessly misused.

Indeed, the fact that several of his opinions are embodied in those two pamphlets, shows that they had the same *genesis* as the *Dialogus* : the events of the last months of 1519 were fully commented on amongst the group of humanists in the Lily, and, although their great Leader had been disappointed in Nesen for his *Dialogus*, the had humour soon passed, apparently since assurance had been given that similar indiscrete use of confidential communications would not happen again, at least as long as they were in Brabant. That the confirmation by the Faculty of Divinity of Louvain of the sentence on some of Luther's doctrines by that of Cologne, proclaimed solemnly on November 7 <sup>2)</sup>, was fully debated, is only natural : Luther even was informed of it by Herman Hompen, one of the group <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt during December and January, when Nesen had to defend his case before the Brabant Council <sup>4)</sup>, he will have been able to gather sufficient information for a libel against the man, whose surly animosity bereft him of all hope of success : all the details available about Baechem's past and present were carefully treasured after the confidential talks with his great friend and with other inmates of the Lily, like John de Neve and Josse Vroeye. Certainly the latter must have related how, on December 1, 1505, in his speech at the *vesperiae* <sup>5)</sup> of Baechem's promotion, Adrian of Utrecht as *Præses* had lengthily explained that the name *Nicolas* means *stultus Ecclesiae languentis*, indicating a *sancta et felix stultitia, languoris antidotum* <sup>6)</sup> : the ominous coupling of Baechem with *stultitia* by as earnest a man as Adrian is the obvious explanation of the proposing of Nesen's adversary

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<sup>1)</sup> Nesen soon became one of the most ardent promoters of Luther's movement, as results from his many connections (cp. before, pp 468-69 ; Krafft, 53-54 ; &c) and his influence on Frankfurt : cp. *CochlSpahn*, 58-61, 78, 87, sq, 102-4, 235, 241.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 431 ; de Jongh, 213, sq ; *MonHL*, 222, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> On March 14, 1520, he wrote : *Nuper... cum in contubernio D. Erasmi (nam plus minus octo menses convictor ipsius tametsi indignus fui) conversarer, sat cognoui, quam vir ille naris emunctissimi de Luthero existimationem haberet... Eiusdem cum illo sententia fuit Guilhelmus Nesenus, qui Lutherum tantum non adorat. Porro... præceps illa Coloniensium et Lovaniensium theosophistarum condemnatio animum meum conturbavit... : Enders, II, 351.*

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 460-69.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, p 578.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. II 359, sq ; *AdriReus.*, 203-4, where Adrian explains that his birth-place Egmond indicates that his foolishness is praiseworthy. In many parts of the Netherlands the name *Nicolas* was and is still often suggestive of silliness.

as *Stultitiæ Exemplar*, by working out systematically the suggestion given by the chief theologian of Louvain.

### The Aim

It seems as if the first authoritative and solemn condemnation of Luther's doctrine, that by the Louvain Faculty of Divinity on November 7, 1519, had roused Nesen's indignation <sup>1)</sup>, and prompted the design to show by a pamphlet the little right the Brabant Divines had to such a sentence. He therefore made use of the wretched old mixing up of theology with linguistics, of literature with orthodoxy; moreover, from Erasmus he had learned the narrow-mindedness of several professors, as well as their freaks and oddities; for, of course, a matter-of-fact doctrinal arguing was out of the question. He apparently started gathering details and information, and, from the first, fastened on their arrogant self-sufficiency, indicated by the cult they claimed for their title of M. N., *Magister Noster* <sup>2)</sup>: the sensitiveness of those who possessed that degree, about the honour and veneration due to them on that account, is a source of much mirth in the satirical literature of those days, from the *Laus Stultitiæ* <sup>3)</sup> to the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* <sup>4)</sup>. That veneration is symbolized by the place which the *Magistri Nostri* occupied in all solemn acts: in the double-desked seats they were sitting so high that their feet were on a level with the heads of the *Licentiat*i and *Baccalaurei*: even in the lectures they were placed far above their hearers <sup>5)</sup>. It culminated in the solemn promotions which had long since become as public solemnities <sup>6)</sup>; of course, doctorates in Jurisprudence and Medicine were celebrated with no less ceremony: still they were far less festive, also, certainly, less frequent and, being more worldly, much less offensive than those in Theology <sup>7)</sup>. On the eve of his promotion, the future *Magister Noster* was to offer a *prandium* to the members of his Faculty, which was followed by the *vesperiae*, closing by a half serious, half jocose speech of the *Præses* <sup>8)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> ClemDial., 362.

<sup>2)</sup> Ll 58, 208, 416: it was made into the chief element of the title of this pamphlet.

<sup>3)</sup> EOO, iv, 470, c, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> HutOS, i, 3, 39, sq, 52, 223, sq, 253, sq, 520, sq, 697.

<sup>5)</sup> Ll 94, 512, sq; HutOS, i, 224.

<sup>6)</sup> Ll 61, 404, sq, 498, 501, sq. Nesen witnessed a double promotion to D. D. whilst he was in Louvain, namely that of James Latomus and Ruard Tapper, on August 16, 1519: VAnd., 104-6: de Jongh, \*43.

<sup>7)</sup> Promotions to licentiate were also celebrated by a *prandium* offered to the masters, not only for theology, but also for Laws and Medicine; the regulations for those Faculties were probably imitated from those of Divinity: Mol., 1020-21, 1063-64; A. van Hove, *Statuts... du Collège de la Faculté de Médecine* (1607): Brussels, 1920: 14-19.

<sup>8)</sup> That oration for Baechem by Adrian of Utrecht, with the explanation of Nicolas, still subsists: cp. before p 577; de Jongh, 66; Kaufmann, II, 283, sq, 319-20.

who indicated in it the subject of the first lecture. On the day itself, a sumptuous *prandium doctorale* had to be given to the personalities indicated by the Statutes and the custom : those guests had to be solemnly invited 'in suis domibus vel hospitibus, per bedellum virgam celebrem præferentem, honestis personis (— called *uiatores* on l 512) comitantibus, die præcedenti' <sup>1)</sup>. On the third day, he had to deliver his first lecture indicated at the *vesperæ*, and to treat the guests to a *jentaculum*, lasting till dinner time, to which he also could invite his fellow-students and friends. Those feasts, regulated by the body of professors at various times, were as the starting-point for others, either in the University town, or in the native places of the new *Magistri Nostri* : they had, already by 1510, degenerated in most extravagant *convivia*, which Nesen represents as Bæchem's chief preoccupation <sup>2)</sup> : instead of being an incentive to intellectual work for the benefit of science, of the hearers and of humanity at large, the professorate often became as an occasion to indulge in the very material advantages, — which were themselves an obstacle and an actual impediment to study <sup>3)</sup>, — in other Universities as well as in Louvain <sup>4)</sup>.

The strange conception Bæchem had of his duty as professor of theology, may not have been exceptional in those days : it certainly led Nesen to see other flaws in his adversary's life and character ; the occasion to point them out in revenge for his bitter disappointment, was too tempting to be discarded : so he abandoned his original scheme : instead of sketching the divines who had condemned Luther's doctrines, he just described their leader John Briart, mentioning his two helpers <sup>5)</sup>, as well as the physician, who excited his irascibility, but was unable to cure his pain <sup>6)</sup>. He then reached Bæchem, who, from the very

<sup>1)</sup> Ll 92, 404, sq, 512 ; Mol., 1020-21.

<sup>2)</sup> Ll 88, 405, sq, 498, sq, 502, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Besides raising obloquy and complaints, those feasts frightened students on account of the costs. When, about 1686 or '87, the old Louvain Halls could not be arranged into lecture rooms for want of money, a pamphlet was edited, without name or date : *Motivum Juris, sive Exhibitio Iusti quorundam Theologorum Lovaniensium desiderii, exoptantium, ut quod nimis sumptuose in convivio Doctoralia infunditur, aut in totum, aut saltem pro parte diu desideratæ Hallarum ædificationi, aut alteri rei utili impendatur* (4to : A 2, r-C 4, r : *ULCinqS.*, 119) : the argument describing the extravagant feasts, pp 15-18, did not bring any change. Matters went so far that, on Febr. 13, 1755, Mary-Theresa prescribed tariffs and regulations for banquets and invitations : Mol., 991, sq, 994-97, 1008-10.

<sup>4)</sup> Although the author asserts : *Nusquam... lautioribus conviviis* (ll 89, sq, 499), it is certain that in other universities, the feasts were not less sumptuous than in Louvain : in some, they even caused riots amongst the students : Kaufmann, II, 320 ; *UniKöln*, 203, sq, 230, sq ; *UniDill.*, 234-35 ; *DeutStud.*, 90, sq ; *HutOS*, I, 3, 519-20, II, 445, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> James Latomus and Ruard Tapper : ll 26-40.

<sup>6)</sup> John de Winckele, ll 20-26.



accessory person he was in the *Dialogus*, becomes the chief, the only subject of this, and even of the second, pamphlet. Of the six other members of the *Collegium Strictum Facultatis S. Theologiæ* present at the condemnation <sup>1)</sup>, hardly anything is said <sup>2)</sup>; whereas of the 320 lines of this *Epistola*, 220 are exclusively given up to Egmondanus <sup>3)</sup>.

#### The Time of Composition

Most probably Nesen started working out his plan of writing a pamphlet soon after the Condemnation of Luther's doctrine, criticizing the Louvain theologians that had brought it out. He seems to have written down some notes already in November 1519, to which date point his allusion to Erasmus' working at the editing of the Paraphrases on the Epistles during that winter <sup>4)</sup>, and that to the documents recently edited by Nicolas Quadus with a promise of 'more' <sup>5)</sup>. No doubt Erasmus, and others, knew of Nesen's plan, which explains how, in December 1520, the great Humanist expressed the wish that Nesen should not forget adding his name to the *Vita S. Nicolai*, which, as he owned,

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., William Lamberti, of Vianen, Antony Crabbe, John Driedo, Godschalk Rosemond, and the two Dominicans, Eustache van der Rivieren and Vincent Dierckx, of Haarlem. Martin van Dorp had left for Holland before Hoogstraeten's arrival : cp. de Jongh, 215.

<sup>2)</sup> *Aliorum nominibus prudens... parco* &c : ll 40-43.

<sup>3)</sup> Baechem is very often and very bitterly criticized in Erasmus' correspondence, from his letter to Herman of Neuenahr, Oct. 19, 1518, to that to Mathias Kretz, March 11, 1531 : Allen, III, 878, 13, IX, 2445, 57-60.

<sup>4)</sup> Ll 298, sq. To the commentaries on the *Epp. ad Romanos, Corinthios & Galatas* (Louvain, Nov. 1517, Basle, March and Aug. 1519), Erasmus added the *Paraphrases in Epp. ad Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses & Thessalonicenses* (Basle, J. Froben, 1520) and the *Paraphrases in Epp. ad Timotheum, Titum et Philemonem* (Basle, March 1520). The *Paraphrases* on the *Ep. ad Timotheum*, and the shorter Epistles had been first printed by Hillen, Antwerp, in November 1519; those on the *Ephesians* were probably issued first by Martens, in February 1520 : Allen, IV, 1043, pr ; 1062, pr ; *EraBib.*, I, 143-44.

<sup>5)</sup> Ll 276, sq. Under Nicolaus Quadus' name, — probably a pseudonym for Crotus Rubeanus, — appeared, without indication of printer or date, *Flores siue Elegantiæ ex diuersis libris Hochstrati Magistri Nostri...* It comprises an *Epistola elegans & docta eiusdem Quadi* [Saxonis] on a book that was preparing about the *memorabilia* of Dominicans and Carmelites : that letter, dated *Romæ Id. Septembris* [1519], is addressed to Herman Neuenahr. Then follows a *Carmen* by *frater Olla, alias Nicolaus de Edmunda*, against *vagantes scolares*, recommending earnest attendance to schoolboys ; and, finally, Richard Sbrulius' *Carmen in Louanienses Sycophantas*, reprinted at the end of Erasmus' *Apologia* about his translating *In principio erat sermo*, without name or date, quarto, A 4-B 3 (EOO, IX, 111 ; *EraBib.*, I, 12-13). Cp. HutOS, II, 104-6 ; *ClemDial.*, 361-63.

Baechem deserved <sup>1)</sup>. Still, as for the sake of the *Collegium Trilingue* and for his own peace, Erasmus decidedly objected to any libel being published, Nesen could only continue preparing his pamphlet, which he conceived in the form of an *epistola* to Zwingli. As is done for letters which have to wait some time before being sent off, details were included as they came, some incorrect, like that about Alvarez <sup>2)</sup>, or contradictory, like those about Latomus <sup>3)</sup>. Whilst days and weeks passed, passages and sentences were added or inserted, evidently haphazard, without any semblance of a premeditated plan, without any regular

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, iv, 1165, 38-39.

<sup>2)</sup> On l 69 is mentioned the Dominican Aluarus along with his 'confratres' Cajetanus, Prierias and Hoogstraeten; and the four are called *seditioni*, evidently for opposing Luther: that may be exact for the three latter, but hardly for Aluarus, who is not named in the controversy, at any rate if Juan Alvarez di Toledo is meant: in 1517 he had returned to Spain, where he was in connection with Cardinal Ximenes, and afterwards with Adrian of Utrecht (Pastor, iv, ii, 31), becoming Bishop of Cordova in 1523. That Alvarus, Alvarez or Alvar, was at Margaret of Austria's Court by 1515, when he sent to Erasmus a poem on the appointment of Luigi Marliano as Bishop of Tuy: Allen, ii, 506; EE, 1857, c, sq; Busl., 360, 358-61; Pastor, iv, i, 596. He became Archbishop of Burgos, 1537, Cardinal, 1538, and was very active for the genuine reform of life, belief, and discipline through the Council General under Paul III at Rome, where he died in 1557: Lauchert, 558; Pastor, v, *passim*; KaELF, 75-77; Goch, 51. Although on l 280 Nesen refers to *libros Aluari*, no book by him seems to be known. No doubt Alvarez di Toledo is mixed up with Alvarus Pelagius, a Franciscan divine, who died in 1352, and who, in his *de Planctu Ecclesiae*, vindicates the powers of the Pope and Cardinals: Allen, ii, 575, 34. Erasmus quotes him as one of the chief authors on that subject with Prierias and Cajetanus, in his letter to Cardinal Albert of Mayence, Oct. 19, 1519: Allen, iv, 1033, 142, sq, 217, sq; he asserts that the three of them, — he makes Alvarus also into a Dominican, — wrote *nimis immoderate* about the Papal powers, whereas Luther durst *moderatus loqui*. No doubt Nesen mistook here the Alvarus of the xiv<sup>th</sup> century for a contemporary of Luther, and added one more mistake to that of Erasmus.

<sup>3)</sup> On ll 29-33 it is said of Latomus that, when he 'emersit ad notitiam... Cardi. de Croy, cuius optimam indolem... inficere conatur, factus est intolerabili arrogantia': Latomus had dedicated his double *Dialogus de Tribus Linguis*, March 1519, to the Cardinal, but he was not his instructor nor tutor: cp. bef. p 327; the Cardinal had as preceptor and intimate friend John Louis Vives, who heartily disliked Latomus: Cran., 46, b, 18, sq; Allen, v, 1256, 24, sq. In the last sentence of his dedicatory letter, Latomus promises to write a third dialogue, *de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, — if the two first please de Croy: LatoDial., 45; on l 216 the author attributes the non-execution of that promise to the scornful reception by the *docti*: yet if he really enjoyed de Croy's

disposition whatever. Most probably the *Vita S. Nicolai* was started about the same time, and, far from being considered as a different entity, many sentences of the *Epistola* were inserted into it, without any attempt at a change in the wording. If Nesen had had an inkling of good sense or taste, he certainly would have kept the two compositions apart, or amalgamated them into one. But he had no thought of any literary achievement : he only wanted to pour out his personal hatred of his and Luther's enemy Baechem, into the most virulent slander, the most biting sarcasm, at least at the end of 1519 or in the first weeks of 1520. That year was very eventful : after his failure before the Brabant Council, he was engrossed for several months in helping Erasmus, gathering the *Epistolæ Eruditorum Virorum* against Lee, and having them printed and reprinted. In his quest of those letters, and on the unavoidable journeys through the German countries, he looked out for an occupation, as his dream of settling in Louvain had become irrealizable : on September 14, he accepted for three years the direction of the New School at Frankfurt <sup>1)</sup>. After he had left the Netherlands for good, he wished to bring out his pamphlets to revenge his honour : still, in the overburdened period, he had not the time to remould them ; he therefore passed them to the printer as they were, in all the freshness, but also in all the shapelessness, of the original draft. Without doubt, he added the final address, *Germanis Omnibus* <sup>2)</sup>, which does not seem to belong to the Louvain period : it no longer breathes the intellectual, though sarcastic, spirit that criticizes to correct and amend, but a wild fury, rousing to extirpating and ruining all adversaries <sup>3)</sup> : it evidently was written in the country which did not appeal any more to men of right and reason as arbiters of the situation, but to the uneducated rabble and to the egoistic peasant : their verdict was not long in coming.

The edition of the *Epistola* is based on the principles enounced for the *Dialogus Bilinguim* ; for the *Vita S. Nicolai*, cp. p 597.

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favour and approval, the work would certainly have been issued, even if the Cardinal had had to pay for it. Two years later, by January 1522, when Latomus was appointed instructor in theology of William de Croy's brother Robert, Vives wrote of him : *tantos spiritus sumpsit ingressu huius domus Cameracensis... quod puerum sectetur* : Allen, v, 1256, 74-76 ; cp. Paquot, xiii, 45, sq ; and before p 466.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 464-68.      <sup>2)</sup> *VitSNic.*, 763, sq.      <sup>3)</sup> *CMH*, II, 173.

<sup>4)</sup> In his wild animosity, Nesen seems to have paid little attention to Erasmus' susceptibility : by making use of what he knew only through his great friend, even when not blabbing out confidential information, he evidently caused him many a disagreeable experience, which explains the bitter complaints, e. g., to Pirckheimer on July 30, 1526 : *Nesenus erat vehemens et constans amicus, sed mihi infoelicissimus* : Allen, vi, 1729, 1-2 : cp. also, v, 1257, 6, 1258, 26, sq, 1278, 10-13, 1292, 8.

# EPISTOLA DE

MAGISTRIS NOSTRIS

Louaniensibus, quot, & quales  
sint, quibus debemus ma-  
gistralem illam damna-  
tionem Lutherianam.

- 1 G. N. N.] Guillielmus Nesenus Nastadiensis.
- 10 Briardus] John Briart : cp. before, pp 301, sq, 313, sq ; ZWE, I, 379 ;  
and *DiaBiTril.*, 189, sq.
- 11 uix bipedalis] suffering from gout (*DiaBiTril.*, 202, 216), he had at  
times to be carried on horseback from his house to his lecture- or  
debating-hall, a bowshot further in (the same) Provost Street :  
*Briart*, 395, v.
- 12 Galliculus] the name recalls his native place, Ath, and implies his  
combativeness ; the diminutive points to the man's small stature :  
*DiaBiTril.*, 198.
- 13 colluuiæ &c] Ath, in the Northern part of Hainaut, is near the  
linguistic border, between Walloon, or French, and Flemish.
- 14 infensior... nostræ Germaniæ] cp. before, p 576.
- 19 nunc pedes &c] *DiaBiTril.*, 277, sq.
- 20 medicum... Ioan. Winckel] cp. before, pp 441-43 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 506-11.
- 21 indoctum] cp. before, pp 442-43 ; Allen, IV, 1042, 8-9.
- 22 diuitias] he had inherited a large fortune from his father, who had  
been a real *frankeleyn* : he patronized Thierry Bouts, who painted  
several pictures for him : FUL, 2175 ; *Cran.*, xlviii-ix, 85, a b.
- 23 sycophantica] it made Erasmus write the letter *Cuidam Obtrectatori* :  
Allen, IV, 1042.                      24 uenenum merum] *DiaBiTril.*, 229, sq.
- 27 duo præcipui] cp. II 36-38 : Latomus and Tapper, Briart's favourite  
disciples, were his chief companions in his last months : *Briart*, 397, r.
- 27 Iacobus Latomus] cp. before, pp 324-27 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 440, sq ; Paquot,  
XIII, 45 ; *Goch*, 68, sq ; ZWE, I, 380.
- 28 ex infima fece] 'e sterquilinio', Erasmus said : cp. before, p 347.
- 29 Cardi. de Croy] Latomus dedicated to William de Croy his *De Trium  
Linguarum... Dialogus*, March, 1519 : cp. before, pp 327, sq, 581.
- 31 næniis Sophisticis] the dedicatory letter, and the *Dialogus* exalt the  
'scolasticas exercitationes' and old methods : cp. before, p 581.

# G·N·N·D·VDAL

R I C H O Z V I N G L I O H E L

uetio, apud Tigurinos Concionatori

Eruditissimo. S. D.

5 **P**Vdor obstat optime mi Zinli, q̄ minus  
tibi perferbam, quæ non pudet hic desi-  
gnare quosdam Theologos, absqz perso-  
na, tam stulta, ut nullus histrio, quantumvis impu-  
dens, aufit similia facere personatus. Huius fabu-  
10 læ præcipuas agunt partes Ioan. Briardus Aten-  
fis, homo uix bipedalis, sed idem fucatissimus si-  
mul & uirulentiss. Deniqz Galliculus. est enim ex  
illa hominum colluuiæ ex Germanis simul & Gal-  
lis conflata, & ob hoc infensior est nostræ Germa-  
15 niæ, quæ nunc præter cæteras nationes feliciter  
amplectitur, non modo bonas literas, uerūetiam  
pristinam scribendi libertatem sibi usurpat. Hic  
cum sit feniculus, & semper abundet pessimis hu-  
moribus, quæ nunc pedes, nunc latera, aliquando  
20 etiam caput obsident. Tamē medicum habet Io-  
an. Vvinckel iuuenem egregie indoctum, sed si-  
bi obdiuitias, ad insaniam usqz placentem, præter-  
ea nihilo minus lingua sycophantica, quā fit Aten-  
fis ipse, qui nihil est nisi uenenū merum. Eum adhi-  
25 bet cum laborat mala pituita. Is hominem ex insa-  
A ij

Ioānes Briardus Atēsis.

Ioannes Vvinckel

32 inficere conatur &c.] cp. before, pp 581-82.

33 Ruardus Encusanus] Tapper : cp. before, p 443 ; *DiaBiTril.*, 500, sq ; *HepH*, 146-47 ; *ZwE*, 1, 381.

34 homo miserabili &c] the poor appearance and the stammering of that clever theologian were bitterly criticized in *D. Ruardi Tappart... Apotheosis* (1559) ; cp. *BibRefNe.*, 1, 577, sq ; *BN* ; and *DiaBiTril.*, 500-06.  
36 Polypi] cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 314.

45 Edmundanus] cp. bef. pp 460-61, 466 : Nicolas Bæchem of Egmond ; and further *VitSNic.* ; *DiaBiTril.*, 343, sq ; *Goch*, 278, sq ; *ZwE*, 1, 381.

46 Camelita] viz., for *Carmelita* (also *Il* 78 ; *VitSNic.*, 476, 607 and

## EPISTOLA DE MAGISTRIS

M. N. Iacobus Latomus Sycomphantiarm<sup>m</sup> artifex. no facit infaniores. Sunt & præter alios instigatores non paucos, duo præcipui M. N. Iacobus Latomus, qui ex infima fece, & collegiaticis pediculis, ubi emerfit ad notitiam Reuerendiss. Card. de Croy. cuius optimâ indolem suo morbo, hoc<sup>30</sup> est suis nænijs Sophisticis, in quibus bonam partem uitæ perdidit, inficere conatur, factus est interlabili arrogatia. Præterea Ruardus Encusanus, homo miserabili balbutie, & tamen maledicentissimus, ingenio, forma, uultu, incessu, doctrinaq;<sup>35</sup> fratri etiam, si non sit frater. Hij ueluti Polypi transfutantur ad omnem habitum, cum Atensi ægroto ægrotant, cum infaniente infaniunt. Cõtemplatus sum omnes per otium diligenter, animi morbum ipsa corporis spectie præ se ferunt. Aliorum<sup>40</sup> nominibus prudens in præsentiarũ parco, quãq; & illi ueluti publico furore phanatici uociferantur acriter in optima queq; cum est opus. Sed omnium stolidiss. est ac maxime perfrictæ frontis Nicolaus Edmūdanus dignus qui ob insignem stoliditatem Camelita uocetur. Hunc ipsa natura plane genuerat ad monachatum siue fratralitatẽ. Nihil enim habet frontis, minus mentis, linguæ, & loquentiæ plurimum, eloquentiæ nihil omnino, Et cum omnia stultissime & dicat & faciat uix tamen<sup>50</sup> dici possit q̃ sibi in omnibus placeat, ut mirum sit non uerti in rosam quicquid calcauerit ille. In dia-

*DiaBiTril.*, 394-95), a nickname used by Erasmus in many letters (Allen, iv, 1165, 12, 1173, 113, &c) and in his Colloquy *Apotheosis Capnionis* (Camelus): EOO, I, 689, F, sq.

49 eloquentiæ] *VitSNic.*, 645, sq. 52 in rosam] *VitSNic.*, 671-72.  
53 dialectica] *VitSNic.*, 616, sq.

57 textualis] viz., one specially knowing the (sacred) texts.

58 factus M. N.] on December 2, 1505: cp. VAnd., 98, and before, p 577.

61 conuiuijs] *VitSNic.*, 404, sq; and before, pp 578-79.

61 pecuniola] the insignificant fees for tutoring students in Theology, who were generally poor.

## N O S T R I S L O V A N I E N.

lectica parum feliciter uersatus est ob plumbeum <sup>M. N. ob</sup>  
ingenium, sed tamen per gradus illos solēnes hæc <sup>mētis stu-</sup>  
<sup>55</sup> belua peruenit ad magistrum nostratum. Atqz ut <sup>porem te-</sup>  
interim tegetet stoliditatem afininæ mentis, uolu- <sup>xtualis di</sup>  
it uideri textualis cum illi non sit opus acumine in <sup>ci uoluit.</sup>  
genij. Ergo factus M. N. tanq̃ regnum affecutus,  
cepit de splendore uitæ cogitare. Nec erat misero  
<sup>60</sup> unde uel famem sedaret. Nam ante hac utcūqz ex  
conuiuijs solennibus, ex pecuniola, quæ a miseris  
scholasticis fordide abraditur, sustentarat uentrē.  
Vidit autē apud nullas stoliditatem & impuden- <sup>Monachi</sup>  
tiam esse feliciorē q̃ apud monachos mendican- <sup>mendican</sup>  
<sup>65</sup> tes titulo, re Satrapas ac tyrannos. inter quos Præ- <sup>tes tyrāni.</sup>  
dicatores cum primis placebant, quorum ordo <sup>Prædicato</sup>  
semper habuit egregie seditiosos, & ad omne faci- <sup>res seditio</sup>  
nus imperterritos. Quam quidem laudem adhuc <sup>si.</sup>  
cæteris inuident, dum nobis suos Aluaros, Tho- <sup>Aluarus.</sup>  
<sup>70</sup> mas, suos Syluestres, suos deniqz Hochstratos, <sup>Thomas</sup>  
quasi formidabiles obtrudunt. Sed ex Scotista <sup>de Vyo.</sup>  
Thomistam fieri erat difficile. In Minoritis displic- <sup>Syluester.</sup>  
ebat nuditas & uita non admodum delicata, In <sup>honstrat<sup>9</sup>,</sup>  
Augustineñ. paupertas absqz hypocrifi. Videbat <sup>seditiosiet</sup>  
<sup>75</sup> Carmelitas in his regionibus ἀβελτέροις pulcre re- <sup>impuden</sup>  
gnare, maxime fauore mulierum, quibus placent <sup>tes Pedit-</sup>  
bene mutoniati, quorum hic est maxima turba. <sup>catores.</sup>  
Ergo Camelus camelita factus est Mehliniæ quæ <sup>Mechlinia</sup>  
ciuitas, quia forma gignit insignes, Veneri sacra

A iij

63 Vidit &c] cp. *VitSNic.*, 431, sq.

67 seditiosos &c] cp. e. g., G. Schumann, *Die Berner Jetzertragödie* : Freiburg i. B., 1912 : 124, sq.

69 Aluaros] cp. before, p 581, and l 280.

69 Thomas] 'de Vyo', Cardinal Thomas de Vio of Gaëta, Cajetanus (1469-1534) : Lauchert, 133-177.

70 Syluestros] viz., Silvester Mazzolini, de Prierio, 1456-1523, one of the first antagonists of Luther : Lauchert, 7-30.

70 Hochstratos (in the margin honstr-)] cp. before, pp 418-29, 437-39.

74 Predicatores] (in the margin, here and for l 225) malicious misnomer for *Prædicatores*.



## EPISTOLA DE MAGISTRIS

Fratresdo  
 minæ. est. Nec ob aliud mulieres hic fauent adeo his ne- 80  
 bulonibus, q̄ quod uocentur FRATRES DO  
 MINÆ. O felicem sacram uirginē, quæ tales tau  
 Nicolaus  
 Edmūdus  
 Termina-  
 rius Loua-  
 nij. ros complectitur sub pallio suo. Hinc tamen colli  
 ges licebit, hanc beluam non religionis gratia fa-  
 ctum Carmelitam, cum eodem anno quo profes- 85  
 sus est carmeliticā uitam, factus sit Terminarius,  
 ut uocant, Louanienfis, ut pariter & ibi caseos &  
 oua colligeret, & a solennibus illis prandijs & ho  
 Ebrij. M.  
 N. Loua-  
 nienses. noribus, quibus assueuerat, non abesset. Nusq̄  
 enim lautioribus conuiujs mulctantur accepturi 90  
 gradum, neq̄ alibi magistri nostri potat liberius  
 q̄ Louanij. Deinde regnum isti uidebatur, inuita  
 ri per Bidellos, quos uocāt, Salutari Magister no  
 ster, federe sublimis in schola, ut crepitus & pector  
 M. nō. N. pedum perueniat ad capita Baccalaureorum, ac 95  
 magistrorum non nostrorum. Hæc, homo mun-  
 do mortuus scilicet cōtemnere non potuit. Et ui-  
 Impuden-  
 tia Edmū-  
 dæ. de hominis impudentiam, qui ipse fugit domum  
 & religionē suam, reformet alia monasteria? alios  
 includet? quū ipse non potest ferre claustrum do 100  
 mus suæ. Sed tamen interea prospectum erat eda  
 ci uentri, & bibaci gulæ, atq̄ etiam falaci πείη. Nā  
 Castitas  
 Edmūdæ. nunc iucūde deliciatur, uel cum sacris uirginibus,  
 si defunt matronæ. Et uide q̄ homo strenuus non  
 defuit professioni suæ. Mox magna pecunia con- 105  
 gesta ex interuerfis testamentis, ex impudēter præ

79 forma ... insignes] Guicc., 145 : præter indolem ipsam innatam, etiam venustatem nescio quam & urbanitatem ... in hunc usque diem retineant.

81 Fratres Dominæ] a community of Carmelites settled near Mechlin in 1254, and removed to within the town in 1303; it went by the name of *Lieve Vrouwe Broeders* : Gestel, I, 73-75; *MalHist.*, 479-81; *VitSNic.*, 462, sq.

85 eodem anno] 1506-1507 : cp. *VitSNic.*, 479-81.

86 Terminarius] viz., *Casearius* : cp. *VitSNic.*, 481, sq.

88 solennibus ... prandijs] *VitSNic.*, 501, sq, and before, p 579.

89 Nusquam lautioribus] cp. before, p 579.

## NOSTRIS LOVANIEN.

- dicatis uenijs, ex compositionibus, ex intempesti-  
uis adulationibus, quibus inter concionandū mu-  
lierum, & maxime uetularum animos sibi deuin-  
110 cit. Ex hypocrisi ad quam se totum componit, ni-  
dum extruxit Louanij, futurum monasteriū Car-  
melitarum. Quasi parum sit huiusmodi mendica-  
bulorum ocioforum, quibus mundus grauatur lu-  
narium. Nec his contentus cauponem agit, alit  
115 domi non paucos, alit pueros, quos doceat nihil  
scire, Siquidem pro Grammatica praelegit illis Sa-  
lomonis Prouerbia. Et hunc quæstum, qui mul-  
tos alit Louanij homo insatiabilis prærripit. Enar-  
rat item domi pfalterium, in quo nouum præbet  
120 artificem. Nam pfalms, nec ab eodem, nec eodē  
tempore scriptos ita obtortos connectit, ueluti li-  
num lino connectens quasi contextus sit continu-  
us, eas enarrationes condit suo more uirilētis ob-  
trectationibus, in oratores, in policiem dictionis,  
125 in Græcas literas, & literarū studiosos semper ali-  
quid euomens, tali stipite dignum. Quodam die  
apud Vestales uirgines. Quid est (inquit) poetria?  
nihil aliud q̄ sic loqui, ut loquuntur in lupanari.  
Hoc portentum & oderunt & rident etiam alij  
130 Theologi. Sed tamen postq̄ conspirassent in me-  
liores literas, uisum est illis utile, ut ad hanc agen-  
dam fabulam, hūc histrionē, aut potius cyclophen  
adhiberent, stupidū, impudētem, clamosum, per
- Carmeli-  
tarū colle-  
giū Loua-  
nij futurū  
lupanar  
monacho  
rum.  
Ecdmūda  
cauponē  
agit.  
Pro Grā-  
matica Ec-  
mūda suis  
prælegit p-  
uerbia Sa-  
lomo.  
Psalteriū.  
Lectiones  
Edmūdæ.  
Concio  
apud Ve-  
stales Ecd-  
mundæ.  
Louanien-  
ses Theo-  
logi cōspi-  
rauerunt  
contra oīa  
bona stu-  
dia.

115, 127 (& 145) *margin* Ecdmund-] *Lond. & Lou.*

- 92 inuitari per Bidellos] cp. before, p 579.  
94 sedere sublimis] cp. before, p 578.  
99 reformat ... monasteria] cp. *VitSNic.*, 576, sq; e. g., Middelburg  
Abbey: cp. Mol., 511. 106 interuersis testamentis] *VitSNic.*, 540.  
110 nidum extruxit ... (114) cauponem agit] cp. *VitSNic.*, 544, sq.  
117 multos alit &c] cp. *VitSNic.*, 544, sq.  
125 Græcas literas] Baechem 'mire semper fuit infensus Græcis literis':  
EOO, IX, 435, c; that was probably the result of what was generally  
believed: 'Græce scire hæresis est': Allen, iv, 1033, 239; cp. before,  
pp 296, 348, 356, and *VitSNic.*, 650.

## E P I S T O L A D E M A G I S T R I S

tinacem, furiosum. Nam animi furorem non solū  
 uerbis, sed & ipso uultu, ipsoq; incessu declarat in <sup>135</sup>  
 Cuculla  
 aurita Ed summa, si cucullæ adderentur auriculæ cum tinti-  
 mundæ. nabilis nihil in eo desiderares. Hoc igitur Morio  
 Morio ne sunt abusi, in his partibus fabulæ, quas putabāt  
 M.N. sibi indecoras fore. Tam stolide frequēter hic cla-  
 mauit apud populum in linguas, in poetriam, sic <sup>140</sup>  
 enim ille uocat poeticā, ex Catholiconte opinor,  
 Mirabilis in Nouum testamentum Erasmi, quod interim  
 damnator M.N. confitetur, se nunq̄ uidisse, neq; uelle uidere. Oēs  
 Cōciones suas conciones quas ut in loco sacro, sacras esse de  
 M.N. cet, infecit & cōspurcauit huiusmodi Sycophanti- <sup>145</sup>  
 Ecdmūda is, oblique perstringens, etiam uiros eximios, &  
 inoptimū de bonis literis bene meritos. Et cum huiusmodi  
 quēq; ma factis homo sibi uidetur sani capitis, nec medicum  
 xime cla- adhibet, nec poscit Elleborū. Cum Lutherij ope  
 mat. ra prodiret misere metuebat suo quæstui, memor <sup>150</sup>  
 Lutheri quantam uim pecuniæ collegisset, & uenijs Apo-  
 opera. stolicis. Nondum legerat ullam pagellam, & ob  
 ingenij stuporem frustra erat etiam lecturus, sed  
 Conbibo audierat inter pocula, a conbibonibus Theolo-  
 nes. M.N. gis, inesse quæ obsisterent illi quæstui. Ilico profi- <sup>155</sup>  
 lijt ad populum, & insanis clamoribus omnia cō-  
 miscuit, nihil habēs in ore nisi seductores, hæreses  
 & Antichristos, clamabat perituum mundum,  
 M.N. non nisi ipsius humeris fulciretur. Non sum is mi Zin  
 intelligūt li, qui Lutherij libros intelligam ob quæstiones <sup>160</sup>  
 Lutherū. aliquot

127 poetria] cp. l 140 : poetriam, sic enim ille uocat poeticam; and *VitSNic.*, 650; Erasmus refers to it in his letters : Allen, iv, 1110, 15, 1153, 215, 1196, 450, 559.

128 lupanari] he probably meant poems by Ovid or Catullus, which were read, though, in the mediaeval schools : cp. before, p 269; Sandys, i, 638, sq, 633, 643, sq.

130 conspirassent] Baechem was one of the three or four most obstinate adversaries of literature and the *Collegium Trilingue*, of Erasmus, and consequently of Nesen : cp. Allen, v, 1330, 49-52.

132 hunc histrionem &c] the University delegated Baechem to plead her case against Nesen in the Brabant Council : cp. before, pp 460, sq.

## N O S T R I S L O V A N I E N .

aliquot remotiores, nec me causæ illius misceo, cū ipse non egeat talibus patronis. Tamen adeo hebes non sum, quin huius stuporem admirer. Ex hoc uno cætera conijcito, quam hic asinus intelligat Lutherij dogmata, Plus cēties clamauit apud populum, Lutheriū docere, non esse necesse confiteri peccata mortalia nisi manifesta. Lutherus sen sit manifesta nobis, id est quæ iudicaremus esse mortalia. quod certe (ut ego puto) non est cuiusuis, Ista belua putat non esse manifesta, nisi quæ de signantur in foro. Quid facias quæso huiusmodi bardis fratribus ? Constante etiam nunc uociferatur in Lutherium, & tantum profecit, ut passim emant libros Lutherij. Sibi persuadentes esse aliquid boni quod huic Casario tantopere displiceat. Et postea queruntur esse qui emant Lutherij libros, cum ipsi non solum irritent emendi appetentiam suis adeo ineptis uociferationibus, Verū etiam ecclesiæ tranquillitatem in periculosum uocent diffidium. Putat hic monachus se ualde sanctum, si die Mercurij non uescetur carnibus, sed ouis & piscibus sese expleat ad uomitum usq3, & tam manifestis mēdacijs, tam sceleratis calumnijs famam boni uiri profcindere, talibus Sycophantibus is inficere animos & aures auditorum non putat esse peccatum. Clamat Latomus, clamat Edmundanus, balbutit Ruardus in Lutheriū hæreticum,

Edmunda  
belua.Fratres  
Bardi.Tēperātia  
Edmundæ  
M. N. die-  
bus Mer-  
curij.Forū con-  
sciētiae Ed-  
mundæ.

B

140 poetriam] cp. l 127.

142 in Nouum testamentum &c] Cp. ErasFroud., 235 ; in his *Apologia* against Bæchem, Erasmus accuses him of attributing to him the texts or the comments he quotes for comparison's sake : EOO, IX, 434, B, sq, 435, A, sq.

149 Lutherij opera] many of the assertions about doctrine by Luther were called heresies in Bæchem's sermons, although he knew them only from hearsay, and before any sentence had been given by the Church.

181 die Mercurij &amp;c] cp. VitSNic., 592, sq, and before, pp 405-6.

187 balbutit] cp. l 34.

## EPISTOLA DE MAGISTRIS

in indoctum, in ineptum, & tamē nemo illum cō-  
 monet, nemo docet, nemo redarguit, cum ille do-  
 ceri postulet cum audiri cupiat & audire. Qualis 190  
 fit Lutherius nescio, nisi quod libri, quos hactenus  
 edidit, testatur eum esse in literis theologicis,  
 non tam ueteribus q̃ recentioribus exercitativissimum,  
 præterea ingenium arguunt sanum, & pe-  
 ctus multis, uarijsq̃ dotibus uere Christianis in- 195  
 structum. Hos uero noui tales, ut si non essent  
 alij Christiani, cum his, ita me deus amet, Christi-  
 anus esse nollem. Siquidem auaritiæ addicti sunt,  
 & ambitioni. Nulli profunt, nulli bene uolunt, ni-  
 si sibi ipsis, nocent plurimis, & timeri uolunt sub 200  
 religionis prætextu. Neq̃ enim hoc offendit eos  
 in Lutherio, quod non satis molliter tractat pon-  
 tificiam maiestatem, de qua & ipsi non admodum  
 magnifice sentiūt. Quod uellicat uenias, quas nec  
 ipsi probant, cum inter sese ueris agunt. Sed ideo 205  
 his est hæreticus Lutherius, quod Thomā despi-  
 cit, quem Prædicatores quintum Euangelistam  
 uideri uolunt, quod incessit Magistros Nostros  
 quorum auctoritatem sacrosanctam haberi postu-  
 lant, quod scholastica dogmata nō habet præ ocu- 210  
 lis, quibus, ut nihil aliud dicam, debet mundus tot  
 monachorum discrimina, tātum cerimoniarum,  
 & Christianam religionem, si non extinctam, cer-  
 te misere afflictam, infectamq̃. tot indoctos theo-

Lutherij  
dotes.

M. N. Lo-  
uanienses  
moriones  
sunt et ma-  
li Chřiani

Thomas  
Quintus  
euāgelista

M. N. di-  
gnitas.  
Scholasti-  
ca dogma-  
ta.

189 nemo docet] it was Erasmus' wish and earnest desire that the question should be resolved by calm reasoning and effective arguing, in a spirit of thoughtful charity, instead of by clamorous outcries and forcible measures urged by proud vindictiveness.

208 Magistros Nostros] cp. before, p 578.

216 Latomus] called *loripes* in the marginal note : cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 451, 557.

216 tertium librum] the third dialogue *de dogmatum ecclesiasticorum, quæ non iure uellicantur, ratione* : Lato*Dial.*, 45, was promised, but does not seem to have been edited. Latomus wrote, later on, a justification of the condemnation of Luther's writings by Louvain :

## NOSTRIS LOVANIEN.

- 215 logos, & bonorum autorum neglectum, de quibus dogmatibus .M. N. Latomus promisit tertium librum, sed ubi uidet primos duos tanto risu doctorum omniū exceptos, consultius putat esse premere, q̃ tanto scholasticorum doctorum dedecore iterum prodire in proscœnium. Hinc est qđ clamitāt, hoc ulcus illis dolet, hinc illi tumultus infani. Malunt (opinor) obrui doctrinam Christi, q̃ aliquid decedere de maiestate duorum aut triū Magistrorum nostrorum. Certe Carmelitis & 225 prædicatoribus, quos tantum inuersio uestium seiungit minus indignor, uentri seruiunt, & uentris negotium agitur. Demiror magis cur his beluis alij subseruiant. Edmundēsis putat timeri stultissimam illam linguam suam (nam hoc subinde itat e suggestu, qđ Huttenus noster arcem impudentiæ uocare solet) propterea quod boni non lunt aduersus rabientem rabire. Nunc audi quæ 230 so horum dementiam, audi, expectant ut Lutheri us capiat. Quid hoc aliud est, q̃ fitire humanum sanguinem. quandoquidem docere non possunt, & tamen perdere uolunt, Vtrum hoc est carnifices agere an Theologos? Quanta indignatio posteritatis, si legerint Lutherum uirum fuisse bonum, & uitæ ad miraculum usq; inculpatæ, acutū, 235 eruditum, ingeniosum, bene Christianū, præterea Germanū. Et tamen quod primus in tanta Theo

.M. N. Latomus lories de dogmatibus.

Camelitis & Predicatores Heluones.

Lingua camelitis.

Clemētia M. N.

M. N. carnifices sūt non Theologi.

Lutherus hactenus argumētis inuictus.

B ij

*Articulorum* &c, May 1521, with a dedicatory — and explanatory — letter to Rodolph of Monnikendam; *LatoArt.*, ff a 2, r-b 3, v.

- 225 inuersio] cp. l 252 : Dominicans wear white inside, Carmelites outside.
- 241 Germanum] another mention showing the author's nationality : cp. before, p 576.
- 247 inuictus] cp. Corn. Agrippa, in his *De Incertitudine & Vanitate omnium Scientiarum & Artium Liber* (1530), cap. LXIV, called Luther 'invictus hæreticus'; he answered the attack of the Louvain Theologians in his *Apologia*, cap. xiv, to vindicate that saying.
- 252 albis & nigris pallijs] cp. l 225 : inuersio uestium; and *VitSNic.*, 460.

## EPISTOLA DE MAGISTRIS

logorū peruerfitate, in tam detestabili monachorum tyrānide, aufus fuerit libere monere, & Christum iam olim constitutiūculis humanis indigne foedatum, imo conculcatū, uindicare oppressum, <sup>245</sup> non argumentis, neq3 scripturæ sacre testimonijs, quibus innocētiā suā usq3 tuebatur inuictus, sed arte & conspiratione nebulonum plane tyrannica. Quod si quidam haberent tantum insanie quantum isti, breui mundus totus sciret quæ pro- <sup>250</sup> bra, quæ dedecora, quæ flagitia, quæ facinora lateant sub illis albis & nigris pallijs, qui fauerent religioni, citius alerent Vrfos aut Simias aut etiam viperas, q̄ multos istorum generū, nolo enim gra- <sup>255</sup> uare omnes quos tamen opinor esse perpaucos. Vnde nobis hæc prophana religio, unde hæc impia pietas, unde indocta doctrina, unde spurcissimus iste cœlibatus? Indigne fero, hanc urbem elegantem, hanc Academiam cum primis celebrem, & egregijs ingenijs abundantem, sic infici per hos <sup>260</sup> paucos nebulones, uirulentos & indoctos. In cæteris literis non est omnino indoctus Atenfis, sed ira huic prorsus dominatur. Quid autem iudicet iratus? quid diiudicet inimicus? Edmundanus plane stolidior est, quam ut uel de re culinaria ferat iudicium, quod tamen affectat & quidem sedulo, et <sup>265</sup> ob hoc Frater olla a quibusdā uocatur, quod plus palato q̄ ingenio ualeat. Et nunc ea damnat quæ

Insani. M. N. Camelitarū & Prædicatorū scelera.

Pauci boni fratres. Monachorū religio.

academia Louaniē.

Atēsis iracundus. Edmundus stultus. M. N. Nicolaus de Edmūda a quibusdā FRATER OLLA uocatur.

249 insanie] London copy; Louv. copy insanie,

262 non... indoctus Atenfis, sed ira &c] cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 225.

267 Frater olla] cp. ll 61, 101 and *VitSNic.*, 496, sq; that name is given to Baechem also in the *Flores siue Elegantie* of Nicolas Quadus: cp. before, p 580; HutOS, II, 104-6.

268 damnat quæ nec legit &c] cp. ll 143, 152, 583, 680.

280-81 Aluari... Syluestri... de Vyo] cp. ll 69-70 and bef. p 581: Nesen took those names from Erasmus' letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg: Allen, IV, 1033, 146.

287 conatus eorum] viz., of the MM. NN. of Louvain and Cologne.

294 turcissimos] hatred of Rome made them allies of the Turks.

## N O S T R I S L O V A N I E N.

- nec legit nec intelligit. Si sapiūt bonarum literarū  
 270 cultores, in hos omnes acuent suos calamos, indi-  
 gni sunt quibus parcatur, feræ sunt non homines, M. N. feræ  
sunt non  
homines.  
 proferatur horum mysteria, quandoquidem ipsi Volumen  
de memo-  
rabilibus  
prædicato-  
rum & car-  
melitarū.  
 finem infaniendi nullum faciunt. Et audio esse in Nicolaus  
Quadus.  
 manibus quorundam uolumen quoddam, cui ti-  
 275 tulus sit de memorabilibus Prædicatorū & Car-  
 melitarum, cuius gustum nobis præbuit Nicola-  
 us Quadus in epistola quadam sua longe elegan-  
 tissima. & dii faxint ut ne torqueat nos expectatio  
 ne longa. Si moueret eos negotium fidei ut simu-  
 280 lant, inquirerent in libros Aluari, in libros Sylue-  
 stri, in libros Thomæ de Vyo, sed de prædicato-  
 rum erratis nullum uerbum. Quantum equidem  
 conijcio non tendunt in Lutherium, qui satis tu-  
 tus erit contra horum tyrannidem, sed in omnes  
 285 bonas literas, quas ipsi non didicerunt et piget di-  
 scere, sed prætexunt splēdidum titulum homines  
 ad hypocrisim nati educatiq3. Quod si conatus eo  
 rum succefferit, id quod superi prohibeant, uide-  
 bis quo sit euasura rabies sceleratorū. In hanc rem  
 290 scio coniurasse quosdam, omnes insignite scelera-  
 tos, quorum nomina breui ut arbitror cognosceret  
 & detestabitur mundus. Hos tyrannos relūdere  
 magis puto esse e re Christianæ religionis, q̄ pro-  
 fligere Turcas turcissimos, aut his etiā sceleratio-  
 295 res Iudæos. Demiror lenitatem Erasmi, quod suo

M. N. feræ  
sunt non  
homines.  
Volumen  
de memo-  
rabilibus  
prædicato-  
rum & car-  
melitarū.  
Nicolaus  
Quadus.  
Veri hære-  
tici.  
Nemo au-  
det loqui  
de sceleri-  
bus prædi-  
catorum.

Conatus  
M. N.  
M. N. de-  
notat Lo-  
uanieñ. &  
Coloniē.  
M. n. plus  
Chrō no-  
cēt q̄ Tur-  
cæ.  
Erasmi le-  
nitas.

B iij

- 295 lenitatem Erasmi] the great solicitude of Erasmus for the establish-  
 ment of Busleyden's Institute, caused him to be most prudent and  
 patient, which wild protagonists of either party failed to bear, or  
 even to understand : cp. before, e. g., pp 342, sq, 395, sq, 429, sq, &c.  
 298 Paraphrases &c] cp. before, p 580.  
 302 nundinis] probably the Frankfurt Autumn Fair, 1519.  
 306 Hutteni postrema fœtura] probably the bundle *Invectivarum in  
 Tyrannum Wirtenpergenssem*, printed at Stekelberck, Sept. 1519 :  
 HutE, 1, \*45, — or the *Dialogi. Fortuna. Febris. Trias Romana*,  
 issued at Mayence by John Scheffer, April 1520 : HutE, 1, \*48, sq.



## EPISTOLA DE MAGISTRIS N.

Erasmus  
 paraphra  
 stes Pauli. stilo felicifs. non sæuiat in istos, sed ille ut est pure  
 Christianus, abhoret ab oñi diffidio, & interim  
 studijs uere sacris sese consolatur, reuersus ad Pa-  
 raphrases in Paulum, quas hac hyeme perficiet. Et  
 ut ille in re quidem optima occupatus est, ita non <sup>300</sup>  
 conuenit alios studiorum causam deferere. de hijs  
 fatis hactenus, proximis tuis literis respondi su-  
 perioribus nundinis. Hic quoniã & præter spem  
 & certus oblatuſ est nūtiuſ, nolui te nescire, quid  
 hic ageretur, & placuit stomachum meum apud <sup>305</sup>  
 te effundere. Hutteni postrema foetura mire pro-  
 batur doctis omnibus, utinam ille uiuat ultra Ne-  
 storis annos. ita semper uincit seipsum, felix illud  
 & foecundum ingenium. Carinus noster plenis  
 (ut aiunt) uelis ad utriusq; linguæ fastigium contẽ <sup>310</sup>  
 dit, Spes est fore ut breui Germaniam nostram,  
 non modo Heluetiam ingenij sui opulentia sit illu-  
 straturus. Hic locus & tota fere Brabantia fatis tu-  
 ta est a peste, sed laboramus alia peste nocentiore  
 Ludouic<sup>9</sup> Carinus lucernas, Græce & latine ad-  
 modũ eru-  
 ditus. Conspira-  
 tionẽsigni-  
 ficat. M. n.  
 Louaniẽ.  
 aduersus  
 meliores  
 literas. q̃ fit ista uulgaris. Vale optime. Louanij apud Sy <sup>315</sup>  
 cophantas. M. N. & Fratres. Tu perge eru-  
 ditissime Zingli, purum Christum tuorum  
 populorum animis inferere. Anno  
 M. D. XVIII. Mense  
 Aprili.

320

SEQVITVR VITA S. NICOLAI  
 siue Stultitiæ Exemplar.

309 Carinus] Louis Kiel, of Lucerne, Nesen's pupil' (cp. before, pp 392-93), who went to attend Cæsarius' lessons in Cologne soon after this *Epistola* was begun in Louvain.

314 peste nocentiore] no doubt the opposition to the *Collegium Trilingue* and to Nesen's lectures, which happened about the time when this *Epistola* and the *Vita St. Nicolai* were drafted, the end of November or December 1519.

319 Anno M. D. XVIII. Mense Aprili] the date is evidently fictitious, as the condemnation of Luther's doctrine happened only on November 7, 1519.

## STVL TITIÆ EXEMPLAR.

## S. NICOLAI VITA.

The text of the *Vita S. Nicolai* is not reproduced here <sup>1)</sup>, as it is only a repetition of what has been expressed in the *Epistola*, besides passages which are either abusive or scurrilous, detailing what had been only implied before : they do not seem inspired at all by the love of truth, but simply by injudicious hatred, so that only the setting can raise a claim to historical value. On that account the *Vita* ranks very high as malicious libel <sup>2)</sup>, and even the *Epistola* itself is by far not the lowest. Although the text is not reprinted, a summary is given of the *Vita* ; notes are added to point out the intimate relation of one squib to the other and to their author, and two passages offering some evidential interest are reproduced.

It may be worth while mentioning that the author refers occasionally to typical details of xv<sup>th</sup> century life : to the *claua qua lecti sternuntur*, l 441, which serves as crosier to Baechem, and which Bobadilla uses as foil (bedstaffe : *Every Man in his Humor* : *Mat.*, x, l 527) ; to the *duplex cereuisia* (l 471), that friar's only beverage on fast-days ; to the *speculum rotundum* exhibited at fairs, showing all kinds of *imagines uirorum ac mulierum, auium & quadrupedum* (ll 433-36).

## Summary

325-61. — The author proposes as an example of *stultitia*, which should not be followed <sup>3)</sup>, a man who is more foolish than any one referred to in Erasmus' *Moria* or Brant's *Stultifera Navis*. The S. which precedes his name *Nicolas*, does not mean *Sanctus*, but *Stultus* <sup>4)</sup>.

362-92. — Birth and birth-place : Nicolas Baechem was born in 1462, 'cum Sol esset in Capricornio, Luna in Scorpio', viz., after December 22, 1462, in the supposition that the year starts on January 1. He was a native of Egmond, which Adrian of Utrecht explains as *Hæcunda*, in result of St. Adalbert's preaching : *AdriReus.*, 204-5, and which Erasmus changes into *Edmond*, calling Baechem *Edmondanus* : *Allen*, III, 878, 15.

393-430. — His education until his promotion to *Magister Noster*.

<sup>1)</sup> SchelhaL., I, 246-261, reprints the *Epistola*, merely mentioning that to it is joined *Vita S. Nicolai* 'quam nos hic non exhibemus' (247).

<sup>2)</sup> Paulsen, I, 130, calls Nesen's two pamphlets : vielleicht von allen humanistischen Pasquillen die wütendsten : namentlich der bei Steitz mitgeteilte offene Brief an Zwingli möchte in Giftigkeit persönlicher und namentlicher Angriffe seinesgleichen nicht finden. — Kalkoff calls the *Vita* 'die Verspottung der Uebertreibung der päpstlichen Machtstellung' : *ZwE*, I, 339, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt like at Sparta boys were dissuaded, e. g., from intemperance, by slaves made drunk.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. the explanation given by Adrian of Utrecht for *Nicolas*, bef. p 577.

393-4 Alexandrum, Floretum, Mammotrectum] cp. bef., pp 80, sq, 212, sq.

397 Adagionis] *ErAdag.*, 284, e : *Ipsa olera olla legit.*

399-400 Louanium fugit, quod audiret illic omnes subito fieri sapientes] he was inscribed on Oct. 29, 1487 : 'Nicolaus Iacobi de egmonda traiecit. dioc. studens in fac. artium' : *Excerpts*, 90.

403 capitium magistrale] he promoted M. A. in 1491, as inmate of the Falcon, and was the first of a group which was very small on account of the troublesome times ; only nine had been examined, one, Joannes Berri, being placed *extra ordinem* as *nobilis* ; nineteen others were promoted without tests, as *gratiosi*, and their names, instead of being inscribed according to the order of their merit, were entered as radii within a circle, under the deanship of Nicolas Everardi, future President of Mechlin Council : *ActArtV*, 92 ; *Mol.*, 590 ; *ULPromRs.*, 62-63. Baechem afterwards studied theology whilst lecturing in the Falcon. In 1497, Antony Willems, of Poortvliet, *Regens* of the Castle, made a complaint, stating that 'Nicolaum de Egmond, Herconem de Scagis, et Joannem de Angia, contra statuta doctrinare vias et doctrinas Nominalium. Responderunt se hoc nescire, et si quid Facultati in doctrina displiceat se hoc emendaturos' : *Mol.*, 582. Baechem took his revenge by reviling the Castle in his talks and discussions ; consequently the *Acta* note for 1498 : Nicolaus de Egmonda, quia aliquid dixerat in oratione contra honorem Castri, est ad quatuor menses honoribus Facultatis privatus. Sed intercedente domino Nicolao Pannetier, de Binchio, regente Falconis, non est privatus lectionibus : *Mol.*, 818.

404-5 actus ... conuiuia] cp. before, pp 578-79.

414 asinus &c] *ErAdag.*, 265, c : *Asinus apud Cumanos.*

416 Magister noster] cp. before, l 58.

423 Corebo stultior] *ErAdag.*, 677, a ; *DiaBiTril.*, 362.

431-78. — Decision of entering an Order, and choice of that of the Carmelites : cp. before, ll 63, sq. — *Mol.*, 511, records that it was said that he took that decision as a restitution for having dissuaded somebody from becoming a friar.

448 pro Scoto Thomam] cp. before, ll 71-72.

460 candido pallio] cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 345-6, and before, ll 225, 252.

462 fratres &c] cp. before, l 81.

476 e camelo ... Camelita] cp. before, l 46.

478

Et uide quomodo

diuinitus res illi successit. Eodem anno tres amplif

480 fimas dignitates est affequutus, factus est Magister noster, Carmelita, & Casearius Louanienfis.

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479 Eodem anno] cp. before, l 85.

481 Casearius] (also before, ll 86-88) viz., the friar who went to collect gifts in nature : butter, eggs, and chiefly cheese, at houses and farms within certain *termini*, or limits, which gave him also the name *Terminarius*, in English 'lymytour', — as was the *Frere* of Chaucer's *Pro-*

Is magistratus est huiusmodi. Quēadmodū Aquilae certos tractus inter se dimetiunt, in quibus praedas agunt. Ita Prædicatores & Carmelitæ certos  
 485 habent limites, in quibus colligunt ova & caseos. Ei rei præficiunt aliquē insigniter impudentē, qui penetret omnia, qui nihil non aufit, uel ui erepturus caseos si illi non dederint. Et ideo quoties cucullam induit, solent omnē pudorem exuere, alio  
 490 qui non admittendi ad uirgineū illum habitū. At in .S. Nicolao nihil erat opus. Nunq̄ enim habuerat ullam pudoris micā in omni uita. Itaq; non potuit exuere pudorē quē non habebat, sed tñ quod potuit cucullā induens, multum addidit impudentiæ.

495-527. — His life in Louvain as *Magister Noster*.

498 conuiuiorum] cp. ll 61, 404, sq, and before, pp 578-79.

499 Nusquam... lautioribus &c] cp. l 89, and p 579.

511 solenniter inuitari &c] cp. l 92, and p 579.

513 sedere sublimis &c] cp. l 94, and p 578.

527-90. — Baechem head of a College for Carmelite students in Louvain.

540 ex testamentis] (cp. l 106) viz., by influencing dying people to favour him as father confessor, against which custom Colet protests (Allen, I, 230, 34), and of which the charge is brought against Theodoricus in *Funus*: EOO, I, 812, f, sq; Allen, IV, 1162, 165-66, 1196, pr; cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 122.

544 extruere cepit pandochion] the original Louvain house for Carmelites was started by Godefroid de Loe, who had it incorporated into the University on Febr. 10, 1461: FUL, 1998-99. On March 1, 1487, George de Bourges, of Cambrai, dean of St. John's, Liège, and assessor of the Conservator's Court, being Licencié of Laws, gave his house opposite the Hospital, in 'Stone Street', on the corner of Malt Mill Lane, to the Carmelite Order to serve as a College for students: *ULDoc.*, I, 254, 546, v, 345, sq; Mol., 596, 628; VAnd., 37, 72, 331; Vern., 248-49. Soon after entering the Order, Baechem was appointed as head of that study house: he had it enlarged, and partly rebuilt: he thus became its *regens*, more generally called *terminarius* (cp. ll 478, sq), on account of

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logue to the *Canterbury Tales*: A, 208-271, D, 1265, 1711, and as were those whom the 'Wyf of Bathe' sarcastically praised in her Tale: D, 857-77. John Heywood refers to them in *The Spider and the Fly*, ix, 1: There neuer was Fryer limiter that ducket / So low where beggyng woon him twenty cheeses; so does Hugh Latimer in one of his *Sermons* (Cambridge, 1844: Parker Soc. Public.), I, 524. Cp. *Everyman* (*Materials*, XX, 121-24, where that begging is indicated by the Flemish verb *termynen*).

the office of going about at regular intervals begging and collecting gifts for his Convent within the stated '*terminos*'. Baechem had to find the money for the arranging of his College in Stone Street : *Ul.Doc.*, v, 345-48 ; de Jongh, 234 ; LouvEven, 487 ; he was moreover harassed by a suit : on February 25, 1514, he asked the protection of the University against the execution of the sentence of the Brabant Council, whereas the Conservator of the Privileges had given a judgment in his favour : the case was entrusted to the decision of the Rector and of some jurisprudents at his choice. In that same year, in which, '*ex parte Facultatis Theologiæ*', he pronounced, on Oct. 1, the Latin *Oratio* to start the Academical activity, he had been helped by the Faculty of Arts : *Facultas dat carmelitis de monte Carmelo 50 fl. Rhenenses pro eorum edificio* (*ActArtV*, 96, v, *ActArtInd.*, 11) ; on November 29 he made a similar request to the University Senate (*LibActV*, 259, r, 270, v ; de Jongh, \*7, \*8) for his new building, whereas in 1517 the Faculty of Arts, in return for several services rendered, granted to him '14 mediæ libræ grossi flandriæ pro reparatione cujusdam cellulæ in domo sua (angulari) constructa' : *ActArtInd.*, 16. Baechem tried to find further means by accepting as boarders, and tutoring, some students to whom he read the Psalms : cp. before, ll 114-25 : he thus could be said to have prepared a *nidus* for himself (cp. before, ll 110-14), to have made a *pandochion* of his 'study house', and to have become a *caupo* from a *monachus* : ll 545-49. At that time many young professors had to make a living in the first years of their career by tutoring well-to-do students boarding as guests in their houses : that was done by a Rescius, but also by a Louis de Schore, future President of the Council of State (*Gran.*, 110, c-f). As Baechem had properly no need to earn money in that way, and as, moreover, he was hardly qualified for teaching languages, he raised much ill will : cp. l 117 : *hunc quæstum qui multos alit Louanij homo insatiabilis præripit*.

562 mutonij] probably coined from the name *Mutunus*, *Mutinus*, used by Lactantius.

565 multa cadant &c] *ErAdag.*, 181, A.

567 mota ... dextra] cp. l 683 : a gesture to asseverate what he said, as if taking the oath.

572 ne ... reuocaretur] he lived in a house belonging to his Order, not in a convent proper.

576 reformat ... monasteria] cp. l 99.

579 Hollandico more] in October 1521, Erasmus wrote to Nicolas Everardi, with reference to Herman Lethmaet : *valetudo prospera ... hoc magis pollicetur viuacitatem, quod ipse victus sit temperatissimi : si tamen hoc homini perpetuo licebit apud Hollandos* : Allen, iv, 1238, 43-45 ; cp. further, l 598.

583 libros non legerat] cp. ll 143, 268, and Allen, iv, 1033, 80-88.

586 coruus hians] *ErAdag.*, 266, F.

586 Spes ... bona &c] *ErAdag.*, 741, D, 1039, c.

591-605 *De Temperantia S. Nicolai*.

592 Diebus Mercurij &c] cp. l 181. From the three regular days of

abstinence in every week in the primitive Church, only Fridays and Saturdays were kept, as records of Our Lord's death and burial. The Wednesday, in memory of His iniquitous condemnation, was, from St. Calixtus' time, (218-222), only observed in Lent, Advent and in the ember-weeks. Some Orders took up the old practice, but merely within the convents. Baechem evidently glorified in that kind of penance, which seems to have been more disagreeable to his hosts than to himself: Erasmus mentions it in his *Apologia* against him (EOO, IX, 440, *z*, 1212, *b*) and in his letter to Thomas More, November 1520 (Allen, iv, 1162, 107-110); it allows to state with exactitude the date of the banquet at which the peace between him and the Theologians was celebrated: cp. before, pp 405-6.

598 excusat patria] Erasmus often referred to the 'computationes apud Hollandos', which he ascribed to climate and lack of refinement (ErAdag., 713, *F*, 1083, *F*), but greatly disliked: Allen, I, 76, 14, 129, 25, 159, 59, *sq*, iv, 996, 43, 1238, 45, v, 1331, 35, *sq*.

602 lippus] cp. *DiaBiTril.*, 344, and further, l 611.

606-12 *De Castitate S. Nicolai*.

607 factus est ex camelo Camelita] cp. before, ll 46, 78, 476.

613-29 *De Constantia S. N.*

623 laterem lauant] ErAdag., 169, *D*.

624 damnat noua] in the colloquy *Apotheosis Capnionis*, Brassicanus says: Equidem demiror usque adeo mortales omnes teneri siti quadam rerum nouarum. At ego Louanij Camelum quendam audiui concionantem, fugiendum quidquid esset nouum ... At idem ... non usque adeo delectatur rebus veteribus, vt malit jus pridianum quam recens: EOO, I, 689, *F*, 690, *A*.

630-38 *De Doctrina S. Nicolai*.

632 nihil ... legit, præter glosam ordinariam] viz., that made by the Florence professor of Law Francesco Accorso, *Accursius* († 1260). It was condemned by Budé and Alciati, by Vives and Brassicanus, on account of its deficiency in matter and in expression: Sandys, I, 604-5. No doubt Nesen wishes to suggest that Baechem referred to it, although ignoring that it does not deal with theology, but with jurisprudence.

639-61 *De Concionibus S. Nicolai*.

645 A prandio semper uuidus] cp. Allen, iv, 1162, 121.

650 uociferans in græcas literas] as being equivalent to heresy: cp. before, l 125.

650 poetriam] cp. before, ll 127, 140.

651 Lutherum, cuius libros non legerat] cp. before, l 583, and further, ll 680-81.

652 uenias pontificias ... (654) lupanaris] in order to raise money to pay for the alterations in his College (cp. ll 110, 544), he often preached about indulgences, and made money of them, which Luther greatly harmed by his doctrine.

661-78 *De Patientia*.

663 inuisus est omnibus M. N.] cp. Allen, iv, 1162, 243-44.

671 uerti in rosam &c] cp. before, l 52.

677 fici oculis] ErAdag., 653, *F*; Allen, iv, 1162, 243.

679-85 *De Autoritate S. Nicolai.*

680 *autoritatem damnandi &c]* cp. ll 651, sq.

683 *mota manu dextera]* cp. before, l 567.

686-762 *Fides S. Nicolai.*

692 *principes Christiani &c]* allusion to the power of the Popes to liberate the subjects from their bond of allegiance towards their secular masters : *ActaMori*, 171, sq. The exaggeration of the ecclesiastical power over the secular, which is here treated sarcastically, produced a considerable reaction in the troubled days of the xv<sup>th</sup> century : G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation* : Freiburg i. B., 1916 : 25, sq ; *KaELF*, 64, sq.

698 *nouas terras &c]* cp. ll 701, sq ; viz., the newly discovered, or still to be discovered, territories divided between the Spanish and the Portuguese by Calixtus III and Alexander VI : Pastor, III, 517-21.

Anno . m. d. xx.

# G E R M A N I S O M N I B V S.

Potes ex hac cognoscere epistola optime mi  
 765 Lector, quas fraudes struant oībus bonis lris, nō  
 tantū Luthero (q est inculpatissimæ uitæ) M. Nri,  
 simul & psonati illi ματαιολόγοι, ipsi uero omni in  
 spurcitia, ac libidine uitā ducentes inqnatifs. Et tā  
 pestíferas beluas multoq; iniquores Chřianæ Rei-  
 770 pu. q̃ uel illa truculentiffi. gens Mahometica, non  
 dum extirpamus radicitus ? non propellimus ? nō  
 profligimus a nobis hos scorpiones uenenatifs.  
 moriones stultissimos, Morychos, monachos uo  
 lebam, cucullatos theologistas. Hos igitur antefi-  
 775 gnanos, hos præcipuos duces sathani, excindite tā  
 dem, eradicate, profligite a uobis Germani uiri in  
 uictifs. alioqui strenui ac bellicosi, finite nos uestrā  
 in hac parte experiri magnanimitatē, quo tandem  
 restituta pace, ac unanimitate, charitatē Christia-  
 780 nam, & uerum excolamus C H R I S T V M.

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767 ματαιολόγοι] Cp. before, pp 315-6, 473, 477 ; *MonHL*, 232 ; *EOO*, IX, 440, c ; *RhenE*, 173.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### CHIEFLY USED IN THE NOTES

The Roman numerals, added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, indicate the volumes if in capitals, and the parts of those volumes if in minuscules; the figures and *italicized* Roman numerals indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise. The Roman letters, a, b, added to a number, refer to the obverse or reverse sides of a page or the columns; the Italic letters, a, b, c, &c, to the various paragraphs of a preface (= *pr*) to a letter or a poem. The very small figures indicate the lines.

Special abbreviations for the textual notes are explained on pp 22-24 (for Busleyden's will), on pp 533 and 544-45 (for the *Appendices*).

**Ch. & Chs.**, followed by Roman figures, indicate the chief divisions in this work, of which this volume is the first part; occasionally **Lv.** is used as abbreviation for : Louvain.

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**AcArExc.** = *Excerpta ex Actis Facultatis Artium Universitatis Lovaniensis, 1427-1797 : Louvain collection of extracts and notes (chiefly for controversial purposes : cp. before, p 76) by different hands at various times from the original volumes of the Acta Fac. Artium, some of which have disappeared.*

**AcArtEx.** = *AcArExc.*

**AccEdel.** = Account of the 'Collegium Trilingue', rendered in James Edelheer's name, for the period from Jan. 26 to June 22, 1539 = FUL, 1450.

**AccHoevI** = Account of the 'Collegium Trilingue', rendered by Jud. van der Hoeven for the period from Dec. 1, 1529 to Dec. 1, 1530 = FUL, 1451.

**AccHoevII** = Account of the 'Collegium Trilingue', rendered by Jud. van der Hoeven for the period from Dec. 1, 1533 to Dec. 1, 1534 = FUL, 1451.

**AccMaroI** = Account of the 'Collegium Trilingue', rendered by Nicolas Wary of Marville for the period from Jan. 21, 1526 to Jan. 21, 1527 = FUL, 1450.

**AccMaroII** = Account of the 'Trilingue Collegium', rendered by Nicolas Wary of Marville for the period from Jan. 21, 1527 to Jan. 21, 1528 = FUL, 1451.

**AccMaroIII** = Account of the 'Trilingue Collegium', rendered in Nicolas Wary of Marville's name, for the period from Febr. 1, 1529 to Dec. 1, 1529 = FUL, 1451.

**AccMeerb.** = *Primus Computus Collegij Buslidianj D. Joannis van Meerbeke, from Oct. 18, 1520 to Oct. 18, 1521 = FUL, 1450.*



- ActaMori* = Henry DE Vocht, *Acta Thomae Mori. History of the Reports of his Trial and Death, with an Unedited Contemporary Narrative (HumLov. 7)* : Louvain, 1947.
- ActArtI* = Liber Primus Actorum et Conclusionum Venerabilis Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lov.> : May 24, 1427 to June, 23, 1441 = FUL, 710.
- ActArtII* = Liber Secundus Actorum ... Facultatis Artium : June 27, 1441 to October 27, 1447 = FUL, 711.
- ActArtV* = Quintus Liber Actorum ... Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lov.>, inceptus ix novembris anno <M cccc> LXXXII (to Sept. 30, 1504, and from June 23, 1508 to Sept. 27, 1511) = FUL, 712.
- ActArtVI* = Extracts from the *Sextus Liber Actorum Facultatis Artium* <now lost> = FUL, 726.
- ActArtInd.* = Librorum VI ad XIV Actorum Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lov.> Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
- Adagia* = <Joan. Jac. GRYNÆUS, \ Adagia, Id est, Proverbiorum, Paræmiarum et Parabolarum ... Collectio absolutissima : Frankfurt, 1670.
- ADB* = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56 vols.) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
- Adelm.* = Franz Xaver THURNHÖFER, Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden, Humanist und Luthers Freund, 1457-1523 : Freiburg i. B., 1900.
- AdriBurm.* = Casp. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI., sive Analecta Historica de Hadriano Sexto Trajectino Papa Romano : Utrecht, 1727.
- AdriHöf.* = Constantin Ritter von HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-1523 : Vienna, 1880.
- AdriReus.* = E. H. J. REUSENS, Syntagma Doctrinæ Theologicæ Adriani Sexti, Pont. Max., ... cum apparatu de Vita et Scriptis Adriani : Louvain, 1862.
- AgricE* = Karl HARTFELDER, Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus (in Festschrift der Badischen Gymnasien gewidmet der Universität Heidelberg, 1-36) : Karlsruhe, 1886.
- AgricO* = Rodolphi AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (ed. Alard of Amsterdam : 2 vols.) : Cologne, 1539.
- Agricola* = H. E. J. M. van der VELDEN, Rodolphus Agricola (Roelof Huusman) een Nederlandsch Humanist der Vijftiende Eeuw : Leyden [, 1911].
- AgriCorr.* = P. S. ALLEN, The Letters of Rudolph Agricola (in *Eng-HistRev.*, XXI, 302-317) : London, 1906.
- AleaE* = J. PAQUIER, Lettres Familières de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-1540 : Paris, 1909.
- AléaJour.* = Henri OMONT, Journal Autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aléandre, 1480-1530, publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et Udine : Paris, 1895.
- AléaLiège* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre et la Principauté de Liège, 1514-1540 : Paris, 1896.
- Aléandre* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre, de sa Naissance à la fin de son Séjour à Brindes, 1480-1529 : Paris, 1900.

- Alexandre = P. ALEXANDRE, Histoire du Conseil Privé dans les Anciens Pays-Bas : Brussels, 1894.
- Allen = P. S. ALLEN & H. M. ALLEN, *Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denovo recognitvm et avctvm* (11 vols.) : Oxford, 1906-1947. — *The figures refer to the letters and the lines.*
- Altmeyer = J. J. ALTMAYER, Les Précurseurs de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas (2 vols.) : Brussels, 1886.
- AltRel. = J. J. ALTMAYER, Histoire des Relations Commerciales et Diplomatiques des Pays-Bas avec le Nord de l'Europe pendant le xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle : Brussels, 1840.
- Anal. = Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique : Louvain, from 1864.
- Analectes = Anal.
- Anima = Joseph SCHMIDLIN, Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, S. Maria dell' Anima : Freiburg i. B., 1906.
- AntvAnn. = Daniel PAPEBROCHUS, Annales Antverpienses, ab urbe condita ad annum M. DCC. (edit. F. H. Mertens & E. Buschmann (5 vols.) : Antwerp, 1845-8.
- AntvDiercx. = J. C. DIERCXSENS, Antverpia Christo Nascens et Crescens, seu Acta Ecclesiam Antverpiensem ... concernentia ... Secundis curis collecta & disposita, ac in VII Tomos divisa (7 vols.) : Antwerp, 1773.
- AntwChron. = Chronycke van Antwerpen sedert het jaer 1500 tot 1575... volgens een onuitgegeven handschrift van de xvi<sup>e</sup> eeuw : Antwerp, 1843.
- AntwHist. = F. H. MERTENS & K. L. TORFS, Geschiedenis van Antwerpen (8 vols.) : Antwerp, 1845-1853.
- AugO = Sancti Aurelii AUGUSTINI Opera Omnia (ed. Migne : 12 vols.) : Paris, 1841-49.
- Bahlmann = P. BAHLMANN, Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas ... Eine Bio-Bibliographische Darstellung der Anfänge der Modernen Dramendichtung : I. Erste Dramatische Versuche. 1314-1478 ; II. Die Lateinischen Dramen von Wimpfelings *Stylpho* bis zur Mitte des xvi. Jahrhunderts. 1480-1550 : Münster, 1896 & 1893.
- BalaHist. = P. BALAN, Monumenta Saeculi xvi. Historiam Illustrantia : Innsbruck, 1885.
- BalaRef. = P. BALAN, Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae, 1521-1525 : Ratisbon, 1884.
- Balbus = P. S. ALLEN, Hieronymus Balbus in Paris (in *EngHistRev.*, xvii, pp 417-428) : London, 1902.
- Bale = John BALE, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Balæus, cum aliis. — Index of British and Other Writers (ed. Reg. Lane Poole & Mary Bateson) : Oxford, 1902.
- Barclay = <T. H. JAMIESON,> The Ship of Fools translated by Alexander BARCLAY (2 vols.) : Edinburgh, 1874.
- BarlHist. = Historica Hadriani BARLANDI Rhetoris Lovaniensis. Nunc primum collecta, simulque edita : Cologne, 1603.
- BatawDom. = Bernard de JONGHE, Desolata Batavia Dominicana : Ghent, 1717.

- BatavIll.* = Petrus SCRIVERIUS, *Batavia Illvstrata, seu, de Batavorvm Insvla* : Leyden, 1609.
- BatavMart.* = Peter OPMEER, *Historia Martyrum Batavicornum, sive Defectionis a Fide Maiorvm Hollandiae Initia* : Cologne, 1625.
- BaxF* = J. L. BAX, *Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis* (5 vols.) : MS 22173 in the Royal Library, Brussels.
- BaxH* = J. L. BAX, *Historia Universitatis Lovaniensis* (11 vols.) : MS 22172 in the Royal Library, Brussels.
- Baxter* = J. H. BAXTER, *Scottish Students at Louvain University 1425-1484* (in *Scottish Historical Review*, xxv, pp 327, sq) : Glasgow, 1928.
- BB* = *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie Générale des Pays-Bas* (published by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN, R. van den BERGHE, V. van der HAEGHEN and A. ROERSCH) : Ghent, from 1880.
- BbBasle* = University Library of Basle.
- BbVat.* = *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*.
- Behault* = Armand de BEHAULT DE DORNON, *Bruges Séjour d'Exil des Rois d'Angleterre Edouard IV (1471) et Charles II (1656-58)* : Bruges, 1931.
- BeitBrieg.* = *Aus Deutschlands Kirchlicher Vergangenheit. Festschrift zu ... Theodor Brieger* : Leipzig, 1912.
- BeitClem.* = Otto CLEMEN, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Büchern und Handschriften der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek* (3 vols.) : Berlin, 1900-1903.
- BeitFried.* = Gottlieb FRIEDLAENDER, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte. Sammlung ungedruckter Briefe des Reuchlin, Beza und Bullinger, nebst einem Anhang zur Geschichte der Jesuiten* : Berlin, 1837.
- BeitKlette* = Theodor KLETTE, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur der Italienischen Gelehrtenrenaissance* (3 vols.) : Greifswald, 1888-1890.
- BeitSchlecht.* = *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation Joseph SCHLECHT... als Festgabe dargebracht* : Munich, 1917.
- BelgArch.* = *Document(s) preserved at the General Archives of the Realm*, Brussels.
- BelgChron.* = J. B. L. de CASTILLION, *Sacra Belgii Chronologia* : Ghent, 1719.
- Bémont* = Ch. BÉMONT, *Le Premier Divorce de Henri VIII et le Schisme d'Angleterre* : Paris, 1917.
- Berger* = Samuel BERGER, *La Bible au Seizième Siècle* : Paris, 1879.
- Bergh* = L. Ph. C. van den BERGH, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, avec ses Amis* : 1506-1528 (2 vols.) : Leyden, 1845-1847.
- BerghAutr.* = Léon-E. HALKIN, *Histoire Religieuse des Règnes de Corneille de Berghes et de Georges d'Autriche, Princes-Evêques de Liège, 1538-1557* : Liège, 1936.
- Berlière* = Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Les Evêques Auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai* : Bruges, 1905.
- Bianco* = F. J. von BIANCO, *Die Alte Universität Köln* (2 vols.) : Cologne, 1856.

- BibBelg.** = Valerius ANDREAS Desselius, *Bibliotheca Belgica : de Belgis Vita Scriptisque Claris* (2<sup>nd</sup> edit.) : Louvain, 1643.
- BibBelgMan.** = Antonius SANDERUS, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta, sive, Elenchvs Vniversalis Codicvm MSS. in celebrioribvs Belgii Cœnobijs, Ecclesijs, Vrbivm ac Priuatorum Hominum Bibliothecis adhuc latentium* (2 vols.) : Lille, 1641-1644.
- BibBelgTop.** = Valerius ANDREAS, *Topographia Belgica* (prefixed, with separate pagination, to) : *BibBelg.*, A 1, r-O 3, v.
- BibRefNe.** = *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : Geschriften uit den tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden* (ed. S. Cramer & F. Pijper) : The Hague, from 1903.
- Bludau** = Aug. BLUDAU, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner* (in *Biblische Studien*, VII, 5) : Freiburg i. B., 1902.
- Blunt** = J. H. BLUNT, *The Reformation of the Church of England : its History, Principles and Results* (2 vols.) : London, 1896, 1897.
- BN** = *Biographie Nationale* (published by the Académie Royale de Belgique) : Brussels, 1866-1939.
- Bömer** = A. BÖMER, *Die Lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* (2 vols.) : Berlin, 1897-99.
- Bonilla** — Ad. BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, *Luis Vives y la Filosofia del Renacimiento* : Madrid, 1903.
- BostE** = P. S. ALLEN, *Letters of Arnold Bostius* (in *EngHistRev.*, XXXIV, pp 225-236) : London, 1919.
- BrabNobl.** = (Jos. van den LEENE,) *Le Théâtre de la Noblesse du Brabant : Liège, 1705* (the pagination, which stops at p 224, is continued to the end of the book).
- BrArEc.** = Alfred d'HOOP, *Inventaire Général des Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant* (in *BelgArch.* : 6 vols.) Brussels, 1905-1932.
- Brecht** = Walther BRECHT, *Die Verfasser der Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* : Strassburg, 1903.
- Brewer** = J. S. BREWER, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. 1509-1530* (vols. I to IV) : London, 1862, sq. — *The numbers refer to the letters and documents.*
- Briart** = *Vita Ioannis Briardi Atensis* : by Gerard Morinck : *MorMS*, ff 392, v-398, v.
- Brom** = Gisbert BROM, *Archivalia in Italie, belangrijk voor de Geschiedenis van Nederland* (3 vols.) : The Hague, 1908-14.
- Bruchet** = Max BRUCHET, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie* : Lille, 1927.
- Brug&Fr.** = J. GAILLARD, *Bruges et le Franc, ou leur Magistrature et leur Noblesse, avec des données historiques et généalogiques sur chaque famille* (6 vols.) : Bruges, 1857-1864.
- BrugErVir.** = Antonius SANDERUS, *De Brvgensibvs Ervditionis Fama Claris Libri duo* : Antwerp, 1624.
- BrugEst.** = L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges* : Bruges, 1905.
- BrugHist.** = Ad. DUCLOS, *Bruges. Histoire et Souvenirs* : Bruges, 1910.

- BrugInscr.* = J. GAILLARD, Inscriptions Funéraires & Monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale : Tome 1, Bruges (3 vols.) : Bruges, 1861-66.
- BrugSDon.* = <J. Fr. FOPPENS,> Compendium Chronologicum Episcoporum Brugensium, necnon Præpositorum, Decanorum et Canonico-rum, &c. Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S. Donatiani Brugensis : Bruges, 1731.
- BrugTon.* = L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, Cartulaire de l'Ancien Grand Tonlieu de Bruges : Bruges, 1908.
- BrugWet.* = Wet der Stede van Brugghe 1331-1792 (*list of the mayors, aldermen, treasurers and 'hoofdmannen' chosen every year, as well as of the commissaries representing the Count and the States of Flanders*) : *CartMan.*, 2159.
- Brusch* = Adalbert HORAWITZ, Caspar Bruschi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation : Prague, 1874.
- BruxBas.* = <Joh. Bapt. CHRISTYN,> Basilica Bruxellensis sive Monumenta ... et Coenotaphia ... Ecclesiæ ... SS. Michaeli ... et Gudilæ ... Sacræ (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. ; 2 vols.) : Mechlin, 1743.
- BruxHist.* = Alexandre HENNE & Alphonse WAUTERS, Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles (3 vols.) : Brussels, 1845.
- Budé* = Louis DELARUELLE, Guillaume Budé : Les Origines, les Débuts, les Idées Maitresses : Paris, 1907.
- BudERép.* = Louis DELARUELLE, Répertoire Analytique et Chronologique de la Correspondance de Guillaume Budé : Toulouse, 1907.
- Bulæus* = C. E. BULÆUS, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis (6 vols.) : Paris, 1665-1673.
- BullAcBelg.* = Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique : Brussels, 1836-
- Burckhardt* = Jacob BURCKHARDT, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch (15<sup>th</sup> edition) : Leipzig, 1926.
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- Butzbach* = Johannes BUTZBACH, Chronica eines Fahrennden Schülers oder Wanderbüchlein ... Aus der lateinischen Handschrift übersetzt und mit Beilagen vermehrt von Dam. Joh. BECKER : Ratisbon, 1869.
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## LIST OF PERSONAGES

Besides the personages of the xv<sup>th</sup> and the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, this list records classic authors and writers of books of a secular use; also, *in italics*, some living bodies, as abbeys and universities, as well as details or general remarks intimately connected with the matter treated. The figures refer to the pages; if they are printed in heavier types, they indicate biographical information of some importance about those whose names are set in CAPITALS.

To shorten as much as possible this list, — which is necessarily burdened by the two, or even more, names by which people of any significance were designated in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, — use is made, for the identification, of abbreviations such as *ambas*(ador), *chanc*(ellor), *fam*(ily), *not*(ary), *prov*(ost), *secc*(etary), &c, — as well as of the sigla: Abp (Archbishop), bCL (brother of Common Life), Bp (Bishop), cc (councillor), cn (canon), dv (divine), gr (grammarian), hb (hebraist), hm (humanist), jp (jurisprudent), lm (ludimagister), lt (literator), md (medicus), ms (musician), pc (preceptor), pf (professor), pp (parish priest), pr (printer), pt (painter), rg (regens, head of college), rs (renaissance scholar), sc (scientist), st (student), wt (writer).

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**ABSOLVTVM EST HOC OPVS  
LOVANI  
IN OFFICINA FORMVLARIA  
TRIVM REGVM MAGORVM  
PRID. CAL. NOV. A. D.  
M. CM. LI**